ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ.

THE ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

By JOSEPH BINGHAM.

VOLUME I.



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THE AUTHOR'S DEDICATIONS.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JONATHAN, LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

[PUBLISHED WITH VOL. I. OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.]

My Lord,

Having once determined with myself to make these collections public, I needed no long time to consider to whom I should first address and present them. They are, my Lord, the first-fruits of my labour under your Lordship's government and inspection; and I was willing to think, and do presume I did not think amiss, that your Lordship had a sort of title to the first-fruits of any of your clergy's labour; especially if the subject, on which they were employed, was suitable to their calling, and had any direct tendency to promote Christian knowledge in the world. The subject of the present discourse, being an essay upon the ancient usages and customs of the primitive church, and a particular account of the state of her clergy, is such as, being considered barely in its own nature, I know cannot but be approved by a person of your Lordship's character; whose care is concerned not only in preserving the purity of the primitive faith, but also in reviving the spirit of the ancient discipline and primitive practice: and were the management any ways answerable to the greatness of the subject, that would doubly recommend it to your Lordship's favour; since apples of gold are something the more beautiful for being set in pictures of silver. But I am sensible the subject is too sublime and copious, too nice and difficult, to have justice done it from any single hand, much less from mine: all, therefore, I can pretend to hope for from your Lordship is, that your candour and goodness will make just allowances for the failings, which your sagacity and quickness will easily perceive to be in this performance. I am not, I confess, without hopes, that as well the abstruseness and difficulty of the subject itself, as my own difficult circumstances, under which I was forced to labour, for want of proper assistance of abundance of books, may be some apology for the defects of the work: and if I can but so far obtain your Lordship's good opinion, as to be thought to have designed well; as I am already conscious of my own good intentions to consecrate all my labours to the public service of the church; that will inspire me with fresh vigour, notwithstanding these difficulties, to proceed with cheerfulness and alacrity in the remaining parts of this work, which are yet behind, and which I shall be the more willing to set about, if I can perceive that it has your Lordship's approbation. The countenance and encouragement of such a judge may perhaps have a more universal influence, to excite the zeal of many others, who have greater abilities to serve the church: and I know not how better to congratulate your Lordship upon your happy accession to the episcopal throne of this diocese, than by wishing you the blessing and satisfaction of such a clergy; whose learning and industry, and piety and religion, influenced by the wisdom of your conduct, and animated by the example of your zeal and perseverance, even to imprisonment in times of greatest difficulty, may so qualify them to discharge every office of their function, as may make your diocese one of the shining glories of the present church, and a provoking example to the future: which is the hearty prayer and desire of,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's faithful and obedient Servant,
J. BINGHAM.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JONATHAN, LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

[PUBLISHED WITH VOL. II. OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.]

My Lord,

As the kind entertainment which your Lordship and the world have been pleased to give to the first part of this work, has encouraged me to go on in hopes of doing public service to the church; so the nature of the subject contained in this second volume, being but a continuation of the former account of the primitive clergy, obliges me again with all submission to present this second part to your Lordship, in hopes of no less kind acceptance and approbation. The matters here treated of are many of them things of the greatest importance, which when plainly set in order and presented to public view, may perhaps excite the zeal of many in the present age, to copy out those necessary duties, by the practice of which the primitive church attained to great perfection and glory; and, as I may say, still provokes and calls us to the same attainments by so many excellent rules and noble examples. In the fourth and sixth of these Books I have endeavoured to draw up something of the general character of the primitive clergy, by showing what qualifications were required in them before their ordination, and what sort of laws they were to be governed by afterwards, respecting both their lives and labours, in the continual exercise of the duties of their function. Many of them, I must own, have been very affecting to myself in the consideration of them; and I was willing to hope they might prove so to such others as would be at the pains to read them. For here are both directions and provocations of the best sort, to excite our industry, and inflame our zeal, and to make us eager and restless in copying out the pattern set before us. If any shall think I have collected these things together to reflect upon any persons in the present age, I shall only say, with one of the ancients in a like case,* they mistake my design; which was not to reproach any man's person, who bears the sacred character of a priest, but to write what might be for the public benefit of the church. For as when orators and philosophers describe the qualities, which are required to make a complete orator or philosopher, they do no injury to Demosthenes or Plato, but only describe things nakedly in themselves without any personal applications; so in the description of a bishop or priest, and explication of ancient rules, nothing more is intended but to propose a mirror of the priesthood, in which it will be in every man's power and conscience to take a view of himself, so as either to grieve at the sight of his own deformity, or rejoice when he beholds his own beauty in the glass.

Nothing is here proposed but rules and examples of the noblest virtues; probity and integrity of life; studies and labours becoming the clerical function; piety and devotion in our constant addresses to God; fidelity, diligence, and prudence in preaching his word to men; carefulness and exactness, joined with discretion and charity, in the administration of public and private discipline; candour and ingenuity in composing needless disputes among good men; and zeal in opposing and confronting the powerful and wily designs of heretics and wicked men; together with resolution and patience in suffering persecutions, calumnies, and reproaches, both from professed enemies and pretended friends; with many other instances of the like commendable virtues, which shined in the lives and adorned the profession of the primitive clergy; whose rules and actions, I almost promise myself, your Lordship and all good men will read with pleasure, because they will but see their own beauty represented in the glass; and they that fall short

* Hieron. Ep. 83. ad Ocean. t. 2. p. 323. Ne quis me in sugillationem istius temporis sacerdotum scripsisse, quæ scripsi, existimet, sed in ecclesiæ utilitatem. Ut enim oratores et philosophi, describentes qualem velint esse perfectum oratorem et philosophum, non faciunt injuriam Demostheni et Platoni, sed res ipsas absque personis definiunt. Sic in descriptione episcopi, et in eorum expositione quæ scripta sunt, quasi speculum sacerdotii proponitur. Jam in potestate et conscientia singulorum est, quales se ibi aspiciant: ut vel dolere ad deformitatem, vel gaudere ad pulchritudinem possint.

of the character here given, will find it a gentle admonition and spur to set in order the things that are wanting in their conduct, and to labour with more zeal to bring themselves a little nearer to the primitive standard.

Your Lordship is enabled, by your high station and calling, to revive the exercise of ancient discipline among your clergy in a more powerful way; and you have given us already some convincing proofs, that it is your settled resolution and intention so to do: as the thoughts of this is a real pleasure to the diligent and virtuous, so it is to be hoped it will prove a just terror to those of the contrary character; and, by introducing a strict discipline among the clergy, make way for the easier introduction of it among the laity also; the revival of which has long been desired, though but slow steps are made toward the restoration of it. In the mean time it becomes every man, according to his ability, though in a lower station, to contribute his endeavours toward the promoting these good ends: to which purpose I have collected and digested these observations upon the laws and discipline of the ancient clergy, that such as are willing to be influenced by their practice, may have great and good examples set before them; whilst they whom examples cannot move, may be influenced another way, by the authority which your Lordship, and others in the same station, are invested with, for the benefit and edification of the church: the promoting of which is, and ever will be, the hearty endeavour of him, who is,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most dutiful and obedient Servant,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JONATHAN, LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,

THIS THIRD VOLUME OF

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

Is humbly submitted and inscribed by the Author,

His Lordship's

Most dutiful and obedient Servant,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

[PUBLISHED WITH VOL. III. OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.]

TO

HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY, GEORGE,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

[PUBLISHED WITH VOLS. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.]

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

I HUMBLY beg leave to lay at your Majesty's feet a part of a larger work, which was at first designed to promote those great and worthy ends, which your Majesty, in your princely wisdom, by your royal declarations has lately thought fit to recommend to your universities and clergy: that is, the promotion of

Christian piety and knowledge, and such useful learning as may instil good principles into the minds of younger students; upon which the prosperity of church and state will in this, and all succeeding ages, so much depend. The practice of the primitive ages of the church, when reduced into one view, seems to be one of the most proper means to effect these honourable designs; and with that consideration I have hitherto proceeded in this laborious work, not without the countenance and approbation of many worthy men, and now hope to finish it under your Majesty's favour and protection: humbly beseeching Almighty God to bless your Majesty's great designs for the good of this church and nation, and the protestant interest abroad: which is, and ever shall be, the hearty prayer of

Your Majesty's

Most loyal and obedient Subject,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

CHARLES, LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

[PUBLISHED WITH THE CONCLUDING TWO VOLUMES.]

My Lord,

It was one of those ancient rules, many of which I have had occasion to speak of in this work, That presbyters should do nothing ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, or *sine conscientia episcopi,* without the consent or knowledge of the bishop: which though it extend not to all private, domestical, and secular affairs, yet doubtless it was intended to keep a good harmony and subordination between them, in all matters of a public nature relating to the affairs and welfare of the church. And therefore, with a view to this rule, as I first presented the beginning of this work to your predecessor, my then diocesan, so now I lay this last and finishing part of it at your Lordship's feet; not doubting but that your Lordship, who is an encourager of good literature and ancient learning, will give it your favourable acceptance and approbation. I have the more reason to hope for this, because, out of your great good nature and condescension, your Lordship has always been an encourager of the undertaking, as I have been made sensible by happy experiment, in many years' distant correspondence with you. The work, I hope, is of general use, and will meet with a general acceptance among all those who are, without prejudice, true lovers of ancient learning. A noble lord was once pleased to tell me, he had sent it into Scotland by the hands of a great man of the assembly: though what appprobation it meets with there, I cannot say. But I can speak it with more satisfaction, that our worthy primate was once pleased to acquaint me in private conversation, that he himself had sent it to the professors of Geneva, who returned him their thanks together with their approbation. And if it be well accepted there, there is some reason to hope it may be accepted in most other protestant churches, and be a little means to bring them to a nearer union to the church of England in some points, for which some parts of the work are particularly designed. A late author has thought fit to epitomise some part of it, for the service (as he says) of his poor brethren of the clergy: though I fear, for the reasons I have been forced to give against his undertaking, it will prove of no service, but rather hurtful to them. But if he, or any other person of ability, would undertake to translate the whole into Latin, now that it is finished and completed, that might perhaps be of more general use to all the protestant churches. And in the mean time our poor brethren, if it please God to bless me with health, shall not want such an epitome, it it be needful, as is proper for their information.

And now, my Lord, that I have made mention of my own health, I cannot but with hearty prayers to God most sincerely wish yours, for the good things you have already done to this diocese, and more that may be expected, if it shall please God to confirm your health in such a state, as may enable you to go through the great work you want no will to perform. The reducing the exorbitant fees of this diocese

to a proper standard, is a thing that will never be forgotten by your poor brethren, who will always feel the sweet effect of it. Your encouragement given to the meanest clergymen to write to yourself in person, and not to any officers, upon business relating to the church, is a singular instance of your good nature and condescension; and also a sure method to prevent corruption. Your care to inform yourself of the character and worth of your clergy, with a view to the promotion of such as have long laboured diligently in great cures, or small livings, is a method that cannot fail of giving a new life and spirit to all such, as may reasonably hope that their merits and labours will not always be overlooked and despised; but that they may in due time find their reward, both in ease and advancement, from so kind an inspector.

That you may have health and long life to proceed in such good acts, and all other offices of your function, I believe is the wish of all your clergy: I am sure it is the hearty prayer of him who is,

My Lord,

Your most dutiful and obedient servant,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

THE PREFACE.

[PUBLISHED WITH VOL. I. OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.]

This volume, which is now published, being only a part of a larger work, the reader, I presume, will expect I should give him some little account of the whole design, and the reasons which engaged me upon this undertaking. The design which I have formed to myself, is to give such a methodical account of the Antiquities of the Christian Church, as others have done of the Greek, and Roman, and Jewish antiquities; not by writing an historical or continued chronological account of all transactions as they happened in the church, (of which kind of books there is no great want,) but by reducing the ancient customs, usages, and practices of the church under certain proper heads, whereby the reader may take a view at once of any particular usage or custom of Christians, for four or five of the first centuries, to which I have generally confined my inquiries in this discourse. I cannot but own, I was moved with a sort of emulation (not an unholy one, I hope) to see so many learned men with so much zeal employed in collecting and publishing the antiquities of Greece and Rome; whilst in the mean time we had nothing (so far as I was able to learn) that could be called a complete collection of the antiquities of the church, in the method that is now proposed. The compilers of church history indeed have taken notice of many things of this kind, as they pass along in the course of their history, as Baronius, and the Centuriators, and several others: but then the things lie scattered in so many places in large volumes, that there are few readers of those few that enter upon reading those books, that will be at the pains to collect their accounts of things into one view, or digest and methodise their scattered observations. There are a great many other authors, who have written several excellent discourses upon particular subjects of church antiquity, out of which, perhaps, a Gronovius or a Grævius might make a more noble collection of antiquities than any yet extant in the world: but as no one has yet attempted such a work, so neither, when it was effected, would it be for the purchase or perusal of every ordinary reader, for whose use chiefly my own collections are intended. There are a third sort of writers, who have also done very good service, in explaining and illustrating several parts of church antiquity in their occasional notes and observations upon many of the ancient writers; of which kind are the curious observations of Albaspiny, Justellus, Petavius, Valesius, Cotelerius, Baluzius, Sirmondus, Gothofred, Fabrotus, Bishop Beveridge, and many others, who have published the works of the ancient fathers and canons of the councils, with very excellent and judicious remarks upon them. But these, again, lie scattered in so many and so large volumes, without any other order, than as the authors on whom they commented would admit of, that they are not to be reckoned upon, or used as any methodised or digested collection of church antiquities, even by those who have ability to purchase, or opportunity to read them. Besides these, there are another sort of writers, who have purposely undertaken to give an account of the ancient usages of the church, in treatises written particularly upon that subject, such as Gavantus, Casalius, Durantus, and several others of the Roman communion; but these writers do by no means satisfy a judicious and inquisitive reader, for several reasons: 1. Because their accounts are very imperfect, being confined chiefly to the liturgical part of church antiquity, beside which, there are a great many other things necessary to be explained, which they do not so much as touch upon, or once mention. 2. Because, in treating of that part, they build much upon the collections of Gratian, and such modern writers, and use the authority of the spurious epistles of the ancient popes, which have been exploded long ago, as having no pretence to antiquity in the judgment of all candid and judicious writers. But chiefly their accounts are unsatisfactory, because, 3. Their whole design is to

varnish over the novel practices of the Romish church, and put a face of antiquity upon them: to which purpose, they many times represent ancient customs in disguise, to make them look like the practices of the present age, and offer them to the reader's view, not in their own native dress, but in the similitude and resemblance of modern customs. Cardinal Bona himself could not forbear making this reflection upon some such writers as these, whom he justly censures, as deserving very ill * of the sacred rites of the church, and their venerable antiquity; who measure all ancient customs by the practice of the present times, and judge of the primitive discipline only by the rule and customs of the age they live in; being deceived by a false persuasion, that the practice of the church never differed in any point from the customs which they learned from their forefathers and teachers, and which they have been inured to from their tender years: whereas we retain many words in common with the ancient fathers, but in a sense as different from theirs, as our times are remote from the first ages after Christ; as will appear (says he) when we come to discourse of the oblation, communion, and other parts of Divine service. This is an ingenuous confession, and withal a just reflection upon the partiality of the writers of his own church; and a good reason, in my opinion, why we are not to expect any exact accounts of antiquity from any writers of that communion; though some are less tainted with her errors than others, and can allow themselves to be a little more liberal and free upon some occasions than the rest of their brethren: yet even Bona himself, after the reflection he has made upon others, runs into the very same error, and falls under his own censure; and Habertus, though otherwise a very learned and ingenuous person, who has written about the Greek liturgies, as Bona has of the Latin, is often through prejudice carried away with the common failing of the writers of that side, whose talents are chiefly employed in palliating the faults of the communion and cause they are engaged in. So that if we are to expect any exact accounts of church antiquities, it must be from some protestant authors, who can write with greater freedom and less prejudice concerning the usages and customs of the primitive church. But among these there are very few that have travelled very far in this way; the generality of our writers contenting themselves to collect and explain so much of church antiquity, as was necessary to show the errors and novelties of popery; but not descending to any more minute and particular consideration of things, which did not come within the compass of the controversy they had with the Romish church. Hospinian indeed, in the beginning of the Reformation, wrote several large volumes of the origin of temples, festivals, monachism, with the history of the eucharist; but as these take in but a very few subjects, so they are too full of modern relations; which make them something tedious to an ordinary reader, and no complete account of primitive customs neither. Spalatensis, in his books de Republica Ecclesiastica, has gone a little further; yet he generally confines himself to the popish controversy, and has much out of Gratian and the canon law; which indeed served him as good arguments *ad hominem* against those whom he had to deal with, but it will not pass for authentic history in other cases. Suicerus's Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus is abundantly more particular, and indeed the best treasure of this sort of learning that has yet been published: but his collections are chiefly out of the Greek fathers; and only in the method of a Vocabulary or Lexicon, explaining words and things precisely in the order of the alphabet. The most methodical account of things of this kind that I have yet seen, is that of our learned countryman Dr. Cave, in his excellent book of Primitive Christianity; wherein he has given a succinct, but clear account of many ancient customs and practices, not ordinarily to be met with elsewhere. But his design being chiefly to recommend the moral part of primitive Christianity to the observation and practice of men, he was not obliged to be very particular in explaining many other things, which, though useful in themselves, yet might be looked upon as foreign to his design; and for that reason, I presume, he industriously omitted them. There are some other books, which I have not yet seen, but only guess by the titles that they may be of this kind; such as Bebelius's Antiquitates Ecclesiasticæ, Martinay de Ritibus Ecclesiæ, Hendecius de Antiquitatibus Ecclesiasticis, Quenstedt Antiquitates Biblicæ et Ecclesiasticæ: but I presume, whatever they are, they will not forestall my design, which is chiefly to gratify the English reader with an entire collection of church antiquities in our own language, of which this volume is published as a specimen. And if this proves useful to the public, and finds a favourable acceptance, it will be followed with the remaining parts of the work, (as my time and occasions will give me leave,) according to the scheme here laid down, or with as little variation as may be. I shall next treat of the inferior orders of the clergy, as I have done here of the superior: then of the elections and ordinations of the clergy, and the several qualifications of those that were to be ordained: of the privileges, immunities, and revenues of the clergy, and the several

* Bona, Rerum Liturgic. lib. 1. c. 18. n. 1.

laws and rules which particularly respected their function. To which I shall subjoin an account of the ancient ascetics, monks, virgins, and widows, who were a sort of retainers to the church. After this shall follow an account of the ancient churches, and their several parts, utensils, consecrations, immunities, together with a *Notitia* of the ancient division of the church into provinces, dioceses, parishes, and the original of these. After which I shall speak of the service of the church, beginning with the institution or instruction of the catechumens, and describing their several stages before baptism; then speak of baptism itself, and its ordinary concomitant, confirmation. Then proceed to the other solemn services of psalmody, reading of the Scripture, and preaching, which were the first part of the ancient church service. Then speak of their prayers, and the several rites and customs observed therein; where of the use of liturgies and the Lord's prayer; and of the prayers of catechumens, energumens, and penitents; all which part of the service thus far was commonly called by the name of the *missa catechumenorum:* then of the *missa fidelium*, or communion service; where of the manner of their oblations and celebration of the eucharist, which was always the close of the ordinary church service. After this I shall proceed to give a particular account of their fasts and festivals, their marriage rites and funeral rites, and the exercise of ancient church discipline; their manner of holding councils and synods, provincial, patriarchal, œcumenical; the power of Christian princes in councils and out of them; the manner and use of their *literæ formatæ*, and the several sorts of them; their different ways of computation of time: to which I shall add an account of their schools, libraries, and methods of educating and training up persons for the ministry, and say something of the several translations of the Bible in use among them, and several other miscellaneous rites and things, which would properly come under none of the forementioned heads; such as their manner of taking oaths, their abstinence from blood, their frequent use of the sign of the cross, their several sorts of public charities, the honours which they paid to their martyrs, together with an account of their sufferings, and the several instruments of cruelty used by the heathen to harass and torment them. In treating of all which, or any other such like matters as shall offer themselves, I shall observe the same method that I have done in this volume, illustrating the ancient customs from the original records of antiquity, and joining the opinions of the best modern authors that I can have opportunity to peruse, for unfolding points of greatest difficulty. I confess, indeed, this work will suffer something in my hands, for want of several books, which I have no opportunity to see, nor ability to purchase; but that perhaps may tempt some others, who are at the fountains of learning, and have all manner of books at command, to add to my labours, and improve this essay to a much greater perfection, since it is a subject that will never be exhausted, but still be capable of additions and improvement. The chief assistance I have hitherto had is from the noble benefaction of one, who, "being dead, yet speaketh;" I mean the renowned Bishop Morley, whose memory will for ever remain fresh in the hearts of the learned and the good; who, among many other eminent works of charity and generosity, becoming his great soul and high station in the church, such as the augmentation of several small benefices, and provision of a decent habitation and maintenance for the widows of poor clergymen in his diocese, &c., has also bequeathed a very valuable collection of books to the church of Winchester, for the advancement of learning among the parochial clergy; and I reckon it none of the least part of my happiness, that Providence, removing me early from the university, (where the best supplies of learning are to be had,) placed me by the hands of a generous benefactor,* without any importunity or seeking of my own, in such a station, as gives me liberty and opportunity to make use of so good a library, though not so perfect as I could wish. But the very mentioning this, as it is but a just debt to the memory of that great prelate, so perhaps it may provoke some other generous spirit, of like abilities and fortune with him, to add new supplies of modern books published since his death, to augment and complete his benefaction: which would be an addition of new succours and auxiliaries to myself, and others in my circumstances, and better enable us to serve the public. In the mean time, the reader may with ease enjoy, what with no small pains and industry I have collected and put together; and he may make additions from his own reading and observation, as I have done upon several authors, whom I have had occasion to peruse and mention: from some of which, and those of great fame and learning, I have sometimes thought myself obliged to dissent, upon some nice and peculiar questions; but I have never done it without giving my reasons, and treating them with that decency and respect which is due to their great learning and character. If in any thing I have made mistakes of my own, (as I cannot be so vain as to think I have made none,) every intelligent reader may make himself judge, and correct them with ingenuity and candour. All I can say is, that I have been as careful to

* Dr. Radcliffe.

avoid mistakes as I could in so critical and curious a subject; and I hope there will not be found so many, but that this essay may prove useful both to the learned and unlearned, to instruct the one, who cannot read these things in their originals, and refresh the memories of the other, who may know many things that they cannot always readily have recourse to. Or, if it be of no use to greater proficients, it may at least be some help to young students and new beginners, and both provoke them to the study of ancient learning, and a little prepare them for their entrance upon it. Besides, I considered there were some who might have a good inclination toward the study of these things, who yet have neither ability to purchase, nor time and opportunity to read over many ancient fathers and councils; and to such, a work of this nature, composed ready to their hands, might be of considerable use, to acquaint them with the state and practice of the primitive church, when they have no better opportunities to be informed about it. If, in any of these respects, these collections (which were designed for the honour of the ancient church, and the benefit of the present) may prove serviceable toward those ends, I shall not think my time and pains ill bestowed.

THE PREFACE.

[PUBLISHED WITH VOLS. IX. X. OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.]

When I had finished these two volumes, and completed the whole work that I intended, and sent it to the press, hoping to give myself a little rest and vacation from hard labour; I was immediately called to a new work by a book that was sent me, bearing the title of Ecclesiæ Primitivæ Notitia, or a Summary of Christian Antiquities. To which is prefixed, an Index Hæreticus, containing a short account of all the principal heresies since the rise of Christianity; and subjoined, A Brief Account of the Eight first General Councils, dedicated to the venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, by A. Blackamore, in two volumes, 8vo. Lond. 1722. I confess, I was very much surprised at first with the title and epistle dedicatory, thinking it to be some new work, that had done some mighty thing, either in correcting my mistakes, or supplying my deficiencies, after twenty years' hard labour in compiling my Origines for the use of the church. But as soon as I looked into the preface, and a little into the book itself, I found it to be only a transcript of some part of my Origines, under the notion of an epitome, though no such thing is said in the title-page. This seems to be an art of the gentleman, and the ten booksellers that are in combination with him, to render my books unuseful, and his own more valuable, as containing all I have said and something more at a less price; which, he says, will be of use to those poor clergymen and others whose genius and inclination lies towards antiquity, but are not able to purchase my books for the dearness of them. But the gentleman imposes very much upon poor readers in saying this, upon two accounts: first, In pretending that he gives them an epitome of my whole work, when yet there were two volumes still behind, which he could have no opportunity to epitomize, because they were not printed. He says indeed in his preface, that I had happily completed my whole work in eight volumes, and gives it a higher commendation and *elogium*, than perhaps it really deserves: but where he learned that I had finished my work in eight volumes, I cannot understand: I am sure I had advertised the readers, and him among the rest, that I intended two volumes more, which now I give them to complete my design. So that this gentleman deceives his poor brethren, when he pretends to give them an epitome of the whole, when it is only in part; and he must put them to the charge of another volume to make even his epitome complete. But secondly, If this gentleman was so concerned for his poor brethren, why did he make his epitome so large? The substance of my books for the use of such men might be brought into much less compass: there needed no authorities to have been cited for their use, who have no books to examine and compare them; but they might have rested upon the authority of the compiler; whose authority they may more decently and honestly use upon any occasion, than the authority of fathers and

councils, which our author, with me, very well supposes they have no opportunity to see. And further, if our author meant to gratify his poor brethren at an easy rate, why did he clog his epitome, both before and behind, with two long discourses of his own? Sure this was not to make it cheaper, but to put them to more expense, in being obliged to buy his discourses, if they were minded to read any thing of mine. The fair way of epitomizing, had been to have given an abstract of my books by themselves, and printed his own separate from them: this had been more for the interest of his indigent readers, and I believe he will find it would have been more for the interest of his booksellers. I know not what authority he or his booksellers had to reprint my books in effect, which are my property by law. But I argue not with him at present upon that point. If he had done it in a genteel way, by asking leave, and under direction, he should have had my leave and encouragement also. Or if he had done it usefully, so as truly to answer the end he pretends, even without leave, he should have had my pardon. But now he has defeated his own design, both by unnecessary and hurtful additions of his own, which will not only incommode and encumber his books, but render them dangerous and pernicious to unwary readers, unless timely antidoted and corrected by some more skilful hand. For which reason, since they are sent into the world together with an abstract of my Antiquities, I have thought it just both to the world and myself to make some proper animadversions on them. I freely own, that a just and authentic account of ancient and modern sects and heresies, done by a learned and judicious hand, would be a very useful work: and it is what has been long wanted, and long desired by many learned men, who observe the failings of the common heresiologists on all sides: but I cannot see what an account of modern heresies has to do with the antiquities of the church, or how the knowledge of modern sectaries can help to explain the ancient usages and practices of the catholics in former ages. For which reason, our author might have dropped that part of his work without any detriment, to have made his book the cheaper. But whether it was proper or improper to clog his work with any account of heresies ancient or modern, what had been done in either kind, should have been done with care and judgment, and something of exactness, which, after all the compliments he passes on my work, I cannot say of his, and I am heartily sorry that in justice to the world I cannot do it. For some of his accounts are very trifling and jejune, and such as give no light or information to a reader: others are very false and injurious to great men, whom he makes heretics, when they were really the great defenders of the catholic faith: and his whole account is very imperfect, omitting some of the most considerable sects and errors, whilst his title-page pretends to be an account of *all* the principal heresies since the rise of Christianity. I love not to censure any man without reason, and therefore I will give some evident proof of each particular I lay to his charge; only premising one thing, which I believe will make the grammarians smile: the running title of his treatise is, Index Hæreticus, which in English is not what he calls it, An Account of Heresies; but, An heretical Index: which, I believe, he did not intend should be its character. But if we soften the meaning of the word heretical, and take it only for erroneous; however ominous it be, it is a very just character indeed. For, besides its other faults, it is very erroneous in the characters he gives of very great, and orthodox, and eminent saints of God, who in his account are some of the worst of heretics. I will make good in order the several charges I bring against him.

1. Some of his accounts are very trifling and jejune, and such as give no light or information to a reader. In speaking of the Hypsistarians, all that he says of them is only this, "That they were maintainers of a heresy in the fourth century, made up of Judaism and paganism." Now, what is a reader the wiser for all this? This character, being in such general terms only, would serve at least twenty heresies, and a reader would not know how to distinguish them, seeing no particular opinions or practices of Jews or Gentiles are here ascribed to the Hypsistarians, whereby to discern them from other heretics that mixed Judaism and paganism in one common religion. He says in his preface, one of the chief reasons for drawing up his Index Hæreticus was, because in my books I had only touched lightly and *in transitu* upon heresies, as they made for my purpose, without giving any perfect description of them. Which is very true. But why then did not he give a perfect description of those Hypsistarians, or at least a more perfect one than I had done? He could not be ignorant, whilst he was epitomizing my books, that I had given a pretty good description of them, Book XVI. chap. 6. sect. 2. p. 306. vol. vii., where I say, They called themselves Hypsistarians, that is, worshippers of the most high God, whom they worshipped, as the Jews did, only in one person; and they observed their sabbaths, and used distinction of meats, clean and unclean, though they did not regard circumcision, as Gregory Nazianzen, whose father was once of this sect, gives the account of them. This is some account of them, if it be not a perfect one. Why then did he not give the same or a better account of them, or at least refer his reader to my book, or his own epitome,

p. 335, where he transcribes my account of them? The gentleman was in haste when he wrote his Index, and could not stand to do justice neither to me nor his readers. I could add something more concerning these Hypsistarians out of Gregory Nyssen, Hesychius, and Suidas; but it will be time enough to do that, if I live to give the reader an epitome of my own with some additions. I only remark here, that there is no notice taken of these Hypsistarians in Epiphanius, Theodoret, Philastrius, or St. Austin, or any other of the common heresiologists; and that they who speak of them say nothing of their paganism, however our author came to blunder upon it.

His account of the *Cœlicolæ* is much such another as the former: "*Cœlicolæ*, or worshippers of heaven, an heretical sect in the fifth century; at which time they were condemned by the Rescripts of Honorius the emperor." It is hard, again, that he could not have referred his readers to the same place of my book, or his own epitome, where they might have found a much better account of them. But this gentleman was to magnify his own Index, and make his readers believe, that he had done great feats and wonders in discovering the tenets of ancient heretics, where I had been silent, or but lightly touched upon them; though by these instances the reader will now be able to judge of the perfection and excellency of his performance.

I will give but one instance more of this kind out of many that might be added. In speaking of the *Ethnophrones*, he says, "They were heretics of the seventh century, who taught that some pagan superstitions were to be retained together with Christianity." But why did he not inform his reader what these pagan superstitions were? Is there no author that speaks particularly of them? The learned reader may please to take this account from me in the words of Damascen. de Hæresibus, p. 585. *Ethnophrones cum gentium instituta sequantur, in cæteris sunt Christiani. Hi natales dies, fortunam, fatum, omnem astronomiam, et astrologiam, omnemque divinationem et auspicia probant: auguria, expiationes, et placationes, sortes, prodigiorum et portentorum inspectiones, veneficia, aliasque ejusdem generis impias fabulas adhibent: iisdemque quibus gentes, utuntur institutis. Dies etiam festos quosdam Græcorum probant: dies denique, et menses, et annos, et tempora observant et notant.* In short, they were the same with those superstitious Christians, who followed the forbidden heathen arts of divination, magic, and enchantment, judicial astrology, calculation of nativities, augury, soothsaying, divination by lots, observation of days and accidents, and the observation of heathen festivals, of whom I have so largely and particularly treated in two whole chapters, Book XVI. chap. 4 and 5, where I speak of the discipline and laws of the church made against them. And yet this gentleman will bear his readers in hand, that he has given a perfect account of those ancient sects and heresies, which I only occasionally and lightly touch upon.

2. The second charge I have against his Index is more weighty, that many of his accounts of heresies and heretics are very false, and highly injurious to the character and memory of great, and good, and excellent men, whom he makes heretics, when they were really noble confessors and brave defenders of the catholic faith. For proof of this I will not insist upon the characters he gives of Melito, bishop of Sardes, or of Nicholas the deacon; but only observe, that a prudent writer might have softened his character of each. For though Valesius* bears hard upon Melito, and says, with our author, That he asserted God to be corporeal, in a book which he wrote, περὶ Θεοῦ ἐνσωμάτου, which Valesius translates, *De Deo corporeo:* yet other learned persons† think this to be a mistake; since Θεὸς ἐνσώματος does not signify a corporeal God, but God incarnate, or made flesh, or dwelling in the body; which is a quite different thing from God's being corporeal in his Divine nature. And therefore, since thus much might justly have been said, by way of apology, for Melito, our author should not have been so severe upon him, as to style him a heretic of the first ages, who held, that God was corporeal; but have alleged in his favour what so many learned men have said in justification of him; especially considering what both Polycrates‡ in Eusebius, and Tertullian§ in St. Jerom, say of him, That he was a man filled with the Holy Ghost, and generally believed to be a prophet among Christians.

The same apology might have been made, and in justice should have been made, for Nicholas, one of the seven deacons. For though some of the ancients lay the doctrine of the Nicolaitans to his charge; yet, as I show in one of the preceding Books,‖ a great many others, particularly Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, Theodoret, and St. Austin, excuse him, and say, The doctrine was none of his, but only taken up by those who pretended to be his followers, grounded upon some mistaken words of his, which had no such meaning.

* Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 26.

† Cave, Histor. Literar. vol. 1. p. 43. Du Pin, in the Life of Melito. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce Ἐνσωμάτωσις.

‡ Ap. Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24.

§ Tertul. ap. Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 24.

‖ Book XXII. chap. 1. sect. 2.

But I pass over this to our author's account of the *Acephali*; "Who," he says, "were a headless kind of heretics, who owned neither bishop, priest, nor sacrament, like our modern Quakers." I know not what grounds our author had for this, for he never cites any particular writer throughout his whole Index; but I know Alexander Rosse said the same before him, and he is one of this gentleman's learned authors. I know also that some popish writers* object it to the Lutherans, that they are like the old *Acephali*, because they have no bishops for their leaders; and I am apt to think Alexander Rosse took it, right or wrong, from some of those popish writers. But Alexander has the misfortune to contradict himself; for he says in the very same breath, That Severus, bishop of Alexandria, (he meant Antioch,) was author of this sect of *Acephali*, under Anastasius the emperor, anno 462. And that they were called also Theodosians, from Theodosius their chief patron, and bishop of Alexandria. Strange indeed! that they should have bishops for their authors and patrons, and yet be without bishop, priest, or sacrament among them! Our author was aware of this rock, and had the wit to avoid it; and therefore here he fairly and wisely dropped his guide, and left him to shift for himself with his contradictions; telling us the first part of the story, but not the latter, which would have spoiled his parallel between the *Acephali* and the Quakers. But how would he make out, if he was pressed hard to it, that the *Acephali* had no bishops, or were named Headless, from the want of such heads among them? For my part, I never met with any ancient writer that gave this account of them. Liberatus says,† They were called *Acephali*, because they would not receive the doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria, nor follow him as their head, nor yet any other. But these were bishops, who would neither take Cyril patriarch of Alexandria, nor John patriarch of Antioch, for their head, and were therefore called *Acephali*, because they would follow neither patriarch as their leader. For as those bishops were called *Autocephali*, who had no patriarch above them, but were a sort of patriarchs themselves, and independent of any other; so those bishops who were subject to patriarchs, and withdrew their obedience from them, were called *Acephali*, because they were no heads or patriarchs themselves, and yet refused to be subject to any other. Patriarchs were then heads of the bishops, as bishops were heads of the people; and these are quite different things; for bishops to be called *Acephali*, because they rejected their patriarch, and people to be called *Acephali*, because they had neither bishop, nor priest, nor sacrament among them. I am not fond of defending ancient heretics, but I think all men ought to have justice done them, and not be charged with more heresies than they were really guilty of. It is allowed on all sides, that these *Acephali* were Eutychians, and enemies of the council of Chalcedon; and as such, Leontius ‡ also writes against them; but he says not a word of their being without bishops, priests, or sacraments; and therefore it lies upon our author to produce some ancient voucher, better than Alexander Rosse, for the charge he brings against them.

I insist not on his little grammatical error in his account of the *Saccophori*, "Who," he says, "were a branch of the Encratites, so called because they carried a long bag, to make the people believe they led a penitent life." They were indeed a particular sect of the Manichees, who are condemned under that name in several laws of the Theodosian Code,§ where the several branches of the Manichees are proscribed under the distinguishing names of *Solitarii*, *Encratitæ*, *Apotactitæ*, *Hydroparastatæ*, and *Saccophori*, which names they assumed to shelter themselves against the severity of former laws made against the Manichees under the name of Manichees only. But now these Manichean *Saccophori* were not so called from carrying a long bag, but from wearing sackcloth, and affecting to appear with it in public. *Saccus* indeed will signify a sack or a bag, as well as sackcloth; but what has a long bag to do with a penitent life? It is fitter to describe a philosopher than a penitent: but sackcloth and a penitent life will consist very well together. However, the church did not allow any to affect this garb, though some monks, like the Manichees, were very fond of it, and loved to appear publicly with chains or crosses about their necks, and walked barefoot, and wore sackcloth out of mere singularity and affectation: who are therefore often severely censured for these things by the ancients, Epiphanius, St. Austin, St. Jerom, Palladius, and Cassian, as I have showed more fully in another place: || but I never heard of any, either monks or heretics, censured for carrying a long bag, as an indication of a penitent life; and I am of opinion, this gentleman, when he considers it again, will reckon this such another slip as *Index Hæreticus*; which are but small failings in comparison of what I have now further to object against his Index, which turns catholics into heretics in several instances both of former and later ages.

* See Mason's Defence of the Ordination of Ministers beyond Seas, p. 129. Oxon. 1641.

† Liberat. Breviar. cap. 9. Hos esse puto authores Acephalorum, qui neque Cyrillum habent caput, neque quem sequantur ostendunt.

‡ Leont. de Sectis. Action. 7. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 1. p. 522.

§ Cod. Theod. Lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæreticis, Leg. 7, 9, 11.

|| Book VII. chap. 3. sect. 6.

Among the ancients, he does great injustice to Eustathius, the famous bishop of Antioch. For in giving an account of the Eustathian heretics, he says, "The Eustathians were the spawn of the Sabellian heresy, and had their name from Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, who was deposed in a council held in his own city, about the middle of the fourth century, for holding those principles." I take no notice of his parachronism, in saying that he was deposed in the council of Antioch about the middle of the fourth century; for though we cannot well call the year 327, or 329, when that council was held, the middle of the fourth century; yet this is but a small mistake, into which he might easily be led by Baronius, or the corrupt copies of Athanasius and St. Jerom, which place that council in the reign of Constantius, instead of Constantine, as the best critics, Valesius,* Gothofred,† Pagi,‡ and Dr. Cave,§ are fully agreed; and as appears plainly from all the historians, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Philostorgius. But the thing I complain of is this, that he makes this Eustathius a Sabellian, and his followers a spawn of the Sabellian heresy. Whereas, in truth, he was the great defender of the catholic faith against the Arian heresy in the council of Nice: the council itself translated him from Beræa to Antioch; and he was the first man that opened the council, with a panegyrical oration to Constantine: as this author, forgetting himself, fairly owns in his Account of the Eight General Councils, p. 476. Athanasius gives him this character, That he was a noble confessor, and orthodox in the faith, τὴν πίστιν εὐσεβής, and exceeding zealous for the truth.|| How then could he be a Sabellian, unless Sabellianism was the true faith, and Athanasius a Sabellian also? To open this matter a little further, and undeceive this gentleman, and his readers also: this Eustathius was only abused in his character out of spite and malice by the Arians, who were his implacable enemies, because he was a resolute defender of the Nicene faith against them. They therefore endeavoured to make him odious, by falsely charging him with Sabellianism, and several other crimes, upon the strength of which calumnies they deposed him in one of their own councils at Antioch. Socrates¶ and Sozomen** say expressly, that this council of Antioch was an Arian council that deposed Eustathius, upon a pretence, that he was more a defender of the Sabellian doctrine than of the Nicene faith: which was a usual trick of the Arians, whereby they endeavoured to undermine Athanasius also. Now, this being only a mere calumny and slander of so great a man, imposed upon him by his professed enemies, the Arians, it does not become any one, who takes upon him to give unlearned readers an account of the ancient heresies, to fix this character upon him, without giving some authority, or at least an intimation, that he was deposed only in an Arian council. I do not suppose this gentleman had any ill design in what he wrote about this matter; but he was either imposed upon by some modern historian, or did not sufficiently consider what he found delivered by ancient writers: which should make him the more cautious for the future what guides he follows, and learn to write with judgment, when he takes upon him the office of an historian for such as cannot contradict him.

He commits the same fault in giving an account of the Essenes, "Who," he says, "were a sect of Christian heretics at Alexandria, in the time of St. Mark." Now, there seems to be a little more of wilful mistake in this; for he could not be ignorant, whilst he was transcribing my Origines, that I had alleged the authority of Epiphanius, Eusebius, and St. Jerom, to show that they believed them to be the orthodox church, and not a sect of Christian heretics, at Alexandria, in the time of St. Mark; and he himself, in his epitome, refers his readers to these authorities also. I said, further, (which he leaves out,) that some learned modern writers, such as Valesius, Scaliger, and Dallæus, question whether they were Christians; whilst Bishop Beveridge and others maintain the common opinion. But all agree that they were not a sect of Christian heretics; however this author came to despise all authority, both ancient and modern, in fixing that character upon them; for if they were heretics, they belonged to the Jews, and not to the Christians.

In his accounts of modern heretics (which he might have spared in a book of Ecclesiastical Antiquities) he is much more injurious to the reader, as well as to the pious memory of great numbers of many excellent men, and to the protestant cause in general, when he puts the Albigenses, the Hussites or Bohemians, the Lollards, the Waldenses, and the Wicklevites, all into his black list of heretics; ascribing to them such monstrous opinions as they were certainly never guilty of, but only stood falsely charged with them by the implacable malice of their Romish adversaries, who treated them just as the Arians did Athanasius and Eustathius in former ages. It might have become a protestant heresiologist and historian, either to have omitted these names, or at least to have told his readers what excellent vindications and apologies

* Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 3. cap. 59.
† Gothofred. Dissert. in Philostorg. lib. 2. cap. 7.
‡ Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 327. n. 3. et 340. n. 18.
§ Cave, Histor. Literar. vol. i. p. 139.
|| Athanas. Epist. ad Solitarios, t. 1. p. 812.
¶ Socrat. lib 1. cap. 21.
** Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 19.

have been written by the most learned protestant authors of the two last ages, to clear their character of those black and odious imputations, which their adversaries falsely and industriously threw upon them. If he knew nothing of these vindications, he was very ill qualified to act the part of an historian in this case: if he did know them, he was more unpardonable still, in concealing from his readers what in all justice both to them, and the church, and the memory of the saints, who were so traduced, he ought carefully to have laid before them. If he had thought fit to have looked into my Scholastical History of Baptism, as carefully as he has done into the Origines, he might there have found the venerable names of some of those worthy men, who have done justice to the protestant cause, in vindicating those witnesses of the truth from the false aspersions that are cast upon them. For his and the truth's sake, I will once more transcribe them, with a little addition, and more particular reference to the books and places containing those vindications.

Crankanthorp, Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ contra Spalatensem, cap. 18. p. 100.

Usserius de Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione et Statu, cap. 10. quæ est de Albigensium et aliorum qui Ecclesiæ Pontificiæ adversati sunt, Historia.

Albertinus de Eucharistia, lib. 3. p. 976. ubi agit de Wicklevistis, Waldensibus, Lollardis, Taboritis sive Bohemis.

Sir Samuel Morland, History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont. Lond. 1658. Fol.

Dr. Allix, History of the Albigenses. Lond. 1692. 4to. 2 vols.

Joachim Hesterberg de Ecclesia Waldensium. Argent. 1668. 4to.

Paul Perrin, History of the Albigeois and Vaudois. Lond. 1624. 4to.

Balthasar Lydius, Waldensia, sive Conservatio Veræ Ecclesiæ demonstrata ex Confessionibus Taboritarum et Bohemorum, 2 vols. Roterod. 1616. 8vo.

Cave, Historia Literaria. In Conspectu sæculi Waldensis sive Duodecimi.

Dr. Tho. James's Apology for John Wickliffe, showing his Conformity with the now Church of England. Oxon. 1608. 4to.

Dr. Henry Maurice's Vindication of the Prim. Church, p. 374.

Ratio Disciplinæ Fratrum Bohemorum. Hagæ. 1660.

Hen. Wharton, Appendix ad Cave Hist. Literar. p. 50. in Vita Joan. Wicklef. p. 50.

The Life of Wickliffe, by a late author. Lond. 8vo.

Comenii Historia Persecutionum Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ. Lug. Bat. 1647. 8vo.

It. Historia Ecclesiæ Slavonic. &c.

Anton. Leger, Histoire Vaudois des Eglises des Vallées de Piedmont. Lug. Bat. 1669. Fol.

Waldensium Confessio contra claudicantes Hussitas. Basil. 1566. 8vo. See also in the Fasciculus Rerum, &c. tom. 1.

Conrad. Danhauerus, Ecclesia Waldensium Orthodoxiæ Lutheranæ Testis et Socia. Argent. 1659. 4to.

Sam. Maresius, Dissertatio Historico-Theologica de Waldensibus. Groning. 1660. 4to.

Ægid. Stauchius, Historico-Theologica Disquisitio de Waldensibus. Witenberg. 1675. 4to.

Pet. Wesenbeccius, De Waldensibus et Principum Protestantium Epistolis huc pertinentibus. 1603. 4to.

Joan. Lasicius, Veræ Religionis Apologia. Spiræ. 1582.

Now, is it possible, among such a number of fine discourses and elaborate pieces upon this subject, a person who writes the account of heresies, should never have met with or heard of any apologies that were made in the behalf of these men; but he must needs take his accounts crudely, as delivered by their professed enemies? If the account of Rainerius, their adversary, but an ingenuous popish writer, be taken, it does them abundantly more justice than this author. For though he calls them a sect, yet he says, it was an ancient sect; for some said, it had continued from the time of Pope Sylvester; and others, from the time of the apostles: and whereas all other sects were accompanied with horrible blasphemies against God, which would make a man tremble; this of the Leonists had a great show of piety; they lived uprightly before men, and believed all things aright of God, and all the articles contained in the creed: only they blasphemed and hated the church of Rome. Were these the Waldenses, "That rejected episcopacy, and the Apostles' Creed, and all holy orders, and the power of the magistrate, and approved of adulterous embraces, and practised promiscuous copulation," as our author represents them, styling them, by way of contempt, "the religion-mongers, and pious reformers of the twelfth century?" If our author were put to apologize for himself, he would lay all the blame upon Alexander Rosse: for he is his learned author from whom he

transcribed. And Alexander tells us ingenuously, he had his accounts from Baronius, Genebrard, Sanders, Gualterus, Bellarmine, Viegas, Florimundus Raimundus, Prateolus, Gregory de Valentia, and such other writers, who were noted papists, and inveterate enemies of the Waldensian and protestant religion. And should an author, who writes about heresies, have given his accounts, designed for the use of protestant readers, out of such authors, when he might have had recourse to one or more of such a number of excellent protestant writers, who have cleared up the character of the Waldenses, and vindicated their memory out of their own writings and confessions of faith, which are the most certain evidences of their religion? It is amazing to think how any ingenuous writer, who pretends to the least knowledge of books and learning, should give such a black character of those excellent confessors and witnesses of the truth, without suggesting the least tittle of what so many learned men have said, or what may be said, in their vindication. I will not suspect our author of any sinister designs of advancing popery; but I will be bold to say, he could hardly have taken a more effectual way, had he designed to do it, than by instilling into the minds of those who can look no further than his accounts, such an odious character of those men, of whom so many thousands laid down their lives for the cause of true religion, in those very points wherein protestants stand distinguished from papists at this day. I had once an occasion to make this same reflection in a former book * on another writer, who is much superior to our author in learning and ingenuity; and I never heard that he took it unkindly at my hands for so doing; for an historian's business is only to find out truth as well as he can, and then deliver it to others fairly without disguise, or any false colours put upon it. And therefore I hope our author will take occasion to amend this grand error, whenever he has opportunity to write any thing further upon this subject. His time would be much better employed in reading and considering the books of some of those excellent writers I have referred him to, than in collecting a heap of rubbish from Alexander Rosse or any other such injudicious writers.

3. But there is one thing more I must put this author and his readers in mind of: That whilst he bears so hard upon the poor Waldenses, and Albigenses, and Wicklevists, and Hussites, and Lollards, he has not one syllable in all his Index of the grand errors of the Romanists or papists, under any title or denomination whatsoever. He cannot pretend they fell not directly in his way; for he treats of modern sects and heterodoxies as well as ancient. Neither did he want his guide here; for Alexander Rosse has a whole section of fifty pages in his book upon the subject. Or if he had said nothing upon it, yet it might have become a new heresiologist to have taken notice of the errors of the Romanists upon some title or other. Their errors are as considerable and dangerous as most other modern sects; why then have they no place in the Index? Is transubstantiation no error? Is idolatry, in its various species of worshipping saints, angels, images, relics, the host, and the cross, no crime? Is not the Hildebrandine heresy, as our writers style it, that is, the doctrine of deposing kings, an error worth mentioning? nor the pope's pretence to infallibility and universal power over the church, worthy of a protestant's censure? Is it no crime to exempt the clergy from the power of the civil magistrate? nor any wrong done them to impose celibacy upon them? Have the people no injury done them in keeping the Scriptures locked up in an unknown tongue? or being obliged to have Divine service in a language they do not understand? or in being deprived sacrilegiously of one half of the communion? or in having the absolute necessity of auricular confession imposed upon them? Is there no harm in the use of interdicts and indulgences? Are private and solitary masses, and the doctrine of purgatory, with many other errors, such innocent things, that it was not worth an historian's while to give his readers any notice of them, or caution against them? Our author knows, I have fairly combated most of these things, and showed them to be novelties and great corruptions, in the several parts of my Origines, as I had occasion to meet with them. Therefore the least he could have done, had been to refer his readers to those parts of his own epitome, or my Origines, where these things are treated, if he was not minded to give them in one view in his own collections.

But he is as favourable to the anti-episcopal men, or presbyterians, as he is to the papists; for he gives them no place in his catalogue neither. I suppose he was in haste for the press, and considered not that he had made such an omission. But he should now consider, that he who falsely objects it to the Waldenses, that they rejected episcopacy, (which they always carefully maintained,) should not have passed over in silence those men who oppose episcopacy, when he might with justice and truth have charged them with it as their proper heterodoxy, from which their denomination of anti-episcopal, or presbyterian, is taken. But this is not all the defect of his Index.

* Scholiast. Hist. of Baptism, Part I. chap. 1. p. 97.

If this author would have given a perfect catalogue of all the original heresies from the first ages of Christianity, together with the more remarkable heterodoxies which appeared in these later times, he should have inserted many other names, both ancient and modern, which are now omitted in his catalogue. In the first century, the Thebulians, Cleobians, Dositheans, Gorthæans, Merinthians; not to mention Demas, Hermogenes, Hymenæus and Philetus, Alexander the coppersmith, Diotrephes, and the doctrine of Jezebel, which are noted in Scripture. In the second century, Bassus, a new disciple of Valentinus. In the third century, the *Discalceati*, *Apocaritæ*, *Dicartitæ*, and *Solitarii*, which were new branches of the Manichees. In the fourth century, the *Minæi*, Adelphians, Psathyrians, and Lucianists, two new branches of the Arians, *Adelophagi*, *Theoponitæ*, *Triscilidæ* or *Triformiani*, *Hydrotheitæ*, *Cyrthiani*, and *Pythecian*., new sects of Arians, *Gyrovagi*, *Homuncionitæ*, *Ametritæ*, *Psychopneumones*, *Adecerditæ*, *Sarabaitæ* or *Remboth*, *Passionistæ*, *Nyctages*, Theophronians, *Metagenetæ*, Sabbatians or Protopaschites. In the fifth century, the Vigilantians and *Massilienses*. In the sixth century, the Marcianists, or followers of Marcianus Trapezita, the *Tetraditæ*, and Severians, with the several branches that sprung from them, the *Contobabditæ*, Paulians, Theodosians, Damianists, Petrites, Cononites, *Corrupticolæ*; together with the errors of Peter Moggus and Peter Gnapheus or Fullo, which made a great noise in the history of this age; as did also the practices of Zeno with his Henoticon, and Anastasius against the council of Chalcedon. In the seventh century, Joannes Philoponus and *Ethicoproscoptæ*. The eighth century was famous for the disputes between the Iconoclasts and the *Iconolatræ*, image-worshippers and image-breakers: and the errors of the second council of Nice might have been set forth in a much more advantageous view, had our author been pleased to have acquainted his reader with the brave opposition that was made against it by the council of Frankfort, and other councils and writers of that and the following ages, in his History of the General Councils. The ninth and the tenth ages, Prateolus is pleased to say, was a perfect interregnum of heretics, a cessation and rest of the church for two hundred years and more from all heretical infestation. Others more properly call these the dark and ignorant ages, when the enemy sowed his tares, whilst men were asleep. And Baronius himself cannot forbear upon some accounts to call them *infelicissima Romanæ ecclesiæ tempora et omnium luctuosissima*, the most unhappy and deplorable times of the Roman church, when weak men were in danger of being scandalized by seeing the abomination of desolation set in the temple. If our author had been as inquisitive as it became him, he might have found the great idol of transubstantiation begun to be formed in the errors of Paschasius Rathbertus in these ages, though not fully completed till some ages after in the council of Lateran; and the seeds of the Hildebrandine heresy springing up in the bold attempts of the popes of these ages against the power of princes, till it came to its full maturity under Hildebrand himself, called Gregory VII.; to mention no more of the popish errors, which our author thought fit wholly to pass over. In the twelfth century he might have found the errors of Durandus de Waldach, and Petrus Abælardus, and Gilbertus Porretanus, and the *Coterelli*, and the Populicans, to have added to his Index. But above all, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would have furnished him with great abundance of more remarkable errors to have filled up his catalogue, instead of the Wicklevites and Hussites, and Waldenses and Albigenses. For now appeared in the thirteenth century the errors of Abbot Joachim, and Petrus Joannes de Oliva, and John de Parma, the author of the infamous book, called Evangelium Æternum, The Everlasting Gospel, which was to supersede and set aside the gospel of Christ, under pretence of introducing the more spiritual gospel of the Holy Ghost. Eimericus has noted seven and twenty errors and blasphemies contained in this book, which the Mendicant friars in those days highly magnified. But our author needed not to have gone so high as Eimericus for them; for Bishop Stillingfleet gives an ample account of them in his Fanaticism of the Church of Rome. As he does also of the errors of Gerardus Segarelli, and the Dulcinists, and Herman of Ferraria, and the book called The Flowers of St. Francis, and another, The Conformities of St. Francis and Christ. To which may be added the errors of Raymundus Lullius, and David Dinantius, and Bugaurius de Monte Falcone, together with the errors of Joannes Guion, and Joannes de Mercuria, and Nicolas de Ultricuria, and Dionysius Soulechat, a Franciscan, and Joannes de Calore, and one Ludovicus, and Guido, an Austin hermit, with some others that were condemned in these ages by Gulielmus Parisiensis and Stephanus Parisiensis, with the concurrence of the university of Paris, and are to be found at the end of some editions of Peter Lombard, with the errors of Peter Lombard himself, under this title, Articuli in quibus Magister Sententiarum communiter non tenetur. Lombard. Sentent. Lugd. 1594. 8vo. Spondanus adds to these, the *Condormientes*, and *Pastorelli*, and Guido de Lacha, and the *Humiliati*, and the *Ordo Apostolorum*; all which appeared within the compass of the thirteenth century; besides the famous disputes between the Guelphs and Gibelines, which continued in the follow-

ing ages. In the fourteenth century, there are the errors of Arnaldus Montanerius, and Arnaldus de Villa Nova, Bertoldus de Roback, Martinus Gonsalvus Conchensis, Nicolaus Calaber, Bartholomæus Janovesius, the *Bizochi*, and *Fratres de Paupere Vita*, the *Pseudapostoli*, Joannes de Latone, Joannes Hato, the sect of the *Impuri*, Raimundus de Terraga, Amadeus Lusitanus; the *Albati*, who travelled with great admiration for their sanctity over all parts of Europe; the Templars, whose order was extinguished in the council of Vienna; the New Sabellians of Spain, who maintained upon the hypothesis of transubstantiation, that the eucharist was both Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; the errors of Franciscus Ceccus, an Italian astrologer; the wild disputes between the Palamites and Joannes Cantacuzenus on the one side, and Barlaam and Acyndinus on the other, concerning the light of Mount Tabor; the revelations of St. Bridget and St. Catherine for and against the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary; the disputes about the same matter between the Dominicans and the Franciscans; and the more fierce disputes of those orders concerning the poverty of Jesus Christ; of which Bishop Stillingfleet gives an ample account in his Fanaticism of the Church of Rome, and the author of The Mystery of Jesuitism an account no less entertaining: add to these, the errors of Pope John XXII., ninety of which are laid to his charge by our countryman Gulielmus Ockam, for which he himself, with his friends Joannes Parisiensis, Joannes de Poliaco, Petrus de Vineis, Joannes de Janduno, and Marsilius de Padua, with many others, are charged with heresy, being in reality firm to the defence of the imperial power against the papal. A collection of whose tracts may be found together in Goldastus Monarchia Imperii Romani, seu de Jurisdictione et Potestate Imperatoris et Papæ, per varios Auctores. 3 vol. Hanov. 1612. Fol.

In the fifteenth century there are the famous disputes between the councils of Constance and Basil on the one side, and the council of Florence on the other, concerning the infallibility and supremacy of the pope above general councils; the error of the council of Constance in taking away the cup from the people; the error of the council of Basil in determining for the immaculate conception. There are also the errors of Augustinus de Roma, Joannes Parvi, Franciscus Georgius Venetus, Laurentius Valla, a reviver of Sabellianism, Nicholas Machiavel, Matthæus Palmerius, Petrus de Aranda, Fanatici Suevenses, Matthias Tiburtinus a Franciscan enthusiast, Tympanista Germanus, and a sect called Opinionists; not to mention Henricus Harphius, whose errors, because they are censured and expurged only by the order of the Roman Index, are of a more doubtful nature. There was also in the beginning of this age, one Vincentius Ferrerius, a Catalonian preacher, who is now cried up as a great saint by Spondanus and Baronius, and other writers of the Roman church: but there was a time when he was condemned as a heretic by Eimericus the inquisitor, for asserting, among other things, that Judas repented unto salvation. To which may be added the errors of Quadrigarius and Munerius, censured by the Sorbonne, anno 1442, and 1470.

The sixteenth century had but a little time before the Reformation was begun by Zuinglius and Luther: yet in this short interval our author might have noted Hermannus Rissuick, and the *Fossarii* in Bohemia, and Petrus Pomponatius in Italy, who read public lectures against the immortality of the soul. And if he had added, Thomas de Vio, commonly called Cardinal Cajetan, he would have had the authority of Prateolus and Ambrosius Catharin also, who wrote a book particularly against Cajetan, wherein he objects to him above two hundred errors, an extract of which may be found in Flaccius Illyricus de Controversiis Religionis Papisticæ, p. 138. Basil. 1565. 4to.

We are now come to the age of the Reformation, where our author has noted many sects and heterodoxies, but omitted abundance more, that were very considerable. Catharin, who condemned Cajetan, had also his errors noted by others. Sotomajor, in his Index, prohibits some of his books to be read, and orders others to be expurged: but one may question whether that was done for his real errors, or only for his opinions inclining to the protestant side. But his opinion of an intermediate state after the end of this world, in a new earth between heaven and hell, for those who are neither so good as to be admitted into heaven, nor so bad as to be condemned to hell, is an error that might have been worthy our author's observation. He speaks of the Anabaptists, but with a great deal of confusion, whereas others distinguish them into at least fourteen sects, according to their peculiar tenets: the Muncerians, the *Apostolici*, the *Separati*, the *Cathari*, the *Silentes*, the Enthusiasts, the *Liberi*, the *Adamitæ*, the *Hutitæ*, the Augustinians, Beuckeldians, the Melchiorites, the Georgians, and the Mennonists. Some add to these the *Pastoricidæ*, the *Nudipedes*, the *Manifestarii*, the *Clancularii*, the *Baculares*, the *Batemburgici*, the *Pacifici*, the *Sanguinarii*. Our author mentions some of these under their proper titles, but he omits the greatest part of them. And he ought to have distinguished our English Anabaptists from those of other countries, because they abhor many of their opinions. In giving an account of the Anti-trinitarians, he says, they are the spawn of the old Arians and Samosatenians, grafted upon their stock by Michael Servetus. Whereas Servetus

was no Arian, nor Samosatenian, but a reviver of Sabellianism, in which he was followed by Keckerman and many others, who never met with so severe a censure. The authors of modern Arianism were Valentinus Gentilis, and Georgius Blandrata, and Gregorius Pauli, and Matthæus Gribaldus, and Franciscus David, and Joannes Paulus Alciat, and Joannes Campanus, and Lælius Socinus, uncle to Faustus Socinus, of whom our author should have given a particular account under their several titles. He should also have given some account of the errors of Julius Cæsar Vaninus, and Andreas Cæsalpinus, and Hobbes, who were in the same class with Spinosa. It had also been worth his while to have told his reader what were the singular opinions or heterodoxies of Archer, who, among other blasphemies, maintained publicly in print, That God was the author of sin; for which he was censured by the assembly of divines, and his book burnt by the common hangman, anno 1645. He should also have noted the errors of Jacob Behmen, and Antonietta Bourignon, (against whom Dr. Cockburn wrote,) and Hieronymus Cardanus, and Curcellæus, and Episcopius, and Arminius; and the errors of Grotius, after he fell into his designs of comprehension, and favourable interpretations both of the popish and Socinian tenets, which plainly appear in his later writings: the errors also of the Lord Herbert of Cherbury; the new heresy of the Jesuits, as the Jansenists themselves call it, which asserts the pope to be infallible, not only in matters of faith, but matters of fact; and gives him power to dethrone princes, and absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance to them: which doctrine every where occurs in the writings of Bellarmine against Barclay and Widdrinton, under the name of Sculkenius, and in Becanus, and Mariana, and Suarez, and Lessius, and Azorius, and Emanuel Sa, and hundreds of others, some of whose books together with Baronius have been publicly burnt at Paris and Madrid by the hands of the common hangman. To these might have been added the new doctrine of the Jesuits in morality, largely set forth in the books called, Provincial Letters, and the Jesuits' Morals; chiefly taken out of Escobar, Filliucius, and such other writers. As also the doctrine of probability, taught by Caramuel, which opens a way to licentiousness; for which he stands condemned and branded, even in the Roman Index, under this title, *Joannis Caramuelis Apologema pro Antiquissima et Universalissima Doctrina de Probabilitate, prorsus prohibetur.* There are also no less than forty-five propositions of the Jesuits' casuistical divinity, whereof this doctrine of probability is one, condemned by two bulls of Alexander VII. at the end of the Roman Index, which would have appeared well in our author's collection. As also the censures of the parliament of Paris and the Sorbonne, upon the Propositions of Santarellus, anno 1626, wherein he asserted the pope's deposing power; the censure of the Sorbonne upon the Jesuits, anno 1661, for asserting, That the pope has the same infallibility as Jesus Christ in matters of fact, as well as right; and the censure of the Sorbonne, anno 1561, upon another author, for asserting, That the pope has power to dispose of the dominions of heretical princes, and absolve their subjects from their oath of allegiance and fidelity. All which may be found in the book called The pernicious Consequences of the New Heresy of the Jesuits. Richerius also gives us the censures of the Sorbonne, upon one Ludovicus Coubont, for asserting, That bishops have not their authority immediately from Jesus Christ, but from the pope; and another upon Ludovicus Cellotius, for maintaining, That general councils have their authority only from the pope; and another upon Francis Guillou, and a fourth upon Jacobus Vernant, for the same assertions; besides the censure of Sanctarellus the Jesuit, which is also there related. *Richer. Vindic. Doctrinæ Scholæ. Paris.* In another book of Richerius, De Potestatæ Papæ in Temporalibus, we have the arrests of the parliament of Paris against Tanquerel, and Cardinal Perron, and Bernardinus Castorius, for publishing the infamous bull De Cœna Domini; and against Joannes Castellus, and Florentinus Jacob, and Ravaillac, who murdered Henry IV. of France, upon the deposing principles; as also the arrests against Bellarmine, and Martin Becanus, and Sculkenius, that is, Bellarmine himself again, and Suarez, for their several pernicious books upon the same subject. An account of which would have been a grace to our author's catalogue of modern heterodoxies. Further yet; if he had looked into Bishop Stillingfleet's book of the Divisions of the Roman Clergy, he might there have found, besides the schisms of the popes in former ages, and their contentions with the emperors for temporal power, and the feuds of the monastic orders one with another, a particular account of the Jesuits' opposition to episcopal power and jurisdiction, in the books of Nicholas Smith and Thomas à Jesu; which books were censured, first, by the archbishop of Paris, then by the Sorbonne, and at last by the bishops of France in an assembly of them at Paris. To these he might have added the books which the Jesuits published under the feigned names of Hermannus Loemelius, and Edmundus Ursulanus, and the Jesuits' Censure of the Apostolical Creed, to ridicule the censures of Paris; and how these again were answered by Hallier, and Le Maistre, and Petrus Aurelius, who showed that these doctrines were maintained by the Jesuits: "That the episcopal order was not necessary to the being of a particular church; that episcopacy was not by Divine right;

that confirmation might be given without bishops; that the monastical order was more perfect than the episcopal; and that regulars were exempt from the jurisdiction of bishops. And all that was done at Rome against these doctrines, was only to suppress the books on both sides; which the Parisian doctors highly complained of, that such scandalous and seditious books as those of the Jesuits should meet with the same favour at Rome, as the censure of the bishops of France; that their profane and atheistical censure of the Apostles' Creed must have no mark of disgrace put upon it, nor such sayings of theirs, wherein they call the bishops and divines of France by most contumelious names, and say they are the enemies of truth and piety." If our author had looked a little further into Bishop Stillingfleet, he might have found how barbarously they used Don Arnando Guerrero, bishop of the Philippine Islands, because he condemned them in a synod for acting independent of his jurisdiction; and the like usage of the bishop of Angelopolis in America, for the very same reason; and what horrible things are contained in their catechisms which they gave to their new converts in China, which the congregation *de Propaganda Fide* condemned in seventeen decrees at Rome, anno 1645. The short of their instructions was this: "To speak little of Christ crucified, but to conceal that small and inconsiderable circumstance of the Christian doctrine as much as may be; to use all the same customs that idolaters did, only directing all their worship to Christ and the saints; not to trouble themselves about fasting, penance, confession, and participation of the eucharist, or the severity of repentance and mortification." Are not these as pernicious errors as any that have appeared in these later ages, and were they not fit to be mentioned in an account of modern heterodoxies? Alphonsus de Vargas, a Spaniard, has four books under these titles against them: Relatio ad Principes Christianos de Stratagematis et Sophismis Politicis Societatis Jesu ad Monarchiam Orbis terrarum sibi conficiendam.—Sedis Apostolicæ Censura adversus Novam, Falsam, Impiam, et Hæreticam Societatis Jesu Doctrinam nuper in Hispania publicata.—Jesuitarum Fidei Symbolum velut Canticum novum.—Actio Hæresis in Societatem Jesu.

But our author has passed over many other modern heterodoxies worthy of a reader's information: such as the errors of Dr. John Dee and Kelley concerning conversation with angels, published by Meric Casaubon. Lond. 1659. The errors of Thomas Monetarius and Christophorus Schaplerus; the Nicodemitæ, written against by Calvin; Nicholas Drabicius, a German enthusiast; James Brocard, an apocalyptical prophet censured in the protestant synod of Rochelle, 1581; Paul Grebner, a Swedish prophet; Joannes Franciscus Borri; Bernardinus Ochin, Theophilus Aletheus, and the book called Polygamia Triumphatrix, John Milton, Cornelius Vythagius, and other defenders of polygamy and divorces; Paionism, censured by Spanheim in his Elenchus; the errors of Gulielmus Postellus, Pere Simon, the Suenckfeldians, Vincentius Viviani, an Italian fatalist, Conradus Vorstius, and the Weigelians and Paracelsians, called the new prophets of Germany, an account of whose blasphemies may be found in Wendelin's Epistle Dedicatory to his Theology, and in Hoornbeck, Thummius, and Beckman, who have written particular books against them.

To these might have been added very properly an account of our late new prophets in England, who made such a stir not many years ago; and the Masonites, a little before them; together with the Rationalists, Latitudinarians, Freethinkers; and Unionists, who pretend that the doctrine of papists and protestants rightly represented are in a manner all one: such were Father Davenport, otherwise called *Sancta Clara*, and Mr. de Meaux, bishop of Condome, and such other reconcilers and expositors of the faith. The errors also of Toland and Asgil, and the book called The Rights of the Christian Church, might justly enough have found a place in our author's Index. So might also several sects of fanatics in the late confusions between 1640 and 1660: the Vanists, or disciples of Sir Henry Vane; the new Bemenists, headed by Dr. Pordage; the followers of Dr. Gell, Parker, and Gibbon; Lewis du Moulin, the Levellers, and many others who are described in Edward's Gangræna, and Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, and other the like accounts of those times.

Our author, perhaps, will now begin to think himself a little short and deficient in his short account of all the principal heresies since the rise of Christianity; there being so many, both ancient and modern, of which he has given no account, nor so much as named or mentioned. If he says, it was needless; I say so too, with respect to the work he was about: but when he had undertaken it, he should have made good his pretence, and taken care that the book should have answered his title. But perhaps this could not have been done without writing a large volume upon the subject. Then he should have let it all alone, and his epitome would have been both the cheaper and the better for it. His indigent readers might have known what ancient heresies were from St. Austin de Hæresibus more authentically, and also at an easier rate; for it is but a sixpenny book printed by itself at Oxford; and for modern

sects, they are nothing to the purpose of antiquity, and therefore might have been omitted upon this occasion.

As to his History of the Eight first General Councils, which runs to a great length, I think that as needless as the other; for the late worthy author of the Clergyman's Vade Mecum, in his second volume, has given all such readers a perfect account of the canons both of the Universal Code, and the Roman Code, and the African Code, down to the year 787; which I dare say is in the hands of most poor clergymen, before our author in his great compassion thought fit to take pity on them. If he would have done any thing to the purpose, it should not have been *actum agere*, but to have given them a short account of those Latin councils which the foresaid author does not concern himself with, but are frequently used in my Origines. For which reason I have given an alphabetical and chronological index of them, being about a hundred and twenty in all, together with the number of canons contained in them; which is enough to answer the end of my undertaking.

I have supplied the whole also with a general index of matter, referring distinctly to every particular volume, book, chapter, section, and page, throughout the whole; and added a catalogue of such authors as I have made use of in compiling the work from first to last. I had also some thoughts of adding another index of such authors as I have had no opportunity to see or use, which yet may be of great use to those who are minded to improve this study of church antiquities further; but because this gentleman calls me to a repetition of my labours, and obliges me to be my own epitomiser, *(donatum rude reposcit, Atque iterum antiquo tentat me includere ludo,)* I will reserve this for a more proper occasion; wishing the reader in the mean time as much pleasure, satisfaction, and advantage in reading without labour, as I have had with a mixture of great labour in compiling and digesting, these collections.

POSTSCRIPT.

For the further improvement of ecclesiastical antiquity, if any vigorous young men, of learning, application, and good judgment, are minded to employ themselves that way, these following works may be proper to be undertaken by such as have opportunity of books and leisure, especially in the universities.

1. A supplement to my Origines, in a book of miscellaneous rites: which, if God should be pleased to give me better health, I should be glad to pursue myself, though I think it now the least part of what is wanting.

2. A catholic comment upon the Scriptures, which is already begun, and carried on by a learned and diligent writer.

3. A body of catholic divinity in the words of the ancient writers; such as the Theologica Dogmata of Petavius the Jesuit, and Thomasin the oratorian among the Romanists.

4. A body of practical or moral and casuistical divinity: of which I have had occasion to do a little, so far as relates to the great crimes against the ten commandments, which fell under the discipline of the church. But a complete work in this kind, extending to all virtues and vices, and practical cases of all sorts, would be much more diffusive, and of excellent use for direction of preachers and casuists upon all moral questions.

5. An authentic edition of the Canons of the Councils, Greek and Latin, in their originals. For translations and epitomes, though they are of some use to the unlearned, are not satisfactory to men of true learning and judgment, who will always have recourse to originals. Dr. Allix once undertook this work, and had very particular favour showed him by the parliament, in granting him foreign paper without duty, as I have been informed, and yet the design by some means or other proved abortive. The Acts of the Councils, which are different from the Canons, are much too long to be inserted in such an edition: but the Canons themselves may be comprised, in the original Greek and Latin, in two moderate volumes in quarto. Which would be exceeding useful to scholars of a moderate fortune, to have the valuable part of the voluminous tomes of the Councils, twenty or thirty in number, brought to their hand in an authentic manner, and at a very easy rate: whereas, now, such editions of the Councils as Labbé's, are scarce to be found throughout a whole diocese, except in the cathedral libraries, or some collegiate church, where few, that have inclination, can have access to them without both labour and expense, except such as are placed conveniently in the next neighbourhood, as it pleased Providence to place me; without which

happiness I had never had ability to have gone through any part of the work which now, by the blessing of God, I have lived to finish.

6. The history of the persecutions and sufferings of the primitive martyrs, extracted out of their authentic Acts and approved historians, without the spurious additions of nauseous legendary writers, and the uncertain martyrologists of later ages. I once made some attempt toward this myself, and read many parts of it for a year or two, as useful afternoon exhortations to zeal and constancy in religion, in my parish church. But other employments made me lay it aside, and leave it imperfect. Mr. Ruinart's Acta Martyrum sincera, and Pagi's Critic upon Baronius, will be of particular use to any one who is minded to set about such a work afresh, and bring it to perfection. So will also the book of Meisner, Kortholt, and Gallonius, which Dr. Cave (in his Prolegomena, p. 27. vol. i. Hist. Liter.) recommends to men's use upon this subject. Mr. Dodwell's twelfth Dissertation upon St. Cyprian, is an excellent discourse to set forth the courage of the primitive martyrs: but the eleventh Dissertation, de Paucitate Martyrum, serves for no other end, but only to show what a great man can say upon a bad cause, and argue plausibly upon a very slender and false foundation, which the undertaker of this work is to beware of, and consider well what Ruinart has said against it.

7. The history of heresies, heterodoxies, and schisms; which, after all the attempts that have been made upon it, has never been done to any tolerable satisfaction or perfection. Dr. Cave tells his reader the names of the common authors that have written upon it: but he concludes, after all, in these remarkable words: *His tamen aliisque plurimis, qui addi poterant, non obstantibus, opus accuratum de hæreticis, præcipue antiquis, deque eorum ortu, progressu, affinitate, dogmatibus, duratione, merito adhuc inter desiderata habendum est.* And I believe the remarks I have now made upon one of the last authors of this kind, is a pretty good evidence of the truth of his observation. I could say a great deal more upon this subject, but what I have already hinted is sufficient to a wise undertaker.

8. And lastly, A supplement to those two great and incomparable writers, Dr. Cave and Du Pin, who have given the world such an excellent account of ecclesiastical writers. Nothing, hardly, can be so perfectly done in this kind, but that still considerable additions may be made to it. The world has expected for some time a third volume of Dr. Cave's, and that, perhaps, might supersede all other men's labours: but till that appears, I can be bold to say, there are many authors lie hid from ordinary view; and that is enough to hint this as a subject capable of further improvement: but there would be another use also in it, to bring to light the knowledge of several historians and other writers, whose testimony would give confirmation to the protestant cause, against the corruptions of the Romish church in later ages.

And now that I have mentioned this, I will add two or three things more, that would be of great advantage to the church, if they were done by persons of care and judgment, though they have no relation to antiquity.

1. An account of the Roman Indexes of prohibited and expurged books, showing the reasons for which the inquisitors so carefully prohibit or expurge them. I am sure by this means a good collection or catalogue of witnesses for the truth against the manifest corruptions of the Romish church might be extracted out of the confessions of our own writers.

2. A new work of short marginal annotations on the Bible, explaining only the most obvious difficulties, that seem to puzzle ordinary readers. The learned have annotations abundantly enough to serve their turn; but there seems still to be something wanting of this kind for ordinary readers. I have sometimes put learned friends upon this work, who perhaps were otherwise usefully employed: and if I myself had not had the same plea, I would have attempted something of this nature for the benefit of inferior people, who are allowed to read the Scriptures, and yet many times want proper helps to understand them; which would be remedied very often, either by giving a little turn and light to the translation, or explaining some obscure phrase, or some ancient custom, upon which the understanding of the text many times depends, with other such ways of accommodating the Scripture to the capacities of the vulgar.

3. Till this were effected, a short exposition of those chapters only which are read as proper lessons out of the Old Testament, might be a proper help to vulgar capacities and ordinary readers, to employ their meditations upon those parts of Scripture, which the church has chosen for their edification and instruction, and seem most to want some light and guide, to make them answer that end to them. If I am not mistaken, I have seen such a work of Bishop Cooper's in former times; but be it his or any other's, I believe a thing of this kind, judiciously done, would generally be allowed to be a useful work, for the end it is proposed and intended. We abound indeed with posthils, or expositions on the Epistles and

Gospels, and large annotations on the Old and New Testament: but these short expositions I have mentioned are much more needed; and that is enough to recommend the work to a pious undertaker.

The great objection against all these things is, that each of them is too great an undertaking for any single man. I remember to have heard of the same objection made by some against me and my Origines, upon publishing the first volume of them. I bless God, I have lived to confute the objection, and give the world a proof that great and laborious works are not always so frightful as sometimes they are imagined. I have given a little specimen of what the industry of a single person may do, in whom there is neither the greatest capacity nor the strongest constitution. And having made the experiment myself, I can with more decency and freedom recommend these things to others, who are qualified to undertake them. But in saying this, I would not encourage every bold empiric in divinity or history, to set about such works, which they are not any ways qualified for, either for want of knowledge or want of judgment. To all such the poet's direction is much more proper: *Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam Viribus, et versate diu quid ferre recusent, Quid valeant humeri.* The want of observing which rule does abundantly more harm than good. For such men's writings only serve to confound learning, and leave things in a much worse state than they found them. The world has daily experiment of this, to the prejudice both of good literature and religion. Therefore what I have said by way of encouragement is not to these, but to the truly judicious, the inquisitive, the modest, and the learned, who want nothing but courage proportionable to their understanding, to make them become great instruments of God's glory in doing useful things for the service of his church. This church has never wanted such brave spirits, and I hope never will, to set forth truth with all the advantages of learning, and confound the opposition that is made to it by all the enemies of religion, whether they be the more professed attackers, or the secret underminers of its foundation. The blessing of God be upon all those, who have ability and will to undertake great and useful works for the promotion of piety and religion, and to stand in the gap against all the enemies of truth.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

OF THE SEVERAL NAMES AND ORDERS OF MEN IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

* See a note on this word at the end of the Contents.

BOOK II.

OF THE SEVERAL SUPERIOR ORDERS OF THE CLERGY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

BOOK III.

OF THE INFERIOR ORDERS OF THE CLERGY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

BOOK IV.

OF THE ELECTIONS AND ORDINATIONS OF THE CLERGY, AND THE PARTICULAR QUALIFICATIONS OF SUCH AS WERE TO BE ORDAINED.

BOOK V.

OF THE PRIVILEGES, IMMUNITIES, AND REVENUES OF THE CLERGY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the revenues of the ancient clergy.

CHAPTER V.

Of tithes and first-fruits in particular.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the management and distribution of the revenues of the ancient clergy.

BOOK VI.

AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL LAWS AND RULES, RELATING TO THE EMPLOYMENT, LIFE, AND CONVERSATION OF THE PRIMITIVE CLERGY.

CHAPTER I.

Of the excellency of these rules in general, and the exemplariness of the clergy in conforming to them.

CHAPTER II.

Of the laws relating to the life and conversation of the primitive clergy.

CHAPTER III.

Of laws more particularly relating to the exercise of the duties and offices of their function.

BOOK VII.

OF THE ASCETICS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

BOOK VIII.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES, THEIR ORIGINAL, NAMES, PARTS, UTENSILS CONSECRATIONS, IMMUNITIES, &c.

BOOK IX.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DISTRICTS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH, OR AN ACCOUNT OF ITS DIVISION INTO PROVINCES, DIOCESES, AND PARISHES: AND OF THE FIRST ORIGINAL OF THESE.

CHAPTER I.

Of the state and division of the Roman empire, and of the church's conformity to that in modelling her own external polity and government.

CHAPTER II.

A more particular account of the number, nature, and extent of dioceses, or episcopal churches, in Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, and other eastern provinces.

CHAPTER III.

A continuation of this account of dioceses in the provinces of Asia Minor.

CHAPTER IV.

A continuation of the former account in the European provinces of Thracia, Macedonia, Greece, Illyricum, &c.

CHAPTER V.

A particular account of the seventeen provinces of the Roman and Italic dioceses, and of the episcopal dioceses contained in them.

BOOK X.

OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE CATECHUMENS, AND THE FIRST USE OF THE CREEDS IN THE CHURCH.

BOOK XI.

OF THE RITES AND CUSTOMS OBSERVED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

BOOK XII.

OF CONFIRMATION, AND OTHER CEREMONIES FOLLOWING BAPTISM, BEFORE MEN WERE MADE PARTAKERS OF THE EUCHARIST.

BOOK XIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO DIVINE WORSHIP IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the times of their religious assemblies, and the several parts of Divine service performed in them.

CHAPTER X.

The order of their daily morning service.

CHAPTER XI.

The order of their daily evening service.

BOOK XIV.

OF THAT PART OF DIVINE SERVICE WHICH THE ANCIENTS COMPRISED UNDER THE GENERAL NAME OF MISSA CATECHUMENORUM, THE SERVICE OF THE CATECHUMENS, OR ANTE-COMMUNION SERVICE ON THE LORD'S DAY.

CHAPTER I.

Of the psalmody of the ancient church.

BOOK XV.

OF THE MISSA FIDELIUM, OR COMMUNION SERVICE.

BOOK XVI.

OF THE UNITY AND DISCIPLINE OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

BOOK XVII.

OF THE EXERCISE OF DISCIPLINE UPON THE CLERGY IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

BOOK XIX.

OF ABSOLUTION, OR THE MANNER OF READMITTING PENITENTS INTO THE COMMUNION OF THE CHURCH AGAIN.

APPENDIX.

Containing two Sermons and two Letters to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Winchester, concerning the nature and necessity of the several sorts of absolution; showing how far that necessity extends, and where it ceases.

BOOK XX.

OF THE FESTIVALS OBSERVED IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

BOOK XXI.

OF THE FASTS IN USE IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

BOOK XXII.

OF THE MARRIAGE RITES OBSERVED IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

BOOK XXIII.

OF FUNERAL RITES, OR THE CUSTOM AND MANNER OF BURYING THE DEAD, OBSERVED IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

CHAPTER II.

Some further observations concerning the place, and manner, and time of burial.

CHAPTER III.

How they prepared the body for the funeral, and with what religious ceremonies and solemnities they interred it.

CHAPTER IV.

An account of the laws made to secure the bodies and graves of the dead from the violence of robbers and sacrilegious invaders, and buyers and sellers of relics, and their worshippers.

AFTER these collections were printed off, I had occasion to make one remark upon a word used in the first Book, chap. 2. sect. 17, which because I have no opportunity to mention elsewhere, the reader may please to take it in this place. The name *pilosiotæ*, which I say the Origenians used as a term of reproach for the catholics, ought rather to be read *pelusiotæ*, from πήλος, *lutum*; in which sense it signifies earthly, sensual, carnally-minded men, which were the names the Origenians bestowed upon the orthodox, because they had not the same apprehensions of spiritual and heavenly bodies as they had. St. Jerom gives this explication in express terms, in a passage which has lately occurred to my observation, where he uses * the Greek word πηλουσιώτας, which explains his meaning in other places, and puts the matter beyond all dispute. So that though Baronius from some copies reads it *pilosiotæ*, yet the true reading is *pelusiotæ*, as the passage cited in the margin does evince.

* Hieron. Com. in Jerem. xxix. p. 407. Quæ cum audiunt discipuli ejus (Origenis) et Grunnianæ familiæ stercora, putant se Divina audire mysteria: nosque quod ista contemnimus, quasi pro brutis habent animantibus, et vocant πηλουσιώτας, eò quod in luto istius corporis constituti, non possimus sentire cœlestia.

THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK I.

OF THE SEVERAL NAMES AND ORDERS OF MEN IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEVERAL TITLES AND APPELLATIONS OF CHRISTIANS, WHICH THEY OWNED, AND DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES BY.

Sect. 1. Christians at first called Jesseans, and *Therapeutæ*, πιστοὶ, ἐκλεκτοὶ, &c.

When Christianity was first planted in the world, they who embraced it were commonly known among themselves by the names of disciples, believers, elect, saints, and brethren, before they assumed the title and appellation of Christians. Epiphanius[1] says they were also called Ἰεσσαῖοι, Jesseans; either from Jesse the father of David, or, which is more probable, from the name of the Lord Jesus. He adds, that Philo speaks of them under this appellation, in his book Περὶ Ἰεσσαίων, which he affirms to be no other but Christians, who went by that name in Egypt, whilst St. Mark preached the gospel at Alexandria. This book of Philo's is now extant under another title, Περὶ Βίου Θεωρητικοῦ, Of the Contemplative Life; and so it is cited by Eusebius,[2] who is also of opinion that it is nothing but a description of the Christians in Egypt, whom he calls *Therapeutæ*, which signifies either worshippers of the true God, or spiritual physicians, who undertook to cure men's minds of all vicious and corrupt affections. But whether this name was invented by Philo, as most proper to express their way of living, or was then the common name of believers in Egypt, before the name Christian was spread over all the world, Eusebius does not undertake to determine: however, he concludes it was a name given to the Christians; and St. Jerom[3] is so positive in it, that for this reason he gives Philo a place in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, telling us that he wrote a book concerning the first church of St. Mark at Alexandria.

Some learned critics of the last age call this whole matter[4] into question: but their arguments are answered by others[5] as learned; and therefore I shall enter no further into this dispute, but refer the reader, that is curious, thither for satisfaction. That which I here take notice of further, is only this; that these names, *Therapeutæ* and *Jessæi*, were scarce ever used in after ages; but the other names, ἅγιοι, πιστοὶ, ἐκλεκτοὶ, saints, believers, elect, &c., occur frequently in ecclesiastical writers; and signify not any select number of Christians, (as now the words, saints and elect, are often used to signify only the predestinate,) but all Christians in general, who were entered into the communion of the church by the waters of baptism. For so Theodoret[6] and others explain the word ἅγιοι, saints, to be such as were vouchsafed the honour and privilege of baptism.

[1] Epiphan. Hær. 39. n. 4. [2] Euseb. Hist. lib. 2. c. 17.
[3] Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 11.
[4] Scaliger et Valesius in Euseb. lib. 2. c. 17. Dallæus de Jejun. et Quadrages. lib. 2. c. 4.
[5] Bevereg. Cod. Can. Vind. lib. 3. c. 5. n. 4.
[6] Theodor. Com. in Philip. i. 1.

Sect. 2. Of the technical names, ΙΧΘΥΣ and *pisciculi.*

And upon this account, because the Christian life took its original from the waters of baptism, and depended upon the observance of the covenant made therein, the Christians were wont to please themselves with the artificial name *pisciculi*, fishes; to denote, as Tertullian[7] words it, that they were regenerate, or born again into Christ's religion by water, and could not be saved but by continuing therein. And this name was the rather chosen by them, because the initial letters of our Saviour's names and titles in Greek, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, Σωτὴρ, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour, technically put together, make up the name ΙΧΘΥΣ, which signifies a fish, and is alluded to both by Tertullian and Optatus.[8]

Sect. 3. Christians why called *Gnostici.*

Sometimes Christians also style themselves by the name of Gnostics, Γνωστικοὶ, men of understanding and knowledge; because the Christian religion was the truest wisdom, and the knowledge of the most Divine and heavenly things. This name was aped and abused by a perverse sort of heretics, who are commonly known and distinguished by the name of Gnostics, because of their great pretences to knowledge and science, falsely so called. Yet this did not hinder, but that the Christians sometimes laid claim to it, as having indeed the only just and proper right to make use of it. For which reason Clemens Alexandrinus,[9] in all his writings, gives the Christian philosopher the appellation of Γνωστικός. Athanasius[10] calls the ascetics of Egypt, who were of the contemplative life, by the same name, Γνωστικοί. And Socrates tells us, Evagrius Ponticus wrote a book for the use of these ascetics, which he entitled, The Gnostic, i. e., Rules for the Contemplative Life; some fragments of which are yet extant in Socrates,[11] and some others published by Cotelerius, in his Monuments of the Greek Church. In one of these fragments there is mention made of a monk, who is styled Μοναχὸς τῆς Παρεμβολῆς, τῶν Γνωστικῶν ὁ δοκιμώτατος; which the first translators of Socrates, not understanding, render, A monk of great renown, of the sect of the Gnostics, as if he had been one of the Gnostic heretics; whereas, it means no more than a monk of the contemplative life, who inhabited in a village called the Parembole, not far from Alexandria; being one of those ascetics, whom Evagrius and all the rest call by the then known name of Christian Gnostics. See Valesius's note upon Socrates.

Sect. 4. Sometimes called *Theophori* and *Christophori.*

Another name, which frequently occurs in the writings of the ancients, is that of Θεοφόροι; which signifies, temples of God, and is as old as Ignatius, who usually gave himself this title; as appears, both from the inscriptions of his epistles, each of which begins, Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, as also from the ancient acts of his martyrdom, where[12] the reason of the name is explained in his dialogue with Trajan; who, hearing him style himself *Theophorus*, asked what that name meant? To which Ignatius replied, that it meant one that carried Christ in his heart. Dost thou, then, said Trajan, carry him that was crucified in thy heart? Ignatius answered, Yes: for it is written, "I will dwell in them, and walk in them." Anastasius Bibliothecarius indeed gives another reason why Ignatius was called *Theophorus;* because he was the child whom our Saviour took and set in the midst of his disciples, laying his hands upon him; and therefore the apostles would never presume to ordain him again by imposition of hands after Christ. But, as Bishop Pearson[13] and others have observed, this was a mere invention of the modern Greeks, from whom Anastasius took it without further inquiry. Much more ridiculous and absurd is the reason which is assigned by Vincentius[14] Bellovacensis, and some others; that Ignatius was so called, because the name of Jesus Christ was found written in golden letters in his heart. Both these fancies are sufficiently refelled by the genuine acts of his martyrdom; which give a more rational account of the name, and such as plainly intimates that it was no peculiar title of Ignatius, but common to him with all other Christians: as, indeed, Bishop Pearson does abundantly prove from several passages of Clemens Alexandrinus, Gregory Nazianzen, Palladius, Eulogius, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, Photius, Maximus, and others. Particularly, Clemens[15] assigns the same reason of the name as Ignatius does; that the Christian is therefore called Θεοφορῶν and Θεοφορούμενος, because, as the apostle says, he is "the temple of God." We sometimes also meet with the name *Christophori* in the same sense; as in the Epistle of Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, recorded by Eusebius; where, speaking of the martyrs of his own time, he gives them the title of Χριστοφόροι μάρτυρες,[16] because

[7] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 1. Nos pisciculi secundum ἰχθὺν nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur; nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus.

[8] Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. 3. p. 62. Hic est piscis qui in baptismate per invocationem fontalibus undis inseritur, ut quæ aqua fuerat, à pisce etiam piscina vocitetur. Cujus piscis nomen, secundum appellationem Græcam, in uno nomine per singulas literas turbam sanctorum nominum continet ἰχθὺς, quod est latinè, Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, Salvator.

[9] Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 294. Strom. 2. p. 383. Strom. 6. p. 665. Strom. 7. p. 748.

[10] Athan. ap. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 23.

[11] Socrat. ibid.

[12] Acta Ignat. ap. Grabe Spicil. t. 2. p. 10.

[13] Pearson Vind. Ignat. par. 2. c. 12. p. 397. Cave's Life of Ignatius. Grabe Spicil. t. 2. p. 2.

[14] Vincent. Specul. lib. 10. c. 7.

[15] Clem. Strom. lib. 7. p. 748.

[16] Euseb. lib. 8. c. 10

they were temples of Christ, and acted by his Holy Spirit.

Sect. 5. And sometimes, but very rarely, *Christi*.

St. Ambrose, in one place, gives them the name of *Christi*, in a qualified sense; alluding to the signification of the word *Christus* in Scripture, where it sometimes signifies any one that is anointed with oil, or receives any commission from God by a spiritual unction; in which sense every Christian is the Lord's anointed. And therefore he says, it is no injury[17] for the servant to bear the character of his lord, nor for the soldier to be called by the name of his general; forasmuch as God himself hath said, "Touch not mine anointed," or my Christs, *Christos meos*, as now the Vulgar translation reads it, Psal. cv. 15. And St. Jerom also, who, in his notes upon the place,[18] observes, that all men are called Christs who are anointed with the Holy Ghost; as the ancient patriarchs before the law, who had no other unction. Yet we do not find that the Christians generally took this name upon them, but rather reserved it to their Lord, as his peculiar name and title.

Sect. 6. Christians great enemies to all party names, and human appellations.

Yet it is very observable, that in all the names they chose, there was still some peculiar relation to Christ and God, from whom they would be named, and not from any mortal man, how great or eminent soever. Party names, and human appellations, they ever professed to abhor. We take not our denomination from men, says Chrysostom;[19] we have no leaders, as the followers of Marcion, or Manichæus, or Arius. No, says Epiphanius,[20] the church was never called so much as by the name of any apostle: we never heard of Petrians, or Paulians, or Bartholomæans, or Thaddæans; but only of Christians, from Christ. I honour Peter, says another father,[21] but I am not called a Petrian; I honour Paul, but I am not called a Paulian: I cannot bear to be named from any man, who am the creature of God. They observe, that this was only the property of sects and heresies, to take party names, and denominate themselves from their leaders. The great and venerable name of Christians was neglected by them, whilst they profanely divided themselves into human appellations; as Gregory Nyssen[22] and Nazianzen complain. Thus Basil observes[23] how the Marcionites and Valentinians rejected the name of Christians, to be called after the names of Marcion and Valentinus, their leaders. Optatus[24] and St. Austin[25] bring the same charge against the Donatists. Optatus says, it was the usual question of Donatus to all foreigners, *Quid apud vos agitur de parte mea?* How go the affairs of my party among you? And the bishops who were his followers, were used to subscribe themselves, *Ex parte Donati*. Epiphanius observes the same of the Audians,[26] Colluthians, and Arians: and he tells us more particularly of Meletius and his followers,[27] that having formed a schism, they left the old name of the catholic church, and styled themselves by a distinguishing character, The church of the martyrs, with an invidious design, to cast a reproach upon all others that were not of their party: in like manner, as the Arians style themselves Lucianists[28] and Conlucianists, pretending to follow the doctrine of Lucian the martyr.

But the church of Christ still kept to the name of Christian. This was the name they gloried in as most expressive of their unity and relation to Christ. Eusebius[29] records a memorable story out of the Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienna, in France, concerning one Sanctus, a deacon of the church of Vienna, who suffered in the persecution under Antonine; that being put to the rack, and examined by the magistrates concerning his name, his country, his city, his quality, whether he were bond or free, his answer to all their questions was, I am a Christian: this, he said, was to him both name, and city, and kindred, and every thing. Nor could the heathen, with all their skill, extort any other answer from him. St. Chrysostom[30] gives the like account of the behaviour of Lucian the martyr before his persecutors; and there are some other instances of the same nature, by which we may judge how great a veneration they had for the name Christian.

Sect. 7. Of the name catholic, and its antiquity.

The importunity of heretics made them add another name to this, viz. that of catholic; which was as it were their surname, or characteristic, to distinguish them from all sects, who, though they had party names, yet sometimes sheltered themselves under the common name of Christians. This we learn from Pacian's Epistle[31] to Sempronian the Novatian heretic, who demanding of him the reason why Christians called themselves catholics, he answers,

[17] Ambros. de Obit. Valentin. t. 3. p. 12. Nec injuriam putes, characteri domini inscribuntur et servuli, et nomine imperatoris signantur milites. Denique et ipse Dominus dixit, Nolite tangere Christos meos.

[18] Hieron. Com. in Psal. civ. Ecce ante legem patriarchæ non uncti regali unguento, Christi dicuntur. Christi autem sunt, qui Spiritu Sancto unguntur

[19] Chrysost. Hom. 23. in Act.

[20] Epiphan. Hær. 42. Marcionit. Item Hær. 10.

[21] Greg. Naz. Orat. 31. p. 506. See also Athan. Orat. 2. contra Arian. Greg. Nyss. de Perfect. Christ. t. 3. p. 276.

[22] Nyss. contra Apollin. t. 3. p. 261. Naz. Orat. ad Episcop.

[23] Basil Com. in Psal. xlviii. p. 245.

[24] Optat. lib. 3. p. 68. [25] Aug. Ep. 68. ad Januar.

[26] Epiph. Hær. 70. Audianor. Id. Hær. 69. Arian.

[27] Epiphan. Hær. 68. Meletian.

[28] Theodor. Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 4. Epiphan. Hær. 69. Arian.

[29] Euseb. lib. 5. c. 1.

[30] Chrysost. Homil. 46. in Lucian. t. 1. p. 602.

[31] Pacian. Ep. 1. ad Sempronian. Christianus mihi nomen

that it was to discern them from heretics, who went by the name of Christians. Christian is my name, says he, and catholic my surname; the one is my title, the other my character or mark of distinction. Heretics commonly confined religion, either to a particular region, or some select party of men, and therefore had no pretence to style themselves catholics: but the church of Christ had a just title to this name, being called catholic (as Optatus[32] observes) because it was universally diffused over all the world. And in this sense the name is as ancient almost as the church itself. For we meet with it in the Passion of Polycarp[33] in Eusebius, in Clemens Alexandrinus,[34] and Ignatius.[35] And so great a regard had they for this name, that they would own none to be Christians, who did not profess themselves to be of the catholic church. As we may see in the Acts of Pionius the martyr,[36] who being asked by Polemo the judge, of what church he was? answered, I am of the catholic church: for Christ has no other.

Sect. 8. In what sense the name, ecclesiastics, given to all Christians.

I must here observe further, that the name of ecclesiastics was sometimes attributed to all Christians in general. For though this was a peculiar name of the clergy, as contradistinct from the laity in the Christian church, yet when Christians in general are spoken of in opposition to Jews, infidels, and heretics, then they have all the name of ecclesiastics, or men of the church; as being neither of the Jewish synagogues, nor of the heathen temples, nor heretical conventicles, but members of the church of Christ. In this sense ἀνδρὲς ἐκκλησιαστικὸι is often used by Eusebius[37] and Cyril of Jerusalem.[38] And Valesius[39] observes the same in Origen, Epiphanius, St. Jerom, and others.

Sect. 9. The Christian religion called Δόγμα, and Christians οἱ τοῦ Δόγματος.

Sometimes also we find the word Δόγμα put absolutely to signify the Christian religion; as Chrysostom[40] and Theodoret[41] say St. Paul himself uses the word in his Epistle to the Ephesians, ii. 15. And Estius[42] assures us it was the common interpretation of all ancient expositors, both Greek and Latin, upon that place. And hence it was that Christians were called sometimes οἱ τοῦ Δόγματος, men of the faith; meaning the faith of Christ. As in the rescript of Aurelian the emperor against Paulus Samosatensis, recorded by Eusebius,[43] the bishops of Italy and Rome are styled ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος, bishops of the faith, that is, the Christian faith.

Sect. 10. Christians called Jews by the heathen.

The heathens also were used to confound the names of Jews and Christians together; whence, in heathen authors, the name of Jews by mistake is often given to the Christians. Thus Dio, in the Life of Domitian,[44] speaking of Acilius Glabrio, a man of consular dignity, says he was accused of atheism, and put to death for turning to the Jews' religion; which, as Baronius[45] and others observe, must mean the Christian religion, for which he was a martyr. So when Suetonius[46] says, that Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome, because they grew tumultuous by the instigations of Chrestus; it is generally concluded by learned men,[47] that under the name of Jews, he also comprehends the Christians. In like manner when Spartian[48] says of Caracalla's play-fellow, that he was of the Jewish religion, he doubtless means the Christian; forasmuch as Tertullian[49] tells us that Caracalla himself was nursed by a Christian.

Sect. 11. Christ by the heathens commonly called *Chrestus*, and Christians, *Chrestians*.

The heathens committed another mistake in the pronunciation of our Saviour's name, whom they generally called *Chrestus*, instead of *Christus;* and his followers, *Chrestians*, for Christians: which is taken notice of by Justin Martyr,[50] Tertullian,[51] Lactantius,[52] and some others; who correct their mistake, though they have no great quarrel with them upon this account; for both names are of good signification. *Christus* is the same with the Hebrew Messias, and signifies a person anointed to be a priest or king; and *Chrestus* being the same with the Greek Χρηστὸς, implies sweetness and goodness. Whence Tertullian[53] tells them, that they were unpardonable for prosecuting Christians merely for their name, because both names were innocent, and of excellent signification.

The Christians therefore did not wholly reject this name, though it was none of their own im-

est, catholicus cognomen. Illud me nuncupat, istud ostendit.

[32] Optat. lib. 2. p. 46. Cum inde dicta sit catholica, quod sit rationalis et ubique diffusa.

[33] Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15. [34] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7.

[35] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8.

[36] Act. Pionii ap. Baron. an. 254. n. 9. Cujus, inquit Polemo, es ecclesiæ? Respondit Pionius, Catholicæ: nulla enim est alia apud Christum.

[37] Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 7. lib. 5. cap. 27.

[38] Cyril Catech. 15. n. 4.

[39] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 25.

[40] Chrys. Hom. 5. in Ephes.

[41] Theod. Com. in Ephes. ii. 15.

[42] Est. Com. in Ephes. ii. 14. [43] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.

[44] Dio in Domit. [45] Baron. an. 94. n. 1.

[46] Sueton. Claud. c. 26. Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.

[47] Hotting. Hist. Eccl. t. 1. p. 37. Basnag. Exerc. in Baron. p. 139. Selden. de Synedr. lib. 1. c. 8. who cites Lipsius, Petavius, and many others.

[48] Spartian. in Caracal. c. 1.

[49] Tertul. ad Scapul. c. 4. Lacte Christiano educatus.

[50] Just. M. Apol. 2. [51] Tertul. Apol. c. 3.

[52] Lact. lib. 4. c. 7.

[53] Tertul. ibid. Christianus quantum interpretatio est, de unctione deducitur. Sed et cum perperam Chrestianus pronunciatur à vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos) de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est. Oditur ergo in hominibus innocuis etiam nomen innocuum.

posing. As neither did they refuse to be called Jews, in that sense as the Scripture uses the word, to distinguish the people of God from "the synagogue of Satan," Rev. ii. 9. Though, to avoid the subtleties of the Ebionites and Nazarens, who were for blending the ceremonies of the law with the faith of the gospel, they rather chose to avoid that name, and stuck to the name of Christians.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE NAMES OF REPROACH WHICH THE JEWS, INFIDELS, AND HERETICS, CAST UPON THE CHRISTIANS.

Sect. 1. Christians called Nazarens by the Jews and heathens.

BESIDES the names already spoken of, there were some other reproachful names cast upon them by their adversaries, which it will not be improper here to mention. The first of these was Nazarens, a name of reproach given them first by the Jews, by whom they are styled the sect of the Nazarens, Acts xxiv. 5. There was, indeed, a particular heresy, who called themselves Ναζωραῖοι: and Epiphanius[1] thinks the Jews had a more especial spite at them, because they were a sort of Jewish apostates, who kept circumcision and the Mosaical rites together with the Christian religion: and therefore, he says, they were used to curse and anathematize them three times a day, morning, noon, and evening, when they met in their synagogues to pray, in this direful form of execration, Ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωράιους, Send thy curse, O God, upon the Nazarens. But St. Jerom[2] says this was levelled at Christians in general, who they thus anathematized under the name of Nazarens. And this seems most probable, because, as both St. Jerom[3] and Epiphanius himself[4] observes, the Jews termed all Christians, by way of reproach, Nazarens. And the Gentiles took it from the Jews, as appears from that of Datianus the prætor in Prudentius,[5] where, speaking to the Christians, he gives them the name of Nazarens. Some[6] think the Christians at first were very free to own this name, and esteemed it no reproach, till such time as the heresy of the Nazarens broke out, and then, in detestation of that heresy, they forsook that name, and called themselves Christians, Acts xi. 26. But whether this be said according to the exact rules of chronology, I leave those that are better skilled to determine.

Sect. 2. And Galilæans.

Another name of reproach was that of Galilæans, which was Julian's ordinary style, whenever he spake of Christ or Christians. Thus in his dialogue with old Maris, a blind Christian bishop, mentioned by Sozomen,[7] he told him by way of scoff, Thy Galilæan God will not cure thee. And again, in his epistle[8] to Arsacius, high priest of Galatia, The Galilæans maintain their own poor, and ours also. The like may be observed in Socrates,[9] Theodoret,[10] Chrysostom,[11] and Gregory Nazianzen,[12] who adds, that he not only called them Galilæans himself, but made a law that no one should call them by any other name, thinking thereby to abolish the name of Christians.

Sect. 3. Also atheists.

They also called them atheists, and their religion, the atheism or impiety, because they derided the worship of the heathen gods. Dio[13] says, Acilius Glabrio was put to death for atheism, meaning the Christian religion. And the Christian apologists, Athenagoras,[14] Justin Martyr,[15] Arnobius,[16] and others, reckon this among the crimes which the heathens usually lay to their charge. Eusebius says,[17] the name was become so common, that when the persecuting magistrates would oblige a Christian to renounce his religion, they bade him abjure it in this form, by saying, among other things, Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, Confusion to the atheists, Away with the impious, meaning the Christians.

Sect. 4. And Greeks and impostors.

To this they added the name of Greeks and impostors, which is noted by St. Jerom,[18] who says, wheresoever they saw a Christian, they would presently cry out, Ὁ γραικὸς ἐπιθέτης, Behold a Grecian impostor! This was the character which the Jews gave our Saviour, ὁ πλάνος, that deceiver, Matt. xxvii. 63. And Justin Martyr says,[19] they endeavoured to propagate it to posterity, sending their apostles or emissaries

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[1] Epiphan. Hær. 29. n. 9.

[2] Hieron. Com. in Esa. xlix. t. 5. p. 178. Ter per singulos dies sub nomine Nazarenorum maledicunt in synagogis suis.

[3] Id. de Loc. Hebr. t. 3. p. 289. Nos apud veteres, quasi opprobrio Nazaræi dicebamur, quos nunc Christianos vocant.

[4] Epiphan. ibid.

[5] Prudent. περὶ στεφανῶν. Carm. 5. de S. Vincent.
Vos Nazareni assistite,
Rudemque ritum spernite.
Id. Hymno 9. de Rom. Mart.

[6] Junius Parallel. lib. 1. c. 8. Goodwyn Jew. Rites, lib. 1. c. 8.

[7] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 4.

[8] Ap. Sozom. lib. 5. c. 16.

[9] Socrat. lib. 3. c. 12.

[10] Theodor. lib. 3. c. 7 et 21.

[11] Chrys. Hom. 63. t. 5.

[12] Naz. 1. Invectiv.

[13] Dio in Domitian.

[14] Athen. Legat. pro Christ.

[15] Just. Apol. 1. p. 47.

[16] Arnob. lib. 1.

[17] Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15.

[18] Hieron. Ep. 10. ad Furiam. Ubicunque viderint Christianum, statim illud de Trivio, Ὁ γραικὸς ἐπιθέτης, vocant impostorem.

[19] Justin Dial. c. Tryph. p. 335.

from Jerusalem to all the synagogues in the world, to bid them beware of a certain impious, lawless sect, lately risen up under one Jesus, a Galilæan impostor. Hence Lucian[20] took occasion in his blasphemous raillery to style him the crucified sophister. And Celsus[21] commonly gives him and his followers the name of *γοηταὶ*, deceivers. So Asclepiades, the judge in Prudentius,[22] compliments them with the appellation of sophisters; and Ulpian[23] proscribes them in a law by the name of impostors.

The reason why they added the name of Greeks to that of impostors, was (as learned men[24] conjecture) because many of the Christian philosophers took upon them the Grecian or philosophic habit, which was the *περιβόλαιον*, or *pallium:* whence the Greeks were called *palliati*, as the Romans were called *togati*, or *gens togata*, from their proper habit, which was the *toga*. Now, it being some offence to the Romans, to see the Christians quit the Roman gown to wear the Grecian cloak, they thence took occasion to mock and deride them with the scurrilous names of Greeks, and Grecian impostors. Tertullian's book *de Pallio* was written to show the spiteful malice of this foolish objection.

Sect. 5. Magicians.

But the heathens went one step further in their malice; and because our Saviour and his followers did many miracles, which they imputed to evil arts and the power of magic, they therefore generally declaimed against them as magicians, and under that character exposed them to the fury of the vulgar. Celsus[25] and others pretended that our Saviour studied magic in Egypt: and St. Austin[26] says, it was generally believed among the heathen, that he wrote some books about magic too, which he delivered to Peter and Paul for the use of his disciples. Hence it was that Suetonius,[27] speaking in the language of his party, calls the Christians, *genus hominum superstitionis maleficæ*, the men of the magical superstition. As Asclepiades, the judge in Prudentius,[28] styles St. Romanus the martyr, arch-magician. And St. Ambrose observes, in the passion of St. Agnes,[29] how the people cried out against her, Away with the sorceress! away with the enchanter! Nothing being more common than to term all Christians, especially such as wrought miracles,[30] by the odious name of sorcerers and magicians.

Sect. 6. The new superstition.

The new superstition was another name of reproach for the Christian religion. Suetonius gives it that title,[31] and Pliny and Tacitus add to it[32] the opprobrious terms of wicked and unreasonable superstition. By which name also Nero triumphed over it, in his trophies which he set up at Rome, when he had harassed the Christians with a most severe persecution. He gloried that he had purged the country of robbers, and those that obtruded and inculcated the new superstition[33] upon mankind. By this, there can be no doubt, he meant the Christians, whose religion is called the superstition in other inscriptions of the like nature. See that of Diocletian cited in Baronius, anno 304, from Occo. *Superstitione Christianorum ubique deleta, &c.*

Not much unlike this was that other name which Porphyry[34] and some others give it, when they call it the barbarous, new, and strange religion. In the acts of the famous martyrs of Lyons, who suffered under Antoninus Pius, the heathens scornfully insult it with this character. For having burnt the martyrs to ashes, and scattered their remains into the river Rhone, they said they did it to cut off their hopes of a resurrection, upon the strength of which they sought to obtrude[35] the new and strange religion upon mankind. But now let us see whether they will rise again, and whether their God can help and deliver them out of our hands.

Sect. 7. Christians why called Sibyllists.

Celsus gives them the name of Sibyllists,[36] because the Christians in their disputes with the heathens sometimes made use of the authority of Sibylla, their own prophetess, against them; whose writings they urged with so much advantage to the Christian cause, and prejudice to the heathen, that Justin Martyr[37] says, the Roman governors made it death for any one to read them, or Hystaspes, or the writings of the prophets.

Sect. 8. Biathanati.

They also reproached them with the appellation of *βιαθάνατοι*, self-murderers, because they readily offered themselves up to

[20] Lucian. Peregrin.

[21] Cels. ap. Orig. lib. 1. p. 20.

[22] Prudent. *περὶ στεφ.* Carm. 10. de Romano Mart. Quis hos sophistas error invexit novus, &c.

[23] Digest. lib. 50. tit. 13. c. 1. Si incantavit, si imprecatus est, si (ut vulgari verbo impostorum utar) si exorcizavit.

[24] Kortholt de Morib. Christian. c. 3. p. 23. Baron. an. 56. n. 11.

[25] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 1. Arnobius, lib. 1. p. 36.

[26] Aug. de Consensu Evang. lib. 1. c. 9.

[27] Sueton. Neron. c. 16.

[28] Prudent. *περὶ στεφ.* Hymn. 10. de S. Romano. Quousque tandem summus hic nobis magus illudit.

[29] Ambr. Serm. 90. in S. Agnen. Tolle magam! Tolle maleficam!

[30] See Kortholt de Morib. Christ. c. 4.

[31] Sueton. Nero. c. 16.

[32] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. Nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam. Tacit. Annal. 15. c. 44. Exitiabilis superstitio.

[33] Inscript. Antiq. ad Calcem Sueton. Oxon. NERONI. CLAUD. CAIS. AUG. PONT. MAX. OB. PROVINC. LATRONIB. ET. HIS. QUI. NOVAM. GENERI. HUM. SUPERSTITION. INCULCAB. PURGAT.

[34] Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 19. *Βάρβαρον τόλμημα.*

[35] Act. Mart. Lugd. ap. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 1. *Θρησκείαν ξένην καὶ καινήν.*

[36] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 5. p. 272.

[37] Just. Apol. 2. p. 82.

martyrdom, and cheerfully underwent any violent death, which the heathens could inflict upon them. With what eagerness they courted death, we learn not only from the Christian writers[38] themselves, but from the testimonies of the heathens[39] concerning them. Lucian[40] says, they not only despised death, but many of them voluntarily offered themselves to it, out of a persuasion that they should be made immortal and live for ever. This he reckons folly, and therefore gives them the name of *κακοδαίμονες*, the miserable wretches that threw away their lives. In which sense Porphyry[41] also styles the Christian religion, *βάρβαρον τόλμημα*, the barbarous boldness. As Arrius Antoninus[42] terms the professors of it, *ὦ δειλοὶ*, the stupid wretches, that had such a mind to die; and the heathen in Minucius,[43] *homines deploratæ ac desperatæ factionis*, the men of the forlorn and desperate faction. All which agrees with the name *biothanati*, or *biæothanati*, as Baronius[44] understands it. Though it may signify not only self-murderers, but (as a learned critic[45] notes) men that expect to live after death. In which sense the heathens probably might use it likewise, to ridicule the Christian doctrine of the resurrection; on which, they knew, all their fearless and undaunted courage was founded. For so the same heathen in Minucius endeavours to expose at once both their resolution and their belief: O strange folly, and incredible madness! says he; they despise all present torments, and yet fear those that are future and uncertain: they are afraid of dying after death, but in the mean time do not fear to die. So vainly do they flatter themselves, and allay their fears, with the hopes of some reviving comforts after death. For one of these reasons, then, they gave them the name of *biothanati*, which word expressly occurs in some of the Acts of the ancient Martyrs. Baronius observes,[46] out of Bede's Martyrology, that when the seven sons of Symphorosa were martyred under Hadrian, their bodies were all cast into one pit together, which the temple-priests named from them, *Ad septem biothanatos*, The grave of the seven *biothanati*.

Sect. 9. *Parabolarii*, and *desperati*.

For the same reasons they gave them the names of *parabolarii* and *desperati*, the bold and desperate men. The *parabolarii* or *parabolani* among the Romans, were those bold, adventurous men, who hired out themselves to fight with wild beasts upon the stage or amphitheatre, whence they had also the name of *bestiarii*, and *confectores*. Now, because the Christians were put to fight for their lives in the same manner, and they rather chose to do it than deny their religion, they therefore got the name of *paraboli*, and *parabolani*; which, though it was intended as a name of reproach and mockery, yet the Christians were not unwilling to take it to themselves, being one of the truest characters that the heathens ever gave them. And therefore they sometimes gave themselves this name, by way of allusion to the Roman *paraboli*. As in the passion[47] of Abdo and Senne in the time of Valerian, the martyrs who were exposed to be devoured by wild beasts in the amphitheatre, are said to enter, *ut audacissimi parabolani*, as most resolute champions, that despised their own lives for their religion's sake. But the other name of *desperati* they rejected as a calumny, retorting it back upon their adversaries, who more justly deserved it. Those, says Lactantius,[48] who set a value upon their faith, and will not deny their God, they first torment and butcher them with all their might, and then call them desperados, because they will not spare their own bodies; as if any thing could be more desperate, than to torture and tear in pieces those whom you cannot but know to be innocent.

Sect. 10. *Sarmentitii*, and *semaxii*.

Tertullian mentions another name, which was likewise occasioned by their sufferings. The martyrs which were burnt alive, were usually tied to a board, or stake, of about six foot long, which the Romans called *semaxis*; and then they were surrounded or covered with faggots of small wood, which they called *sarmenta*. From this their punishment, the heathen, who turned every thing into mockery, gave all Christians the despiteful name of *sarmentitii* and *semaxii*.[49]

Sect. 11. *Lucifugax natio*.

The heathen in Minucius[50] takes occasion also to reproach them under the name of the skulking generation, or the men that loved to prate in corners and the dark. The ground of which scurrilous reflection was only this, that they were forced to hold their religious assemblies in the night to avoid the fury of the persecutions. Which Celsus[51] himself owns, though otherwise prone enough to load them with hard names and odious reflections.

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[38] See these collected in Pearson, Vind. Ignat. par. 2. c. 9. p. 384.

[39] Arrius Antonin. ap. Tertul. ad Scap. c. 4. Tiberian. in Joh. Malela Chronic.

[40] Lucian. de Mort. Peregrin.

[41] Porphyr. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 19.

[42] Tertul. ibid.

[43] Minuc. Octav. p. 25.

[44] Baron. an. 138. n. 5.

[45] Suicer. Thesaur. Ecclesiast. t. 1. p. 690.

[46] Baron. an. 138. n. 5.

[47] Acta Abdon. et Sennes ap. Suicer.

[48] Lact. Instit. lib. 5. c. 9. Desperatos vocant, quia corpori suo minime parcunt, &c.

[49] Tertul. Apol. c. 50. Licet nunc sarmentitios et semaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidii axis revincti, sarmentorum ambitu exurimur.

[50] Minuc. Octav. p. 25. Latebrosa et lucifugax natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula.

[51] Origen. cont. Cel. lib. 1. p. 5.

Sect. 12. *Plautinæ prosapiæ*, and *pistores*.

The same heathen in Minucius gives them one scurrilous name more, which it is not very easy to guess the meaning of. He calls them Plautinians,[52] *homines plautinæ prosapiæ*. Rigaltius[53] takes it for a ridicule upon the poverty and simplicity of the Christians, whom the heathens commonly represented as a company of poor ignorant mechanics, bakers, tailors, and the like; men of the same quality with Plautus, who, as St. Jerom[54] observes, was so poor, that in a time of famine he was forced to hire out himself to a baker to grind at his mill, during which time he wrote three of his plays in the intervals of his labour. Such sort of men Cæcilius says the Christians were; and therefore he styles Octavius in the dialogue, *homo Plautinæ prosapiæ, et pistorum præcipuus*, a Plautinian, a chief man among the illiterate bakers, but no philosopher. The same reflection is often made by Celsus. You shall see, says he,[55] weavers, tailors, fullers, and the most illiterate and rustic fellows, who dare not speak a word before wise men, when they can get a company of children and silly women together, set up to teach strange paradoxes amongst them. This is one of their rules, says he again,[56] Let no man that is learned, wise, or prudent come among us; but if any be unlearned, or a child, or an idiot, let him freely come. So they openly declare, that none but fools, and sots, and such as want sense, slaves, women, and children, are fit disciples for the God they worship.

Sect. 13. With what names the heretics reproached the orthodox Christians.

Nor was it only the heathens that thus reviled them, but commonly every perverse sect among the Christians had some reproachful name to cast upon them. The Novatian party called them Cornelians,[57] because they communicated with Cornelius, bishop of Rome, rather than with Novatianus, his antagonist. They also termed them apostatics, capitolins, synedrians, because[58] they charitably decreed in their synods to receive apostates, and such as went to the capitol to sacrifice, into their communion again upon their sincere repentance. The Nestorians[59] termed the orthodox Cyrillians; and the Arians[60] called them Eustathians and Paulinians, from Eustathius and Paulinus, bishops of Antioch. As also homoousians, because they kept to the doctrine of the ὁμοούσιον, which declared the Son of God to be of the same substance with the Father. The author of the Opus Imperfectum on St. Matthew, under the name of Chrysostom,[61] styles them expressly, *Hæresis homoousianorum*, The heresy of the homoousians. And so Serapion in his conflict with Arnobius[62] calls them *homousianates*, which the printed copy reads corruptly *homuncionates*, which was a name for the Nestorians.

Sect. 14. Christians called *psychici* by the Montanists.

The Cataphrygians, or Montanists, commonly called the orthodox, ψυχικοὺς, carnal; because they rejected the prophecies and pretended inspirations of Montanus, and would not receive his rigid laws about fasting, nor abstain from second marriages, and observe four lents in a year, &c. This was Tertullian's ordinary compliment to the Christians in all his books[63] written after he was fallen into the errors of Montanus. He calls his own party the spiritual, and the orthodox, the carnal. And some of his books[64] are expressly entitled, Adversus Psychicos. Clemens Alexandrinus[65] observes, the same reproach was also used by other heretics beside the Montanists. And it appears from Irenæus, that this was an ancient calumny of the Valentinians, who styled themselves the spiritual and the perfect, and the orthodox, the secular and carnal,[66] who had need of abstinence and good works, which were not necessary for them that were perfect.

Sect. 15. Allegorists by the Millenaries.

The Millenaries styled them allegorists, because they expounded the prophecy of the saints reigning a thousand years with Christ, Rev. xx. 4, to a mystical and allegorical sense. Whence Eusebius[67] observes of Nepos the Egyptian bishop, who wrote for the millennium, that he entitled his book, Ἔλεγχος Ἀλληγοριστῶν, A Confutation of the Allegorists.

Sect. 16. *Chronitæ*, by the Aetians; *simplices*, by the Manichees; *anthropolatræ*, by the Apollinarians.

Aetius the Arian gives them the abusive name of χρονῖται; by which he seems to intimate, that their religion was but temporary, and would shortly have an end; whenas the character was much more applicable to the Arians themselves, whose faith was so lately sprung up in the world; as the author of the dialogues de Trinitate, under the name of Athanasius, who confutes Aetius,[68] justly retorts upon him.

The Manichees, as they gave themselves the

[52] Minuc. p. 37. Quid ad hæc audet Octavius homo Plautinæ prosapiæ, ut pistorum præcipuus ita postremus philosophorum?

[53] Rigalt. in loc.

[54] Hieron. Chronic. an. 1. Olymp. 145.

[55] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 3. p. 144.

[56] Ibid. p. 137.

[57] Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 280.

[58] Pacian. Ep. 2. ad Sympronian.

[59] Ep. Legat. Schismat. ad suos in Epheso in Act. Con. Ephes. Con. t. 3. p. 746.

[60] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 21.

[61] Opus Imperf. Hom. 48.

[62] Conflict. Arnob. et Serap. ad calcem Irenæi, p. 519.

[63] Tertul. adv. Prax. c. 1. Nos quidem agnitio Paracleti disjunxit a psychicis. Id. de Monogam. c. 1. Hæretici nuptias auferunt, psychici ingerunt. See also c. 11 and 16.

[64] De Jejuniis adv. Psychicos. De Pudicitia, &c.

[65] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 511.

[66] Iren. lib. 1. c. p. 29. Nobis quidem, quos psychicos vocant, et de sæculo esse dicunt, necessariam continentiam, &c.

[67] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 24.

[68] Athan. Dial. 2. de Trinit. t. 2. p. 193.

most glorious names of *electi, macarii, catharistæ,* mentioned by St. Austin;[69] so they reproached the catholics with the most contemptible name of *simplices,* idiots; which is the term that Manichæus himself used in his dispute[70] with Archelaus the Mesopotamian bishop, styling the Christian teachers, *simpliciorum magistros,* guides of the simple, because they could not relish his execrable doctrine concerning two principles of good and evil.

The Apollinarians were no less injurious to the catholics, in fixing on them the odious name of *anthropolatræ,* man-worshippers; because they maintained that Christ was a perfect man, and had a reasonable soul and body, of the same nature with ours; which Apollinarius denied. Gregory Nazianzen[71] takes notice of this abuse, and sharply replies to it; telling the Apollinarians, that they themselves much better deserved the name of *sarcolatræ,* flesh-worshippers; for if Christ had no human soul, they must be concluded to worship his flesh only.

Sect. 17. *Philosarcæ* and *pilosiotæ,* &c. by the Origenians.

The Origenians, who denied the truth of the resurrection, and asserted that men should have only aerial and spiritual bodies in the next world, made jests upon the catholics, because they maintained the contrary, that our bodies should be the same individual bodies, and of the same nature that they are now, with flesh and bones, and all the members in the same form and structure, only altered in quality, not in substance. For this they gave them the opprobrious names of *simplices* and *philosarcæ,*[72] idiots and lovers of the flesh; *carnei, animales, jumenta,* carnal, sensual, animals; *lutei,* earthy; *pilosiotæ,*[73] which Erasmus's edition reads corruptly *pelusiotæ,* instead of *pilosiotæ;* which seems to be a name formed from *pili,* hair; because the catholics asserted, that the body would rise perfect in all its parts, even with the hair itself to beautify and adorn it.

Sect. 18. The synagogue of antichrist and Satan, by the Luciferians.

But of all others, the Luciferians gave the church the rudest language; styling her the brothel-house, and synagogue of antichrist and Satan; because she allowed those bishops to retain their honour and places, who were cajoled by the Arians to subscribe the fraudulent confession of the council of Ariminum. The Luciferian in St. Jerom runs out in this manner against the church; and St. Jerom says, he spake but the sense of the whole party, for this was the ordinary style[74] and language of all the rest.

These are some of those reproachful names, which heretics, concurring with Jews and infidels, endeavoured to fasten upon the Christian church; which I should not so much as have mentioned, but that they serve to give some light to antiquity, and therefore were not wholly to be passed over in a treatise of this nature.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SEVERAL ORDERS OF MEN IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Sect. 1. Three sorts of members of the Christian church, the ἡγούμενοι, πιστὸι, and κατεχούμενοι.

HAVING given an account of the several names of Christians, I proceed now to speak of the persons, and several orders of men, in the Christian church. Some divide them into three ranks, others into four, others into five; which yet come much to the same account, when they are compared together. Eusebius reckons but three orders, viz. the ἡγούμενοι, πιςὸι, and κατηχούμενοι; rulers, believers, and catechumens. There are in every church, says he, three orders of men,[1] one of the rulers or guides, and two of those that are subject to them; for the people are divided into two classes, the πιςὸι, believers, and the unbaptized, by whom he means the catechumens. St. Jerom[2] makes five orders; but then he divides the clergy into three orders, to make up the number; reckoning them thus, bishops, presbyters, deacons, believers, and catechumens. In which account he follows Origen,[3] who makes five degrees subordinate to one another in the church;

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[69] Aug. de Hær. c. 46.

[70] Archel. Disp. adv. Manichæum ad calcem Sozomen. Ed. Vales. p. 197.

[71] Naz. Ep. 1. ad Cledon.

[72] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. t. 2. p. 171. Nos simplices et philosarcas dicere, quod eadem ossa, et sanguis, et caro, id est, vultus et membra, totiusque compago corporis resurgat in novissima die.

[73] Id. Ep. 65. ad Pam. et Ocean. de Error. Orig. p. 192. Pelusiotas (leg. pilosiotas) nos appellant, et luteos, animalesque, et carneos, quod non recipiamus ea quæ Spiritus sunt.

[74] Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer. t. 2. p. 135. Asserebat universum mundum esse diaboli: et, ut jam familiare est eis dicere, factum de ecclesia lupanar. —— Quod antichristi magis synagoga, quam ecclesia Christi debeat nuncupari.

[1] Euseb. Demonst. Evang. lib. 7. c. 2. p. 323. Τρία καθ' ἑκάςην ἐκκλησίαν τάγματα, ἓν μὲν τὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων, δύο δὲ τὰ τῶν ὑποϐεϐηκότων.

[2] Hieron. Com. in Esai. xix. p. 64. Quinque ecclesiæ ordines, episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, fideles, catechumenos.

[3] Origen. Hom. 5. in Ezek. Pro modo graduum unusquisque torquebitur. Majorem pœnam habet, qui ecclesiæ præsidet et delinquit. Annon magis misericordiam promeretur ad comparationem fidelis, catechumenus? Non magis venia dignus est laicus, si ad diaconum conferatur? Et rursus comparatione presbyteri diaconus veniam plus meretur.

saying, Every one shall be punished according to the difference of his degree. If a bishop or president of the church sins, he shall have the greater punishment. A catechumen will deserve mercy, in comparison of a believer; and a layman, in comparison of a deacon; and a deacon, in comparison of a presbyter. Here are plainly St. Jerom's five orders; first bishops, under the name of presidents of the church, then presbyters, after them deacons, then believers or laymen, and last of all the catechumens.

Sect. 2. Believers here strictly taken for the laity that were baptized.

In all which accounts, these four things are proper to be remarked: 1. That the name, believers, πιστὸι and *fideles*, is here taken in a more strict sense only for one order of Christians, the believing or baptized laity, in contradistinction to the clergy and the catechumens, the two other orders of men in the church. And in this sense the words πιστὸι and *fideles* are commonly used in the ancient liturgies[4] and canons, to distinguish those that were baptized, and allowed to partake of the holy mysteries, from the catechumens. Whence came that ancient distinction of the service of the church, into the *missa catechumenorum*, and *missa fidelium;*[5] of which more in its proper place.

Sect. 3. Catechumens owned as imperfect members of the church.

2. We may hence observe, that the catechumens, though but imperfect Christians, were in some measure owned to be within the pale of the church. Forasmuch as Eusebius, Origen, and St. Jerom reckon them one of the three orders of the church. And the councils of Eliberis[6] and Constantinople[7] give them expressly the name of Christians. Though, as St. Austin[8] says, they were not yet sons, but servants: they belonged to the house of God, but were not yet admitted to all the privileges of it; being only Christians at large, and not in the most strict and proper acceptation.

Sect. 4. Heretics not reckoned among Christians.

And yet this is more than can be said of heretics properly so called. For we may observe, 3. That in the forementioned division, heretics come into no account among Christians. They were not esteemed of, either as catechumens, or believers, but as mere Jews, or pagans; neither having the true faith, nor being willing to learn it. Tertullian[9] says in general, If they be heretics, they cannot be Christians. And St. Jerom,[10] disputing with a Luciferian, says the same in express terms, that heretics are no Christians; nor to be spoken of, but as we would do of heathens. Lactantius[11] specifies in the Montanists, Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Anthropians, Arians, saying, that they are no Christians, who, forsaking the name of Christ, call themselves by other denominations. Athanasius[12] and Hilary[13] say the same of the Arians, that they are not Christians. Constantine[14] therefore enacted it into a law, that they should not be called Christians, but Porphyrians; from Porphyry, that infamous heathen, whose practice they so much resembled in their impious blasphemies and reproaches of Christ and the Christian religion. And in imitation of this, Theodosius junior[15] made another law to the same effect, against Nestorius and his followers; that they should not abuse the name of Christians, but be called Simonians, from Simon Magus, the arch-heretic. To which we may add that decree of the general council of Sardica, in their synodical epistle[16] against the Arians; where they require all catholics, not only to deny the Arian bishops the title of bishops, but even that of Christians. All which evidently proves, that the ancients put a manifest difference betwixt those who were apostates from the faith, and those who as yet had never made any solemn profession of their faith in baptism: they allowed the catechumens the name of Christians, because they were candidates of heaven; but they judged heretics unworthy of that name, because they corrupted the common faith of Christians, and denied the Lord, by whose name they were called.

Sect. 5. Penitents and energumens ranked in the same class with catechumens.

4. We may observe in the last place, that there were no Christians, but what might be reduced to some one or other of the three forementioned orders: for the penitents, and energumens, as they called those that were possessed with evil spirits, may be ranked among the catechumens, being commonly treated and disciplined by the church in the

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[4] See Con. Nic. Can. 11. Con. Eliber. c. 12, 46, 51. Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 34. Cyril. Hierosol. Præf. Catech. n. 2.

[5] Con. Carth. 4. c. 84. Con. Valent. Hispan. c. 1.

[6] Con. Elib. Can. 39. [7] Con. Const. 1. Can. 7.

[8] Aug. Tract. 11. in Joh. t. 9. p. 41. Quod signum crucis in fronte habent catechumeni, jam de domo magna sunt, sed fiant ex servis filii. Non enim nihil sunt, quia ad magnam domum pertinent.

[9] Tertul. de Præscript. c. 37. Si hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt.

[10] Hieron. Dial. c. Lucif. t. 2. p. 135. Hæretici Christiani non sunt.——Igitur præfixum inter nos habemus, de hæretico sic loquendum sicut de Gentili.

[11] Lact. Instit. lib. 4. c. 30.

[12] Athan. Orat. 2. adv. Arian. t. 1. p. 316. Ἀρειανὸι ὄντες, ὀκ εἰσὶ χριστιανὸι.

[13] Hilar. ad Const. Lib. 1. p. 98. Christianus sum, non Arianus.

[14] Const. Imp. Ep. ad Episc. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 9.

[15] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæret. c. 66. Damnato portentosæ superstitionis auctore Nestorio, nota congrui nominis ejus inuratur gregalibus, ne Christianorum appellatione abutantur: sed quemadmodum Ariani lege divæ memoriæ Constantini ob similitudinem impietatis Porphyriani à Porphyrio nuncupantur; sic ubique participes nefariæ sectæ Nestorii Simoniani vocentur. See the same in the Acts of the General Council of Ephesus, part 3. c. 45. Con. t. 3. p. 1209.

[16] Con. Sardic. Ep. Synod. ap. Theod. lib. 2. c. 6.

same manner as they were, and placed in the same class with them; and the monks and other ascetics may be ranked under the common head of believers, though they had some peculiar marks of distinction in the church. Yet I shall not confine myself to speak of all those precisely in this order, and under these heads, but give each a distinct and proper place in this discourse; speaking here only of believers in general, as they stood distinguished from the catechumens and the clergy of the church, and treating of the rest as occasion shall require in the following parts of this discourse.

CHAPTER IV.

A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE ΠΙΣΤΟΙ, OR BELIEVERS; THEIR TITLES OF HONOUR AND PRIVILEGES ABOVE THE CATECHUMENS.

Sect. 1. Believers otherwise called φωτιζόμενοι, the illuminate.

The πιςὸι, or *fideles*, being such as were baptized, and thereby made complete and perfect Christians, were upon that account dignified with several titles of honour and marks of distinction above the catechumens. They were hence called φωτιζόμενοι, the illuminate. So the council of Laodicea[1] terms those that were newly baptized, προσφάτως φωτισθέντας. And Jobius[2] in Photius, οἱ φωτιζόμενοι. As St. Paul himself in the Epistle to the Hebrews twice uses the word illuminate, for baptized, in the opinion of most interpreters.[3] The reason of the name is given by Justin Martyr, who says[4] they were so called, because their understandings were enlightened by the knowledge that was consequent to baptism. For all the mysteries of religion were unveiled to the baptized, which were kept secret from the catechumens. And sometimes also baptism was attended with extraordinary illuminations of the Holy Ghost, as in those whom St. Paul caused to be baptized at Ephesus: Acts xix. 6, "They spake with tongues, and prophesied."

Sect. 2. And οἱ μεμυημένοι, the initiated.

2. They were hence also styled, οἱ μεμυημένοι, which the Latins call *initiati*, the initiated, that is, admitted to the use of the sacred offices, and knowledge of the sacred mysteries of the Christian religion. Hence came that form of speaking, so frequently used by St. Chrysostom and other ancient writers,[5] when they touched upon any doctrines or mysteries which the catechumens understood not, ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι, the initiated know what is spoken. St. Ambrose writes a book to these *initiati*.[6] Isidore of Pelusium[7] and Hesychius[8] call them μυςὰι, and others μυςαγώγητοι: whence the catechumens have the contrary names, ἄμυςοι, ἀμύητοι, and ἀμυςαγώγητοι, the uninitiated, or unbaptized.

Sect. 3. And τέλειοι, the perfect.

3. Believers were otherwise called τέλειοι, and τελειούμενοι, the perfect; because they were consummate Christians, who had a right to participate of the holy eucharist; the τὸ τέλειον, as it is frequently called in the canons[9] of the ancient councils; where ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον ἐλθεῖν, and τοῦ τελείȣ μετέχειν, always signify participation of the holy eucharist, that sacred mystery that unites us to Christ, and gives us the most consummate perfection that we are capable of in this world.

Sect. 3. Chari Dei, filii Dei, ἅγιοι, &c.

4. Tertullian adds to these the name of *chari Dei*, the favourites of Heaven; because their prayers and intercessions were powerful with God, to obtain pardon for others, that should address Heaven by them. Therefore, in his instructions to the penitents, he bids them, *charis Dei adgeniculari*, fall down at the feet of those favourites, and commend their suit to all the brethren, desiring them to intercede with God for them.—*Tertul. de Pœnit.* c. 9.

All these names (and many others that might be added, which are obvious to every reader, such as saints, and sons of God, &c.) were peculiar titles of honour and respect given only to those who were πιςὸι, or believers.

Sect. 5. The privileges of the *fideles*. 1. To partake of the eucharist.

And hence it was, that, correspondent to these names, the *fideles* had their peculiar privileges in the church, above the catechumens. For, first, it was their sole prerogative to partake of the Lord's table, and communicate with one another in the symbols of Christ's body and blood at the altar. Hither none came, but such as were first initiated by baptism. Whence the custom was, before they went to celebrate the eucharist, for a deacon to proclaim Ἅγια ἁγίοις, Holy things for holy men: Ye catechumens, go forth,[10] as the author of the Constitutions, and St. Chrysostom and some others, word it.

Sect. 6. To join in all the prayers of the church.

2. Another of their prerogatives above catechumens, was, to stay and join with the minister in all the prayers

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[1] Con. Laodic. Can. 3.

[2] Phot. Cod. 222. p. 595 et 598.

[3] See Grot. Hamond. Estius in Heb. vi. 4. et x. 32.

[4] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 94.

[5] Casaubon, Exerc. 16. in Baron. p. 399, observes this phrase to occur no less than fifty times in St. Chrysostom and St. Austin.

[6] Ambros. De his qui initiantur mysteriis.

[7] Isidor. lib. 4. Ep. 162. ἴσασιν οἱ μυστὰι τὸ λεγόμενον.

[8] Hesych. voce μυστὰι.

[9] Con. Ancyran. Can. 4, 5, 6, &c.

[10] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 8 et 12. Chrysost. Hom. in Parab. de Filio Prodig. t. 6. μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων, &c.

of the church; which the catechumens were not allowed to do. For in the ancient service of the church, there were no prayers preceding the communion office; but only such as particularly related, either to the several classes of penitents, or the *energumeni*, that is, persons possessed with evil spirits, or the catechumens themselves. When these prayers were ended, the catechumens and all others were commanded to withdraw, and then began the communion service at the altar; where none were admitted so much as to be spectators, save those who were to communicate in the eucharist. For to join in prayers and participation of the eucharist were then privileges of the same persons; and no one was qualified for the prayers of the church, that was not qualified for the communion.

Sect. 7.
3. The use of the Lord's prayer another prerogative of the πιστοὶ: whence it was called εὐχὴ πιστῶν, the prayer of believers.

3. More particularly, the use of the Lord's prayer was the sole prerogative of the πιςοὶ, or believers. For then it was no crime, or argument of weakness, or want of the Spirit, to use it; but an honour and privilege of the most consummate and perfect Christians. The catechumens were not allowed to say, "Our Father," till they had first made themselves sons by regeneration in the waters of baptism. This is expressly said by St. Chrysostom,[11] St. Austin,[12] Theodoret,[13] and several others. And for this reason, Chrysostom[14] calls it εὐχὴ πιςῶν; and St. Austin,[15] *oratio fidelium*, the prayer of the regenerate, or believers; because it was their privilege and birthright: it was given to them as their property, he says,[16] and therefore they made use of it; having a right to say, "Our Father, which art in heaven," who were born again to such a Father, by water and the Holy Ghost.

Sect. 8.
4. They were admitted to hear discourses upon the most profound mysteries of religion.

4. Lastly, they were admitted to be auditors of all discourses made in the church, even those that treated of the most abstruse points and profound mysteries of the Christian religion; which the catechumens were strictly prohibited from hearing. The catechumens were allowed to hear the Scriptures, and the ordinary popular discourses that were made upon them; which was no more than what some councils[17] allow even to Jews and Gentiles; for in those discourses they never treated plainly of their mysteries, but in such a covert way, as the catechumens could not understand them. But when the catechumens were dismissed, then they discoursed more openly of their mysteries before the *fideles*, whose privilege it was to be the sole auditors of such discourses. This we learn from St. Ambrose;[18] who says, his common discourses to the unbaptized were only upon points of morality; but when they were baptized, then was the time to open to them the mysteries and sacraments of religion: to have discoursed to them of those things before, had been more like exposing mysteries than explaining them. St. Austin speaks to the same purpose, in one of his sermons[19] to the newly baptized: Having now dismissed the catechumens, says he, we have retained you only to be our hearers, because, beside those things which belong to all Christians in common, we are now to discourse more particularly of the heavenly mysteries, or sacraments; which none are qualified to hear, but such as by God's gift are made partakers of them. And therefore ye ought to hear them with the greater reverence, by how much more sublime those doctrines are, which are committed only to the baptized and believing auditors, than those which the catechumens also are wont to hear. Theodoret[20] takes notice of the same distinction made in their discourses, according to the difference of their auditors; saying, We discourse obscurely of Divine mysteries before the unbaptized, but when they are departed, we speak plainly to the baptized. From all which it is evident, that the *fideles* were singled out, as the only proper auditors fit to hear discourses upon the sublime doctrines and mysteries of religion. And in these and the like privileges, consisted their prerogative above the catechumens.

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[11] Chrysost. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740.

[12] Aug. Hom. 29. de Verb. Apost.

[13] Theodor. Epit. Div. Dogm. c. 28.

[14] Chrysost. Hom. 10. in Colos. p. 1385.

[15] Aug. Enchirid. c. 71.

[16] Aug. Com. in Psal. cxlii. Orabant utique jam fideles, jam apostoli. Nam ista oratio Dominica magis fidelibus datur.

Id. Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 71. De quotidianis, brevibus, levibusque peccatis ——— quotidiana oratio fidelium satisfacit. Eorum est enim dicere, Pater noster, qui es in cœlis; qui jam Patri tali regenerati sunt, ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto.

[17] Con. Carthag. 4. Can. 84. Ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam, et audire verbum Dei, sive Gentilem, sive hæreticum, sive Judæum, usque ad missam catechumenorum.

[18] Ambros. de his qui mysteriis initiantur, c. 1. De moralibus quotidianum sermonem habuimus.——— Nunc de mysteriis dicere tempus admonet, atque ipsam sacramentorum rationem edere, quam ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandam nondum initiatis, prodidisse potius quam edidisse æstimaremur.

[19] Aug. Serm. 1. ad Neophytos in Append. t. 10. p. 845. Dimissis jam catechumenis, vos tantum ad audiendum retinuimus: quia præter illa, quæ omnes Christianos convenit in commune servare, specialiter de cœlestibus mysteriis locuturi sumus, quæ audire non possunt, nisi qui ea donante jam Domino perceperunt. Tanto ergo majore reverentia debetis audire quæ dicimus, quanto majora ista sunt, quæ solis baptizatis et fidelibus auditoribus committuntur; quam illa quæ etiam catechumeni audire consueverunt.

[20] Theod. Quæst. 15. in Num.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE DISTINCTION BETWIXT THE LAITY AND CLERGY; AND OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THAT DISTINCTION.

Sect. 1. The *fideles* otherwise called *laici*, to distinguish them from the clergy.

WE have hitherto considered the great body of the Christian church, the *fideles*, as opposed to the catechumens: we are now to view them in another relation, as contradistinct to the clergy: in which relation they went by other names, such as those of *laici*, laymen; βιωτικοὶ, seculars; ἰδιῶται, private men. The most common and ancient name was that of *laici*, which every where occurs in the writings of Origen, Cyprian, and Tertullian, and others of the third century: which is a thing so evident, that the greatest enemies of this distinction, Rigaltius,[1] Salmasius, and Selden, do not pretend to dispute it, but only say, there was originally no such distinction in the church, but that it is a novelty, and owing to the ambition of the clergy of the third century, in which Cyprian and Tertullian lived.

Sect. 2. The antiquity of this distinction proved against Rigaltius, Salmasius, and Selden.

This accusation reflects highly upon St. Cyprian, and other holy martyrs his contemporaries, who were as far from the ambition that is charged upon them, as the authors are from truth that bring the charge. For indeed the distinction was none of their inventing; but derived from the Jewish church, and adopted into the Christian by the apostles themselves. Clemens Alexandrinus,[2] speaking of St. John, says, that, after his return from banishment in the isle of Patmos, he settled at Ephesus; whence being often invited to visit the neighbouring regions, he ordained them bishops, and set apart such men for the clergy, as were signified to him by the Holy Ghost. Whence it appears, that the name κλῆρος, clergy, was always a peculiar title of those that were set apart for the ministry and service of God. And that this distinction came from the Jewish church, is evident from what Clemens Romanus[3] says of the Jewish economy; that as the high priest had his office assigned him, and the priests also their proper station, and the Levites their peculiar service; so laymen in like manner were under the obligation of precepts proper for laymen. These instances evidently prove, that a distinction was always observed in these names, laity and clergy, from the first foundation of the Christian church.

Sect. 3. An objection from 1 Pet. v. 3 answered.

There is but one objection of any moment against this, which is taken from the words of St. Peter, where he bids the elders of the church not lord it over God's heritage. The original is, μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων; which (as some learned critics[4] observe) may as well signify the possessions of the church, as the people. But admit that it means the people; this is no more than is said of the people of Israel, who are called God's κλῆρος, and λαὸς ἔγκληρος, his inheritance, or his clergy, Deut. iv. 20; ix. 29; as both the Jews and Christians were, in opposition to the heathen: notwithstanding which, God had his peculiar κλῆρος among his own people, who were his lot or inheritance, and distinguished by that name from the *laici*, or remaining body of the people. As we have observed before in the name πιστοὶ, *fideles*, or believers; all persons within the pale of the church were called believers, in opposition to infidels and pagans; but when they would distinguish one order of men in the church from another, then the name believers was given peculiarly to such as were baptized, and the rest were called catechumens: so here, all Christian people are God's κλῆρος, his lot, his inheritance, or his clergy; but when his ministers are to be distinguished from the rest of the people in the church, then the name *clerici*, or clergy, was their appropriate title, and the name of the other, laymen.

Sect. 4. A distinction in the offices of laity and clergy always observed.

And this observation will help to set another sort of persons right, who confound not only the names, but the offices of laity and clergy together; and plead, that originally there was no distinction between them. The name of priesthood, indeed, is sometimes given in common to the whole body of Christian people, 1 Pet. ii. 9; Rev. i. 6; but so it was to the Jewish people, Exod. xix. 6, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." Yet every one knows, that the offices of the priests and Levites among the Jews were very distinct from those of the common people, not by usurpation, but by God's appointment. And so it was among Christians, from the first foundation of the church. Wherever any number of converts were made, as soon as they were capable of being formed into an organical church, a bishop, or a presbyter, with a deacon, was ordained to minister to them, as Epiphanius[5] delivers from the ancient histories of the church. The same may be observed in the forementioned passage of Clemens Alexandrinus, where he says St. John ordained bishops and other clergy, in the churches which he regulated, by the direction of the Holy Ghost. Hence

[1] Rigalt. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 3.

[2] Clem. Alexand. Quis Dives salvetur, ap. Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. p. 185. et ap. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 23. Κλήρῳ ἕνα γε τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ πνεύματος σημαινομένων.

[3] Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. n. 40. ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται.

[4] Dodwel. Dissert. 1. in Cyprian.

[5] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 5.

it is that Ignatius so frequently in all his epistles charges the people to do nothing without the bishops,[6] presbyters, and deacons. Tertullian[7] says it was customary among heretics to confound the offices of clergy and laity together: they made one a bishop to-day, and another to-morrow; to-day a deacon, and to-morrow a reader; to-day a presbyter, and to-morrow a layman. For laymen among them performed the offices of the priesthood. But this was not the custom of the catholic church. For, as St. Jerom[8] observes, they reckoned that to be no church which had no priests. They were of no esteem with them, who were both laymen and bishops together. And by this we may judge how ingenuously they deal with St. Jerom and Tertullian, who allege their authorities to prove that every Christian is as much a priest as another. St. Jerom indeed says,[9] there is a laical priesthood; but then he explains himself to mean no more by that than Christian baptism, whereby we are made kings and priests to God. And Tertullian[10] grants no other priesthood to laymen, save that they may baptize in case of absolute necessity, when none of the ecclesiastical order can be had; which was according to the principles and practice of the primitive church; but does by no means confound the offices of laity and clergy together, unless any one can think cases ordinary and extraordinary all one. The ancient historians, Socrates and Ruffin,[11] tell us, that Frumentius and Ædesius, two young men, who had no external call or commission to preach the gospel, being carried captive into India, converted the nation, and settled several churches among them. And the same Socrates[12] and Theodoret say, that the Iberians were first converted by a captive woman, who made the king and queen of the nation preachers of the gospel to their people. Yet a man would argue very weakly, that should hence conclude, that therefore there was no distinction betwixt clergy and laity in the primitive church, or that laymen might preach without a call, and women ordain ministers of the gospel. The author of the Comments upon St. Paul's Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose,[13] seems to say indeed, that at first all Christ's disciples were clergy, and had all a general commission to preach the gospel and baptize: but that was in order to convert the world, and before any multitude of people were gathered, or churches founded, wherein to make a distinction. But as soon as the church began to spread itself over the world, and sufficient numbers were converted to form themselves into a regular society; then rulers and other ecclesiastical officers were appointed among them, and a distinction made, that no one, no, not of the clergy themselves, might presume to meddle with any office not committed to him, and to which he knew himself not ordained. So that, for aught that appears to the contrary, we may conclude, that the names and offices of laymen and clergy were always distinct from one another from the first foundation of Christian churches.

Sect. 5. Laymen also called βιωτικὸι, seculars.

The laymen were distinguished also by the name of βιωτικὸι, seculars, from βίος, which signifies a secular life. And by this title they are discerned not only from the clergy, but also from the ascetics, and those of a more retired life, who bid adieu to the world, and disburdened themselves of all secular cares and business. Thus St. Chrysostom,[14] exhorting all men to read the Scriptures, says, Let no man think to excuse himself by saying, I am a secular, ἀνὴρ βιωτικὸς, it belongs not to me to read the Scriptures, but to those that have retired from the world, and have taken up their abode in the tops of the mountains. And in another place, commenting on those words of St. Paul, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," he says, This command is given to the clergy, and to the monks, and not to the seculars only.[15] And so they are styled in the author[16] who goes under the name of Justin Martyr, and others.

Sect. 6. And ἰδιῶται, private men.

In some writers they are termed ἰδιῶται, private men, as being only in a private capacity, and not acting as public ministers. So it was another name to dis-

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[6] Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. 6 et 7. Ep. ad Trall. n. 2. Ep. ad Philad. n. 7.

[7] Tertul. de Præscript. c. 41. Alius hodie episcopus, cras alius: hodie diaconus, qui cras lector: hodie presbyter, qui cras laicus. Nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt.

[8] Hieron. Dial. c. Lucifer. t. 2. p. 145. Ecclesia non est quæ non habet sacerdotes. Ibid. Omissis paucis homunculis, qui ipsi sibi et laici sunt et episcopi.

[9] Hieron. ibid. p. 136. Sacerdotium laici, id est, baptisma. Scriptum est enim, Regnum et sacerdotes nos fecit, &c.

[10] Tertul. Exhort. ad Cast. c. 7. Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit.——Ubi ecclesiastici ordinis est consessus, et offert et tinguit sacerdos, qui est ibi, solus. Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est; licet laici.

[11] Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 9. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19.

[12] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 20. Ἀμφότεροι κήρυκες τοῦ Χριστοῦ, &c. Theodor. lib. 1. c. 23.

[13] Ambros. sive Hilar. Diacon. Com. in Eph. iv. p. 948. Ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare, et baptizare, et Scripturas in ecclesia explanare. At ubi autem omnia loco circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cætera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere officium quod sciret non sibi creditum.

[14] Chrys. Hom. 3. in Laz. t. 5.

[15] Chrys. Hom. 23. in Rom. ταῦτα διατάττεται ἱερεῦσι, καὶ μοναχοῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον.

[16] Just. M. Resp. ad. Quest. 19. τῷ βιωτικῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, &c.

tinguish them from the clergy, who were in the public office and employment of the church. St. Chrysostom[17] and Theodoret[18] say the word ἰδιώτης is so used by St. Paul himself, 1 Cor. xiv. 16, which we translate "unlearned;" but they say it signifies no more than a layman, or one in a private capacity, whether learned or unlearned, who is not a public minister of the church. And so Origen also uses the name ἰδιῶται, not for persons unlearned, but for laymen, who had power, as well as other Christians, to cast out devils in the name of Christ.[19] And Synesius opposes the names ἰδιῶται and ἱερεῖς to one another, making[20] the one to denote those who ministered in the sacred service of the church, and the other, those who had no such office, but served God only in a private capacity, as laymen. Whence also, speaking of some clergymen who deserved to be degraded, he says[21] they were to be treated publicly by all, ὡς ἄντικρυς ἰδιῶται, as mere private men, that is, no longer as clergymen, but laymen. Whence we may collect, that this was a common name for all such as had no public office or ministry in the church.

Sect. 7. What persons properly called *clerici*.

On the other hand, all persons who had any public employment in the church were called by the common name of *clerici;* which name at first was given only to the three superior orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, because there were then no other orders in the church. But in the third century many inferior orders were appointed, as subservient to the deacon's office, such as sub-deacons, acolythists, readers, &c. And then those also had the common name of *clerici* too, having no further concern with secular affairs, but wholly attending the service of the church. St. Cyprian always gives these the name of *clerici;*[22] as, where he speaks of Optatus a sub-deacon, and Saturus a reader, he styles them both *clerici.* The ordinations of such he[23] calls *ordinationes clericæ.* And hence the letters which he had occasion to send to foreign parts by their hands had the name of *literæ clericæ.*[24] Lucian the martyr, and Cyprian's contemporary, speaks in the same style concerning exorcists and readers.[25]

The council of Nice itself[26] gives the appellation of κλῆρος to others besides bishops, presbyters, and deacons. And the third council of Carthage made a canon[27] on purpose to confirm the title to them.

Sect. 8. The name *clerici* sometimes appropriate to the inferior orders.

Yea, the same council[28] seems rather to appropriate the name *clerici* to the inferior orders, by way of distinction from the superior, first naming bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and then the *clerici,* or clerks; that is, the inferior orders. And the same is done by St. Ambrose,[29] and Hilary[30] under his name, more expressly, who speak of the *clerici* as distinct from the deacons. As also Epiphanius,[31] who, speaking of those that lapsed in Egypt in the Diocletian persecution, he says, some of them were soldiers, some clerks of divers orders, some presbyters, and some deacons. Where the *clerici* are spoken of as distinct from presbyters and deacons. And so in the council of Laodicea,[32] and many other places.

Sect. 9. The reason of the name *clerici.*

As to the reason of the name *clerici* and *clerus,* St. Jerom[33] rightly observes, that it comes from the Greek κλῆρος, which signifies, a lot; and thence, he says, God's ministers were called *clerici,* either because they are the lot and portion of the Lord, or because the Lord is their lot, that is, their inheritance. Others[34] think some regard was had to the ancient custom of choosing persons into sacred offices by lot, both among Jews and Gentiles; which is not improbable, though that custom never generally prevailed among Christians, as shall be showed hereafter.

Sect. 10. All the clergy called *canonici.*

There is another name for the clergy, very commonly to be met with in the ancient councils, which is that of *canonici,* a name derived from the Greek word κανὼν which signifies, among other things, the roll or catalogue of every church, wherein the names of all the ecclesiastics were written, and which was as it were the rule of knowing to what church they belonged. In this sense the word κανὼν is often used by the council of Nice.[35] The council of Antioch[36] calls it ἅγιος κανὼν, the sacred roll; the Apostolical Canons,

[17] Chrys. Hom. 35. in 1 Cor. xiv. Ἰδιώτην δὲ λαϊκὸν λέγει.

[18] Theod. Com. in 1 Cor. xiv. 16. ἰδιώτην καλεῖ τὸν ἐν τῷ λαϊκῷ τάγματι τεταγμένον.

[19] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 7. p. 334.

[20] Synes. Ep. 54. ad. Theoph. p. 144.

[21] Synes. Ep. 67. p. 259.

[22] Cypr. Ep. 24. al. 29. ed. Ox. Quoniam oportuit me per clericos scribere, &c., fecisse me sciatis lectorem Saturum, et hypodiaconum Optatum.

[23] Id. Ep. 33. al. 38. [24] See Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 23.

[25] Lucian. Ep. 17. al. 23. ap. Cypr. Præsente de clero, et exorcista, et lectore, Lucianus scripsit.

[26] Con. Nic. can. 3.

[27] Con. Carth. 3. can. 21. Clericorum nomen etiam lectores, et psalmistæ, et ostiarii retineant.

[28] Con. Carth. 3. c. 15. Placuit ut episcopi, et presbyteri, et diaconi, vel clerici non sint conductores.

[29] Ambr. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 3. Aliud est quod ab episcopo requirit Deus, aliud quod a presbytero, et aliud quod a diacono, et aliud quod a clerico, et aliud quod a laico.

[30] Pseud.-Ambr. in Eph. iv. Nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant

[31] Epiphan. Hær. 68. Melet.

[32] Con. Laodic. can. 20.

[33] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Cleros græcè, sors latinè appellatur: propterea vocantur clerici, vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia ipse Dominus sors, id est, pars clericorum est.

[34] Dodwel. Dissert. 1. in Cypr. § 15.

[35] Con. Nic. can. 16, 17, 19. [36] Con. Antioch. c. 1.

κατάλογος ἱερατικὸς,[37] the catalogue of the clergy. Which is the same that Sidonius Apollinaris[38] calls *album*; and the council of Agde,[39] by the name of *matricula*; and St. Austin,[40] *tabula clericorum*. Now because the names of all the clergy were enrolled in this catalogue, or canon, they were hence called *canonici*. As in St. Cyril,[41] *κανονικῶν παρουσία* signifies the presence of the clergy. And *κανονικοὶ ψαλταὶ*, in the council of Laodicea,[42] signifies such of the clergy as were ordered to sing in the church. And so generally in the councils of Nice[43] and Antioch, *οἱ ἐν τῷ κανόνι*, is put to denote the clergy of the church. And upon the same account all others, whose names were set down in the church's books, to entitle them to receive maintenance from the church, were called by the same name, *canonici*, such as the monks, virgins, widows, &c. whom St. Basil[44] speaks of under this name, as Balsamon and Zonaras understand him.

Sect. 11. And τάξις τοῦ βήματος, the order of the sanctuary.

I pass over many other names of the clergy, which are obvious to every reader; such as that of ecclesiastics, and *ἱερατικοὶ*, or *τάξις ἱερατική*, the holy order, &c.; and shall but take notice of one more, which rarely occurs any where but in Gregory Nazianzen, who gives the clergy, especially the superior clergy, the name of *τάξις τοῦ βήματος*, the order of the sanctuary.[45] Which name was given them from their privilege of entering into that part of the church where the altar stood, which (as we shall see when we come to speak of churches) was called *βῆμα* or *ἱερατεῖον*, the sanctuary. Hither none might come but the clergy, who were therefore called the order of the sanctuary. Whence, in the same author,[46] *τῷ βήματι προσάγειν*, signifies to give a man ordination, or make him a clergyman. And *ὁ ἀπὸ βήματος*, is one of the sacred order,[47] or one of the clergy.

[37] Can. Apostol. c. 13, 14, 15, 50, &c.

[38] Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 8. Nomen lectorum albus nuper excepit.

[39] Con. Agathens. can. 2. Rescripti in matricula gradum suum dignitatemque suscipiant.

[40] Aug. Hom. 50. de Diversis, t. 10. p. 525. Delebo eum de tabula clericorum.

[41] Cyril. Præf. Catech. n. 3.

[42] Con. Laodic. can. 15.

[43] Con. Antioch. can. 2 et 6. Con. Nic. can. 16 et 17.

[44] Basil. Ep. Canonic. c. 6.

[45] Naz. Orat. 20. in Laud. Basil. p. 336.

[46] Id. Orat. 19. de Fun. Patr.

[47] Naz. Orat. 19. p. 310 et 311. Orat. 20. p. 351.

BOOK II.

OF THE SEVERAL ORDERS OF THE CLERGY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ORIGINAL OF BISHOPS; AND THAT THEY WERE A DISTINCT ORDER FROM PRESBYTERS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. What the ancients mean by different orders of bishops and presbyters.

We have hitherto considered the clergy in general, as distinct from the laity, and come now to examine by what names or offices they were distinguished from one another. And here the most ancient distinction that occurs, is that of the superior clergy into the three distinct orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. That there were no other orders in the church but these three at first, will be evidenced in its proper place, when I come to give an account of the first rise and original of the inferior orders; and that deacons were always a sacred and standing order, will be proved likewise when I speak particularly of them. Here then it remains, that our inquiry be made only into the distinction betwixt the orders of bishops and presbyters. And this, so far as concerns matter of fact and the practice of the church, (which is the thing I have undertaken to give an account of,) will be most fairly and fully resolved, by considering only these three things: 1. That the ancient writers of the church always speak of these as distinct orders. 2. That they derive the original of bishops from Divine authority and apostolical constitution. 3. That they give us particular accounts and catalogues of such bishops as were first settled and consecrated, in the new-founded churches, by the hands of the apostles.

But before I proceed to the proof of these things, I must premise one particular, to avoid all ambiguity; that I take the word order in that sense as the ancients use it, and not as many of the schoolmen do, who, for reasons of their own, distinguish between order and jurisdiction, and make bishops and presbyters to be one and the same order, only differing in power and jurisdiction. This distinction was unknown to the ancients; among whom the words, order, degree, office, power, and jurisdiction, when they speak of the superiority of bishops above presbyters, mean but one and the same thing, viz. the power of the supreme governors of the church, conferred upon them in their ordination, over presbyters, who are to do nothing but in subordination to them. St. Jerom, who will be allowed to speak the sense of the ancients, makes no difference in these words, *ordo*, *gradus*, *officium*, but uses them promiscuously, to signify the power and jurisdiction of bishops above presbyters and the whole church, which is, properly speaking, the very essence of their order. Therefore sometimes he calls them different orders, as in his book against Jovinian,[1] where he says, that both in the Old and New Testament the high priests are one order, the priests another, and the Levites another. So in his Epistles to Rusticus,[2] and Fabiola,[3] where he joins *ordo* and *gradus* together. In other places he uses the word *gradus* only. As in his Epistle to Eustochium,[4] he calls presbyters priests of the inferior degree; and in his Epistle to Heliodore,[5] deacons the third degree; and in his Comment upon Micah,[6] bishops, priests, and deacons, the degrees in the church. At other times he expresses his meaning by the word offices. As where he says,[7] that bishop, presbyter, and deacon, are not names of men's merits, but of their offices. So that it is all one, according to St. Jerom, whether we say the order, or the degree, or the office, or the power and jurisdiction of a bishop: for all these are intended

[1] Hieron. cont. Jovin. lib. 2. p. 89. In Veteri Testamento et in Novo alium ordinem pontifex tenet, alium sacerdotes, alium Levitæ.

[2] Id. Ep. ad Rustic. t. 1. p. 46. Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi, et omnis ordo ecclesiasticus suis rectoribus nititur.

[3] Id. ad Fabiol. de 42. Mansion. Israel. t. 3. p. 44. Ipsos secundi ordinis intelligimus præceptores, Luca evangelista testante, duodecim fuisse apostolos, et septuaginta discipulos minoris gradus.

[4] Ep. 27. ad Eustoch. Aderant Hierosolymarum et aliarum urbium episcopi, et sacerdotum inferioris gradus, et Levitarum innumerabilis multitudo.

[5] Ep. 1. ad Heliodor. Non minorem in tertio gradu adhibuit diligentiam, &c.

[6] Com. in Mic. vii. p. 162. Non hoc dico, quod istiusmodi gradibus in ecclesia non debeatis esse subjecti.

[7] Cont. Jovin. lib. 1. p. 41. Episcopus, presbyter, et diaconus non sunt meritorum nomina, sed officiorum.——— Si diaconus sanctior episcopo suo fuerit, non ex eo quod inferior gradu est, apud Christum deterior est.

to express the same thing, viz. the authority of bishops over their presbyters and the whole church. And in this sense I use the word order, in this discourse, to express the opinion of the ancients, concerning the different powers of bishops and presbyters in the church.

Sect. 2. The order of bishops always owned to be superior to that of presbyters.

Now that there was such a distinction always observed in the church, is evident, 1st, From the testimony of the most ancient writers, who speak of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as distinct degrees in the church, and the two latter as subordinate to the first. The testimonies of Ignatius to this purpose[8] are so full and evident, that nothing was ever pretended to be said against them, save only that they are not the genuine remains of that ancient author; which has been so often considered and replied to by learned men,[9] that there is no pretence left to favour such an imagination. The citations are too numerous to be here inserted at large, and therefore I shall only give the reader a specimen in one single testimony, by which he may judge of all the rest. In his Epistle to the Magnesians, he exhorts them[10] to do all things in unity, under the bishop presiding in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the apostolical senate, and the deacons to whom is committed the ministry and service of Jesus Christ.

The author of the Acts of the Martyrdom of Ignatius,[11] lately published from an ancient Greek copy, speaks exactly in the same manner of these three orders, when he says, that as Ignatius was on his journey to Rome, all the cities and churches of Asia sent to salute him by their bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Not long after these authors lived Pius, bishop of Rome, whose authority I cite, because Blondel[12] allows it to be genuine. This author, in his epistle to Justus of Vienna, gives him the title of bishop,[13] and speaks of presbyters and deacons under him. In the beginning of the next age we have the testimonies of Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Tertullian, all agreeing in the same thing, that there were then in their own times the different orders of bishops and presbyters in the church. There are here, in the church, says Clemens,[14] the different degrees or progressions of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, in imitation of the angelical glory. Origen takes notice of this distinction above ten times[15] in his works, which those that please may read at large in Bishop Pearson. I shall only recite two passages, one out of his Homilies upon St. Luke, written whilst he was a layman, where he says,[16] that digamy excludes men from all ecclesiastical dignities; for one that is twice married can neither be made bishop, presbyter, nor deacon. Here he calls them different dignities; in the other place[17] he calls them different degrees, saying, Every one shall be punished according to his degree: if the supreme governor of the church offends, he shall have the greater punishment. A layman will deserve mercy in comparison of a deacon, and a deacon in comparison of a presbyter. So that bishops, in his opinion, were then a degree above presbyters and deacons. Tertullian frequently[18] mentions the same distinction, but more especially in his book de Baptismo, where he says,[19] The right of baptizing belongs to the chief priest, who is the bishop; and after him, to presbyters and deacons, yet not without the authority of the bishop, for the honour of the church, in the preservation of which consists the church's peace.

These allegations are sufficient evidences, as to matter of fact, and the practice of the church in the three first ages, that there was then an order of chief priests, or bishops, superior to presbyters, settled and allowed in the Christian church.

Sect. 3. The order of bishops of apostolical institution.

If we proceed a little further into this inquiry, and examine from what original this appointment came, whether from ecclesiastical or apostolical institution; which is another question concerning matter of fact, that will in some measure determine the right also; the same authors, with the unanimous consent of all others, declare, that it was no human invention, but an original settlement of the apostles themselves, which they made by Divine appointment. The order of bishops, says Tertullian,[20] when it is traced up to its original, will be found to have

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[8] Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. n. 2, 3, 4. Ep. ad Philad. n. 4, 7, 10. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8 et 12. Ep. ad Trall. n. 2, 7, 12, 13. Ep. ad Polycarp. n. 6.

[9] Pearson, Vind. Ignat. Usser. de Epist. Ignat. Voss. Epist. ad Rivet. Coteler. Præf. et Not. in Ignat. Bull, Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. 3. n. 6. p. 290, &c.

[10] Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. 6.

[11] Martyr. Ignat. ap. Grabe Spicil. Sæcul. 2. t. 1. p. 12.

[12] Blondel. Apol. p. 18.

[13] Pius. Ep. 2. ad Just. Vien. Tu vero apud senatoriam Viennam.——— Colobio episcoporum vestitus, &c. Presbyteri et diaconi te observent.

[14] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6. p. 667. Ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προκοπαὶ ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, &c. Id. Pædag. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 264.

[15] Origen. Hom. 2. in Num. Hom. 2. in Cantic. Hom. 6. in Esai. Hom. 5 et 16. in Ezek. Com. in Matt. xix. et xxi. De Orat. ap. Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. par. 1. c. 11. p. 320.

[16] Orig. Hom. 17. in Luc. Ab ecclesiasticis dignitatibus non solum fornicatio sed et nuptiæ repellunt. Neque enim episcopus, nec presbyter, nec diaconus, nec vidua possunt esse digami.

[17] Orig. Hom. 5. in Ezek. Pro modo graduum unusquisque torquebitur, &c.

[18] Tertul. de Monogam. c. 11. De Fuga, c. 11. De Præscript. c. 41.

[19] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 17. Dandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem; quo salvo salva pax est.

[20] Tertul. adv. Marcion. lib. 4. c. 5. Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus, in Joannem stabit auctorem.

St. John for one of its authors. This agrees exactly with what Clemens Alexandrinus[21] has recorded of him, that when he was settled at Ephesus, he went about the neighbouring regions, ordaining bishops, and setting apart such men for the clergy as were signified to him by the Holy Ghost. These were those Asiatic bishops that St. Jerom[22] speaks of, who says, that at their request St. John wrote his Gospel against the heresies of Ebion and Cerinthus. Whence it follows, that, according to this account, the order of bishops was settled before the canon of Scripture was concluded. Whence Clemens of Alexandria[23] further observes, that there are many precepts in Scripture appertaining to particular sorts of persons, some to presbyters, some to deacons, and some to bishops also. Irenæus declares himself of the same opinion, that there were bishops as well as presbyters in the apostles' days. For the assembly of Miletus, he says,[24] was composed of bishops and presbyters, that were of Ephesus and the neighbouring cities of Asia. And therefore, agreeably to that hypothesis, he always derives the succession of bishops and their original from the apostles. As where he says,[25] that Hyginus, bishop of Rome, was the ninth in order of episcopal succession from the apostles.[26] And in another place,[27] giving an exact catalogue of the twelve bishops of Rome that governed successively in that see to his own time, he says of Linus, the first of them, that he was ordained bishop immediately by the apostles, upon the first foundation of the church; and of Eleutherius, the last of them, that he was the twelfth bishop from the apostles. Tertullian[28] insists much upon the same argument, and makes a challenge to all sorts of heretics upon it: Let them show us the original of their churches, and give us a catalogue of their bishops in an exact succession from first to last, whereby it may appear, that their first bishop had either some apostle, or some apostolical man, living in the time of the apostles, for his author or immediate predecessor. For thus it is that apostolical churches make their reckoning. The church of Smyrna counts up to Polycarp, ordained by St. John; the church of Rome, to Clemens, ordained by St. Peter; and so all other churches in like manner exhibit their first bishops ordained by the apostles, by whom the apostolical seed was propagated and conveyed to others. This implies that the apostles, as they founded churches, settled bishops in them; and that this might be proved from the records and archives of every church, the most of which were probably then remaining, when Tertullian made this challenge to all heretics, and appealed to these original records in behalf of the catholic church.

Sect. 4. A list or catalogue of such bishops as were first ordained by the apostles.

An exact and authentic catalogue of these first foundations, would be a very useful and entertaining thing: but at this distance of time, it is impossible to gratify the world with any such curiosity, whatever pains should be taken about it. Yet there are some scattered remains and fragments to be collected out of the ancient writers, which will sufficiently answer our present design; which is, to evidence that the apostles settled bishops in all churches upon their first plantation.

To begin with the church of Rome: we have already heard Irenæus and Tertullian declaring, that the apostles ordained a bishop there. And the same is asserted by St. Chrysostom,[29] and Eusebius,[30] and Ruffin,[31] and St. Jerom,[32] and Optatus,[33] and Epiphanius,[34] and St. Austin; who says,[35] If the order of the bishops succeeding one another be of any consideration, we take the surest and soundest way, who begin to number from St. Peter: for Linus succeeded Peter; and Clemens, Linus; and Anacletus, Clemens, &c.

It is true, there is a little difference in the account which these authors give of the succession; for some reckon Linus first, then Anacletus, then Clemens: others begin with Clemens, and reckon him the first in order from St. Peter. But this is easily recon-

[21] Clem. Alex. Quis dives salvetur. ap. Combefis. Auctar. Novissim. p. 185. et ap. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 23.

[22] Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. Eccles. in Joanne. Novissimus omnium scripsit evangelium, rogatus ab Asiæ episcopis.

[23] Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 264.

[24] Iren. lib. 3. c. 14. In Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus.

[25] Id. lib. 1. c. 28. Hyginus nonum locum episcopatus per successionem ab apostolis habuit.

[26] Euseb. lib. 4. c. 11, cites the same out of Irenæus.

[27] Iren. lib. 3. c. 3. Fundantes et instruentes beati apostoli ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Cited also by Euseb. lib. 5. c. 6.

[28] Tertul. de Præscript. c. 32. Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis, vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverint, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert: sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit: proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent, quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos, apostolici seminis traduces habent. See also c. 36. ibid. Polycrat. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. Cyprian. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 104. Cum Fabiani locus, id est, locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret. Id. Ep. 27. al. 33. ed. Oxon.

[29] Chrys. Hom. 10. in 2 Tim.

[30] Euseb. lib. 3. c. 4.

[31] Ruffin. ap. Hieron. Apol. 2. p. 219.

[32] Hieron. Catal. Script. in Clemen.

[33] Optat. lib. 2. p. 48.

[34] Epiph. Hær. 27.

[35] Aug. Ep. 165. Si ordo episcoporum sibi succedentium considerandus est; quanto certius et vere salubriter ab ipso Petro numeramus?——Petro enim successit Linus, Lino Clemens, Clementi Anacletus, &c.

ciled by learned men,[36] who make it appear that Linus and Anacletus died whilst St. Peter lived, and that Clemens was ordained their successor by St. Peter also. So that we have two or three persons, by this account, ordained successively bishops of Rome by the hands of the apostles.

Next, for the church of Jerusalem: it is unanimously delivered by all ancient writers, that James, the Lord's brother, was the first bishop thereof. St. Jerom[37] says, he was ordained by the apostles immediately after our Lord's crucifixion. Epiphanius[38] calls him, therefore, the first bishop; the first who had an episcopal chair, the first to whom Christ committed his own throne upon earth. Chrysostom[39] says, he was made bishop by Christ himself: the author[40] of the Apostolical Constitutions, both by Christ and the apostles. In like manner, Eusebius[41] always speaks of him under that character, as first bishop of Jerusalem, ordained by the apostles. So Hegesippus,[42] Clemens Alexandrinus,[43] and Dionysius,[44] bishop of Corinth, all cited by Eusebius. To whom we may add St. Austin,[45] who styles John, bishop of Jerusalem, St. James's successor, and possessor of the chair wherein he sat as first bishop of the place. And it is remarkable, what Clemens, one of the ancientest of these writers, says, that this was designed as a peculiar honour to St. James, in regard that he was the brother of Christ: for though our Saviour usually gave the preference to Peter and John, and James his brother, yet none of those contended about this honour, but chose this James, surnamed Justus, to be bishop of the place; where he lived a saint, and died a martyr.

Some time after his death, as Eusebius[46] relates from ancient tradition, the apostles and disciples of our Lord, as many as were yet in being, met together with our Saviour's kinsmen (several of which were then alive) to consult about choosing a successor in St. James's room; and they unanimously agreed upon Simeon, son of Cleopas, our Saviour's cousin according to the flesh; thinking him the most fit and worthy person to sit upon the episcopal throne. The same is asserted by Eusebius in other places,[47] and the author[48] of the Constitutions under the name of Clemens Romanus.

From Jerusalem, if we pass to Antioch, there again we find Euodius first, and after him Ignatius, ordained bishops by the hands of the apostles. Baronius[49] and some others fancy, that they sat both at the same time, the one as bishop of the Jews, and the other of the Gentiles; but Eusebius[50] says expressly, that Euodius was the first, and Ignatius the second, after Euodius was dead. And it is agreed by all ancient writers, that they were both consecrated before St. Peter's death. Of Euodius there can be no question made, if it appears that Ignatius was ordained by the apostles in his room. Now this is most expressly said by Theodoret,[51] that he received the gift of the high priesthood, *ἀρχιερωσύνης χάριν*, from the hand of the great Peter. In like manner, Chrysostom, in his encomium[52] upon him, says, he does not only admire him, because he was thought worthy of so high a degree; but that he was ordained to it by those holy men, and had the hands of the blessed apostles laid upon his sacred head. The same is said in effect by Athanasius,[53] when he calls him the first bishop of Antioch after the apostles; and Origen,[54] who calls him the second after St. Peter; and Jerom,[55] the third: for though they count differently, yet they mean the same thing; that Ignatius was ordained successor to Euodius while the apostles lived, and so might be called either second or third after the apostles, according as St. Peter and Euodius were included, or excluded out of the number.

From Antioch let us go to Smyrna; where we shall find Polycarp, another apostolical bishop, ordained by the apostles. St. Jerom ascribes his ordination[56] to St. John, whose disciple he was. Irenæus says, he himself knew him; and therefore could not mistake in what he relates of him; which is, that he was ordained bishop by the apostles.[57] Tertul-

[36] Cotel. Not. in Const. Apost. lib. 7. c. 46. Pearson, de Success. Rom. Pontif. Dissert. 2. c. 2. Cave, Hist. Lit. vol. 1. in Clem.

[37] Hieron. Catal. Script. c. 3. Post passionem Domini, statim ab apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus. Id. Com. in Gal. i. p. 165. Hic Jacobus primus Hierosolymorum episcopus fuit.

[38] Epiphan. Hær. 78. Antidicomar. n. 7. Id. Hær. 29. Nazor. n. 3. Hær. 66. Manich. n. 19.

[39] Chrys. Hom. 38. in 1 Cor. xv.

[40] Const. Apost. lib. 8. c. 35.

[41] Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23. lib. 3. c. 5 et 7. lib. 7. c. 19.

[42] Hegesip. ap. Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23.

[43] Clem. Hypotypos. lib. 6. ap. Euseb. lib. 2. c. 1.

[44] Dionys. ap. ad Atheniens. ap. Euseb. lib. 4. c. 23.

[45] Aug. contra Crescon. lib. 2. c. 37. Hierosolymitanam ecclesiam primus apostolus Jacobus episcopatu suo rexit. Id. cont. Liter. Petil. lib. 2. c. 51. Cathedra ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ, in qua Jacobus sedit, et in qua hodie Johannes sedet. See also Cyril. Catechism. 4. n. 17. Catech. 14. n. 13.

[46] Euseb. lib. 3. c. 11.

[47] Idem Chronic.

[48] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. c. 46.

[49] Baron. an. 45. n. 14. an. 71. n. 11. Halloix Vit. Ignat. c. 2. p. 394.

[50] Euseb. lib. 3. c. 22.

[51] Theod. Dial. 1. t. 4. p. 33.

[52] Chrysost. Hom. 42. in Ignat. t. 1. p. 501. Ed. Front. Duc.

[53] Athan. de Synod. Arim. t. 1. p. 922.

[54] Orig. Hom. 6. in Luc. Ignatium dico episcopum Antiochiæ post Petrum secundum.

[55] Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. in Ignat. Tertius post Petrum apostolum episcopus.

[56] Hieron. Catal. Script. c. 17. Polycarpus Joannis apostoli discipulus, ab eo Smyrnæ episcopus ordinatus.

[57] Iren. lib. 3. c. 3. Ab apostolis in Asia, in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia, constitutus episcopus, quem et nos vidimus in prima nostra ætate.

lian[58] and Eusebius[59] witness the same; the one saying, that he was ordained by St. John; and the other, by those that had seen the Lord.

Papias was another disciple of St. John,[60] as both Irenæus and St. Jerom witness; and he was contemporary with Ignatius and Polycarp, and bishop of Hierapolis about the same time; that is, in the beginning of the second century. So that it is probable, he was another of those bishops which St. John ordained in Asia, though we have no express testimony to prove it.

But it is asserted by all ancient writers, that Timothy was ordained bishop of Ephesus by St. Paul. Eusebius,[61] Chrysostom,[62] Epiphanius,[63] Jerom,[64] Hilary the deacon,[65] and the author of the Passion of Timothy in Photius,[66] unanimously attest it. And Theodoret[67] affirms, moreover, that he was bishop, under the title of an apostle.

Most of the same authors agree in the same evidence for Titus,[68] that he was made bishop of Crete by St. Paul also. And Chrysostom,[69] with Eusebius, seems to give both him and Timothy the power of metropolitans; of which more hereafter.

Others say, that Dionysius the Areopagite was made first bishop of Athens. Eusebius[70] more than once mentions an epistle of Dionysius bishop of Corinth, a very ancient writer of the second century, wherein this is expressly asserted. So that he must be ordained, either by St. Paul himself, as Suidas and others[71] think, or by some other apostle. It is generally agreed, that this Dionysius died some time before St. John, and was succeeded in his bishopric by Publius, and he by Quadratus, whom St. Jerom[72] calls a disciple of the apostles; which, in all probability, refers to his being tutored by St. John. Now, if Quadratus himself was St. John's disciple, (as he might be, who was bishop in the time of the emperor Hadrian, to whom he presented his apology,) then there might be three bishops successively at Athens, all trained up by the apostles, and two of them consecrated by their hands, or at least with their consent and approbation.

I shall end this catalogue of primitive bishops with what Theodoret[73] says of Epaphroditus, that as Timothy and Titus were bishops of Ephesus and Crete under the name of apostles, so Epaphroditus was bishop of Philippi under the same title, which was then the common name of all that were properly bishops: of which I say no more in this place, because I give a more particular account of it in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SEVERAL TITLES OF HONOUR GIVEN TO BISHOPS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. All bishops at first called apostles.

FOR further confirmation of what has been asserted in the foregoing chapter, it will not be amiss here to subjoin next a short account of the several titles of honour which were given to bishops in the primitive church. The most ancient of these, is the title of apostles, which, in a large and secondary sense, is thought by many to have been the original name for bishops, before the name bishop was appropriated to their order. For at first they suppose the names bishop and presbyter to have been common names for all of the first and second order; during which time, the appropriate name for bishops, to distinguish them from mere presbyters, was that of apostles. Thus Theodoret[1] says expressly, The same persons were anciently called promiscuously both bishops and presbyters, whilst those who are now called bishops were called apostles. But shortly after, the name of apostles was appropriated to such only as were apostles indeed; and then the name bishop was given to those who before were called apostles. Thus, he says, Epaphroditus was the apostle of the Philippians, and Titus the apostle of the Cretians, and Timothy the apostle of the Asiatics. And this he repeats[2] in several other places of his writings.

The author under the name of St. Ambrose[3] asserts the same thing, that all bishops were called apostles at first. And therefore, he says,[4] that St. Paul, to distinguish himself from such apostles, calls himself an apostle, not of man, nor sent by man to preach, as those others were, who were chosen and sent by the apostles to confirm the

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58 Tertul. de Præscrip. c. 32.
59 Euseb. lib. 3. c. 36. et lib. 4. c. 14.
60 Iren. lib. 5. c. 33. Papias Joannis auditor, Polycarpi contubernalis. Hieron. Ep. 29. ad Theodor. It. de Scriptor.
61 Euseb. lib. 3. c. 4. 62 Chrys. Hom. 1. in Philip.
63 Epiph. Hær. 75. Aerian.
64 Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. in Timotheo.
65 Pseudo-Ambros. Præf. in Tim. It. Com. in 1 Tim. iii.
66 Phot. Cod. 254. 67 Theodor. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. 1.
68 Euseb. et Chrysost. loc. cit. Hieron. de Scriptor. in Tito. Pseudo-Ambros. Præf. in Tit. Theodor. loc. cit.
69 Chrys. Hom. 1. in Tit. It. Hom. 15. in 1 Tim.
70 Euseb. lib. 3. c. 4. It. lib. 4. c. 23.
71 Suidas in Voce Dionys. Maxim. Prolog. ad Oper. Dionysii.
72 Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 19. Quadratus apostolorum discipulus, Publio Athenarum episcopo ob Christi fidem martyrio coronato, in locum ejus substituitur.
73 Theodor. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. 1.
1 Theodor. Ibid.
2 Theodor. Com. in Phil. i. 1. It. in Phil. ii. 25.
3 Ambros. Com. in Eph. iv. Apostoli episcopi sunt.
4 Id. Com. in Gal. i. 1.

churches. Amalarius[5] cites another passage out of this same author, which speaks more fully to the purpose: They, says he, who are now called bishops, were originally called apostles: but the holy apostles being dead, they who were ordained after them to govern the churches, could not arrive to the excellency of those first; nor had they the testimony of miracles, but were in many other respects inferior to them: therefore they thought it not decent to assume to themselves the name of apostles; but, dividing the names, they left to presbyters the name of the presbytery, and they themselves were called bishops.

This is what those authors infer from the identity of the names, bishop and presbyter, in the first age. They do not thence argue, (as some who abuse their authority have done since,) that therefore bishops and presbyters were all one; but they think that bishops were then distinguished by a more appropriate name, and more expressive of their superiority, which was that of secondary apostles.

Sect. 2. After that, successors of the apostles.

Afterward bishops thought it honour enough for them to be styled the apostles' successors. As Cyprian,[6] and Firmilian,[7] and the bishops in the council of Carthage[8] call themselves and others. And St. Jerom[9] speaks of them in the same style, saying, Wheresoever a bishop is, whether at Rome, or Eugubium at Constantinople, or at Rhegium; at Alexandria, or at Tanis; they are all of equal merit, their priesthood is the same; they are all successors to the apostles. And both he and St. Austin[10] draw that of the psalmist to this sense; "Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children, whom thou mayest make princes in all lands:" they say, bishops are the sons of the apostles, and princes and fathers in the church.

Sect. 3. Whence every bishop's see called *sedes apostolica*.

And hence it was that anciently every bishop's see was dignified with the title of *sedes apostolica*, an apostolical see; which in those days was no peculiar title of the bishop of Rome, but given to all bishops in general, as deriving their original and counting their succession from the apostles. The catholic church, says St. Austin,[11] is propagated and diffused over all the world by the apostolical sees, and the succession of bishops in them. It is plain, this is not spoken only of the bishop of Rome, but of all other bishops whatsoever. Sidonius Apollinaris[12] uses the same expression, in speaking of a private French bishop, who sat five and forty years, he says, in his apostolical see. And Paulinus[13] makes no more but the usual compliment to Alypius, when he tells him, that God had deservedly placed him in an apostolical see with the princes of his people.

Sect. 4. Bishops called princes of the people.

Where we must also note, that Paulinus speaks in the usual phrase and style of those ancient times, when he calls bishops princes of the people. For that was another usual title that was given them; as appears from Optatus,[14] and several passages in St. Jerom;[15] who, to distinguish them from secular princes, usually styles them *principes ecclesiæ*,[16] princes of the church; applying to them that prophecy of Isa. lx. 17, which, according to his translation, is, "I will make thy princes peace, and thy bishops righteousness." Upon which he has this note;[17] That the majesty of the Holy Scripture is to be admired, in that it calls those who were to be bishops in future ages, by the name of princes. In the Greek writers they are styled *ἄρχοντες ἐκκλησιῶν*, governors and princes likewise; as frequently in Eusebius,[18] Origen,[19] Chrysostom,[20] and many others.

Sect. 5. *Præpositi*, προεστῶτες, πρόεδροι, ἔφοροι.

In the same sense Cyprian[21] and Tertullian[22] commonly call them presidents, or provosts of the church; which Eusebius[23] and Justin Martyr[24] call *προεστῶτες*, and sometimes *πρόεδροι*,[25] and others *ἔφοροι*,[26] inspectors; all which are proper characters of bishops, who have the care, presidency, and inspection of the church.

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[5] Amalar. de Offic. Eccles. lib. 2. c. 13. Qui nunc episcopi nominantur, illi tunc apostoli dicebantur, &c.

[6] Cypr. Ep. 69. al. 66. ad Florent. Qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt. Id. Ep. 42. al. 45. ad Cornel. Laborare debemus, ut unitatem a Domino, et per apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, obtinere curemus.

[7] Firmil. Ep. 55. ap. Cypr. p. 225.

[8] Con. Carthag. ap. Cypr. in Suffragio Clari a Mascula.

[9] Hieron. Epist. 85. ad Evagr. It. in Psal. xliv. 16.

[10] Aug. Com. in Psal. xliv. 16. p. 169. Pro apostolis nati sunt filii tibi, constituti sunt episcopi, —— Ipsa ecclesia patres illos appellat.

[11] Aug. Ep. 42. ad Fratres Madaurens. Christiana societas per sedes apostolorum et successiones episcoporum certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur.

[12] Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 1. ad Lup. Tricassin. In apostolica sede novem jam decursa quinquennia.

[13] Paulin. Ep. 45. ad Alypium. Cum principibus populi sui sede apostolica meritò collocavit Dominus. See also Tertul. de Præscrip. c. 36. Ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsidentur. —— Habes Corinthum. —— Habes Philippos, &c.

[14] Optat. lib. 1. p. 39. Ipsi apices et principes omnium episcopi.

[15] Hieron. Com. in Esa. iii.

[16] Hieron. Com. in Psal. xliv. Principes ecclesiæ, id est, episcopi. Id. Com. in Esa. v. et Tit. i.

[17] Hieron. Com. in Esa. lx. Scripturæ S. admiranda majestas, quod principes futuros ecclesiæ episcopos nominavit.

[18] Euseb. Hist. lib. 6. c. 28. lib. 8. c. 1 et 3. It. de Martyr. Palæst. c. 1.

[19] Origen. Hom. 11. in Jerem. Cont. Cels. lib. 3. p. 129.

[20] Chrys. de Sacerdot. lib. 3. c. 15. Id. Hom. 3. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 48.

[21] Cypr. Ep. 3, 9, 13, 27, 81. Ed. Oxon. Præpositi.

[22] Tertul. Apol. c. 39. Ad Uxor. lib. 1. c. 7. De Cor. Mil. c. 3.

[23] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 3, 8, 10. lib. 7. c. 13. lib. 8. c. 6.

[24] Just. Apol. 2. Chrysost. Hom. 3. in Colos.

[25] Euseb. lib. 8. c. 2. It. de Martyr. Palæst. c. 2.

[26] Philostorg. Hist. lib. 3. c. 6.

Sect. 6. *Principes sacerdotum, pontifices maximi, summi sacerdotes, &c.*

And because this presidency was not only over the people, but also over the clergy, they were dignified upon that account with the distinguishing characters of *summi sacerdotes*, *pontifices maximi*, and *principes sacerdotum*, chief priests, and princes of the clergy. The author under the name of St. Ambrose,[27] gives the bishop expressly the title of chief priest, and prince of the priests. And so, frequently, the name *summus sacerdos* is used by St. Jerom: as, where speaking of himself, he says, In the opinion of all men he was thought worthy of the high priesthood; he explains[28] himself to mean a bishopric. And in another place,[29] the prosperity of the church depends upon the honour of the chief priest. The same title is given to all bishops, by the author[30] of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament under the name of St. Austin. Sidonius[31] calls them *summi pontifices;* where he speaks only of the bishops of France. And therefore, when Tertullian[32] gives the title of *pontifex maximus* to the bishop of Rome, he does him no greater honour than, in those days, was done to every bishop in the world; and some think he meant not the bishop of Rome in particular, but comprehended all others under that title. As it is certain the council of Agde does, when it orders[33] every metropolitan to call his suffragans, *ad ordinationem summi pontificis;* which means not, to the ordination of the pope of Rome, but to the ordination of any French bishop within the metropolitan's province or jurisdiction. For then, as we have seen, *summus pontifex* was the ordinary title of every bishop whatsoever.

Sect. 7. Every bishop anciently called *papa*, father, or pope.

And so was the name *papa*, though now it is become the pretended prerogative and sole privilege of the bishop of Rome. Some historians[34] indeed are so vain as to assert confidently, that Cyril of Alexandria was the first bishop in those parts who had the honour of being called *papa*, and that because he was Pope Celestine's legate in the council of Ephesus. The Arabic writers, Homaidius, and Abubacrus Habasides, cited by Echellensis and Bishop Pearson,[35] deliver a quite contrary story, that the name was first given to the patriarch of Alexandria, and thence carried to Rome: which seems to be said in answer to the Romish pretences. But the truth of the matter is, that it was no peculiar privilege of one patriarch or other, but the common title of all bishops, who were called fathers[36] of the church, and fathers[37] of the clergy; and *papa* means no more. Therefore Tertullian, in his book de Pudicitia, c. 13, speaking indefinitely of any Christian bishop who absolves penitents, gives him the name of *Benedictus papa.* Or if we suppose, as some do, that he speaks particularly of the bishop of Rome, yet there is nothing singular in it; for, at the same time, Dionysius, presbyter of Alexandria, speaking of Heraclas his bishop, gives him the very same title,[38] The blessed pope Heraclas. And Arius himself,[39] in one of his Epistles, speaks of his bishop Alexander in the same style. St. Jerom gives the title[40] to Athanasius, Epiphanius, and Paulinus; and writing often to St. Austin, he always inscribes[41] his Epistles *Beatissimo papæ Augustino.* So among Cyprian's Epistles, those that are written to him are usually inscribed[42] in the same manner, *Cypriano papæ.* And the clergy of Rome themselves[43] give him the title of *Benedictus papa*, and *Beatissimus* and *Gloriossimus papa Cyprianus.* It were easy to add many other testimonies out of Epiphanius, and Constantine's Epistles, and the Theodosian Code, and especially Sidonius Apollinaris,[44] who always gives the French bishops the style of *Dominus papa.* But in so plain a case I need not insist any longer, especially since a learned Romanist[45] has undertaken to prove, out of authors as late as Photius and Gregory of Tours, that *papa* was the common name of all bishops for several ages: who also notes out of Balsamon, that this name was sometimes given to the inferior clergy; who were called *papæ pisinni*, little fathers; and their tonsure, or crown, thence called παπαλήτρα, the tonsure of the fathers. In comparison of whom, Balsamon[46] calls presbyters

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[27] Ambros. Com. in Ephes. iv. In episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est, princeps sacerdotum.

[28] Hieron. Ep. 99. ad Asellam. Omnium pene judicio dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar.

[29] Id. Dial. c. Lucifer. p. 139. Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet.

[30] Aug. Quæst. Vet. et N. Test. c. 101. Quid est episcopus nisi primus presbyter, id est, summus sacerdos?

[31] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 11. lib. 7. Ep. 5.

[32] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 1.

[33] Con. Agathens. c. 35.

[34] Nicephorus is cited and chastised by Savaro for this. Vid. Savaro, Not. in Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 1.

[35] Pearson, Vind. Ignat. part 1. c. 11. p. 330.

[36] Aug. Com. in Psal. xliv. p. 169. Ipsa ecclesia patres illos appellat. Chrysost. Hom. 3. ad Popul. Antioch. t. 1. p. 43.

[37] Hieron. Ep. 62. ad Theoph. Episcopi contenti sint honore suo: patres se sciant esse, non dominos. Id. Ep. 2 et 3. ad Nepotian. Com. in Psal. xliv. &c.

[38] Dionys. Ep. ad Philemon. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 7. Παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου πάπα ἡμῶν Ἡρακλᾶ.

[39] Arius Ep. ad. Euseb. Nicom. ap. Theod. lib. 1. c. 5. et ap. Epiphan. Hær. 69. Arian.

[40] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. p. 163.

[41] Id. Ep. 17, 18, 25, 30. inter Epist. Augustini.

[42] Cypr. Ep. 30, 31, 36. Edit. Oxon.

[43] Ep. 8. Cleri Rom. ad Cler. Carthag. ibid. Didicimus secessisse Benedictum papam Cyprianum. Ep. 30. Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. Beatissime ac gloriosissime papa.

[44] Sidon. lib. 6. Epist. 1. Domino papæ Lupo. Lib. 6. Ep. 2. Papæ pragmatio. Lib. 6. Ep. 3. Domino papæ Leontio. And so for twelve Epistles together.

[45] Savaro, Comment. in Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 1. p. 379.

[46] Balsam. Com. in Can. Apost. c. 59. It. in Con. Antioch. can. 10.

and the *chorepiscopi*, *protopapæ*, and *protopapades*, chief fathers; speaking in the language of his own times, when the *chorepiscopi* and presbyters were become all one.

Sect. 8. *Pater patrum*, and *episcopus episcoporum*.

But bishops had still a more honourable title than that of *papa;* for they were commonly called *patres patrum*, and *episcopi episcoporum*, fathers of fathers, and bishops of bishops. The first that had this title was James, bishop of Jerusalem; which made the counterfeit author under the name of Clemens Romanus,[47] inscribe an epistle (as directed to him) with this title, *Clemens Jacobo domino, episcopo episcoporum, &c.* To which Sidonius Apollinaris[48] alludes plainly, when, writing to Lupus, an eminent French bishop, he tells him, he was father of fathers, and bishop of bishops, and another James of his age. By this we understand what Tertullian[49] means, when, speaking ironically of the catholic bishops, who admitted adulterers into communion again upon their repentance, he says, I hear there is a decree published, and that a peremptory one; the chief pontiff, the bishop of bishops, saith, I forgive the sins of adultery and fornication to all those that repent of them. Some[50] take this for a peculiar character of the bishop of Rome, and I will not deny, but that Tertullian might intend more especially to reflect upon him: but yet there is nothing singular in the title, which did not belong to other bishops as well as him; as appears from what has been already cited out of Sidonius. To which we may add the testimony of Athanasius,[51] who styles Hosius, The father of bishops. And Gregory Nazianzen[52] gives the same title to his own father, as St. Jerom[53] does to Epiphanius, styling him the father of all bishops. Cotelerius[54] observes, that Gregory Nyssen is called πατὴρ πατέρων, father of fathers, by the second council of Nice; and others[55] say, Theodosius the emperor gave Chrysostom the same honourable title after death. As to the reason of these names, it is probable some bishops might have them upon the account of personal merit; and others, from the eminency of their sees; as the bishop of Alexandria, to whom Balsamon[56] gives the title of *pater patrum*, many ages after. But there was a more general reason why all bishops should be called so, as may be collected from Epiphanius;[57] who says, that the order of bishops was an order that begat fathers to the church; that is, bishops made bishops by ordination; whereas presbyters could only beget sons, by the power which they had of baptizing. And therefore, though we sometimes find presbyters called fathers, yet we no where find the title of *pater patrum* given to any of their order. Yet I must here also observe, that several of these titles were never kindly received among the African fathers; because the bishops of Rome began to abuse them, to establish a usurped authority over their neighbours. Therefore, in two African councils held at Carthage, the one[58] under Cyprian, the other[59] in St. Austin's time, these titles, *episcopus episcoporum*, *princeps sacerdotum*, and *summus sacerdos*, were discountenanced and forbid, insomuch that the primates themselves were not allowed to use them. But of this more hereafter, when we come to speak of metropolitans.

Sect. 9. Bishops sometimes called patriarchs.

Gregory Nazianzen in his rhetorical way usually gives bishops the title of patriarchs; by which he means not patriarchs in the proper sense, as the word came afterward to be used in the church, to signify bishops of the larger sees, who had primates and metropolitans under them; but any bishops whatsoever, that were heads of their own family, that is, the church subject to them. Thus he styles his own father patriarch,[60] though he was but bishop of Nazianzum, a very small city in Cappadocia, under Cæsarea the metropolis. And in his oration[61] before the council of Constantinople, he gives the same title to all other bishops, complaining of the Arian cruelties against them. Have we not had, says he, our ancient bishops, or, to speak more properly, our patriarchs, publicly murdered by them? In another place, complaining of the corrupt promotions and practices of some bishops of his age, he thus takes his leave of them,[62] *Valete; insolentes estote: patriarchatus per sortes inter vos distribuite.* Farewell: go on in your insolence: divide the patriarchal dig-

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[47] Pseudo-Clem. Ep. 1. ad Jacob.

[48] Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 1. Tu pater patrum, et episcopus episcoporum, et alter sæculi tui Jacobus.

[49] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 1. Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium, pontifex scilicet maximus, episcopus episcoporum dicit, ego et mechiæ et fornicationis delicta pœnitentia defunctis dimitto.

[50] Baron. an. 142. n. 4. an. 216. n. 4. Georg. Ambianas Observ. in Tertul. t. 3. p. 633.

[51] Athan. Epist. ad solit. vit. agentes, t. 1. p. 837.

[52] Naz. Orat. 19. de Fun. Patr. p. 314.

[53] Hieron. Ep. 61. p. 167.

[54] Coteler. Not. in Ep. Clem. p. 605.

[55] Nicephor. lib. 14. c. 43.

[56] Balsam. Resp. ad Interrogat. Marci ap. Leunclav. Jus Gr. Rom. t. 1. lib. 5. p. 362. Κύριος Μάρκος πατέρων πατὴρ ὑπάρχων, &c.

[57] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian. Πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις. Πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

[58] Con. Carthag. ap. Cypr. p. 229. Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit.

[59] Con. Carth. 3. c. 26. Ut primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus.

[60] Naz. Orat. 19. p. 312. Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil. p. 342. Orat. 41. p. 675.

[61] Orat. 22. p. 525.

[62] Naz. Cygn. Carm. de Episcopis, t. 2. p. 308.

nities among you: translate yourselves from see to see: set up some, pull down others. Where it is evident, he speaks not of patriarchs properly so called, but only of some ambitious spirits among the bishops, who turned all things into confusion, and did what they pleased with the preferments of the church. Gregory Nyssen uses the same term for bishops, in his funeral oration upon Meletius, which he made in the council of Constantinople, where he gives all the bishops then in council the title of patriarchs. Behold[63] these patriarchs: all these are the sons of our Jacob; meaning Meletius, whom he calls Jacob for his age, and the rest patriarchs, in allusion to the twelve patriarchs who were Jacob's children. Thus bishops were commonly styled, till such times as the name patriarch became the appropriate title of the most eminent bishops, such as Rome, Constantinople, &c. And even some ages after that, De Marca[64] observes, that Athalaricus and the rest of the Gothish kings in Italy gave the name of patriarchs to all bishops within their dominions.

Sect. 10. And vicars of Christ.

It must not here be forgotten, that all bishops anciently were styled also vicars of Christ, and had as much interest in that name as he that has since laid so much claim to the title. The author of the Questions[65] under the name of St. Austin, says expressly, that every bishop is the vicar of God. Cyprian says the same in several of his Epistles,[66] that every bishop is *vice Christi*, Christ's vicar, or vicegerent. And this is his meaning in that noted passage to Cornelius, where he says,[67] All heresies and schisms take their original from hence, that men do not submit to God's priest, and consider that there ought to be but one bishop in a church at a time, and one judge as the vicar of Christ. This is spoken of every individual bishop throughout the world, as Rigaltius[68] freely owns; and they grossly mistake Cyprian's meaning, and abuse his authority, who apply it only to the bishop of Rome. St. Basil[69] extends the title to all bishops; and so does the author under the name of St. Ambrose,[70] who is supposed to be Hilary, a deacon of the church of Rome; which would have been an unpardonable oversight in him, had it not been then the custom of the world to give all others this title as well as the bishop of Rome.

Sect. 11. And angels of the churches.

I shall but take notice of one title more given to bishops, which is that of angels of the churches; a name which some authors[71] suppose to be used by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 10, where he says, women ought to be covered in the church because of the angels; that is, bishops, says Hilary the deacon, in the place last mentioned. And so the same author understands that of St. John, Rev. i. 20, "the seven stars are the angels[72] of the seven churches." Which is also the interpretation of St. Austin[73] and Epiphanius,[74] who say, that by angels we are not there to understand the celestial angels, (as Origen thought, who assigns a guardian angel[75] to every church,) but the bishops or governors of those seven churches. Hence, in after ages, bishops were called angels of the churches: as Socrates[76] terms Serapion, who was bishop of Thmuis, the angel of the church of Thmuis: and the author of the Short Notes[77] upon Timothy, under the name of St. Jerom, says of every bishop, that he is the angel of God Almighty. In this sense Dr. Hammond[78] observes out of a Saxon MS., that in our own language anciently bishops were called God's *bydels*, that is, messengers or officers, as he explains it from Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary, in the word *bedellus*. And thus much of those ancient titles of honour, which were given to all bishops indifferently in the primitive church.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE OFFICES OF BISHOPS AS DISTINCT FROM PRESBYTERS.

Sect. 1. A threefold difference between

I COME now to consider the episcopal office and function itself: where,

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[63] Greg. Nyss. Orat. de Fun. Melet. t. 3. p. 589.

[64] Marca Dissert. de Primatib. n. 20. p. 112.

[65] Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. c. 127. Antistitem Dei puriorem cæteris esse oportet.——Est enim vicarius ejus.

[66] Cypr. Ep. 63. ad Cæcil. Ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur.

[67] Ep. 55. al. 59. ad Cornel. p. 129. Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur.

[68] Rigalt. in loc. Ecce autem episcopos ævo jam Cypriani vicarios Christi.

[69] Basil. Constit. Monach. c. 22. t. 2. p. 792.

[70] Ambr. Com. in 1 Cor. xi. 10. Episcopus personam habet Christi.——Vicarius Domini est, &c. The author of the Constitutions, lib. 2. c. 26, styles the bishop Θεὸν ἐπίγειον.

[71] Ambrosiaster, ibid. Angelos episcopos dicit, sicut docetur in Apocalypsi Joannis.

[72] Pseudo-Ambros. in 1 Cor. xi. 10.

[73] Aug. Ep. 162. Divina voce laudatur sub angeli nomine præpositus ecclesiæ.

[74] Epiph. Hær. 25. Nicolait.

[75] Orig. Hom. 20. in Num. t. 1. p. 251. So also Andreas Cæsariens. Ἄγγελοι φύλακες. Com. in Apoc. 1. 20.

[76] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23.

[77] Hieron. Com. in 1 Tim. iii.

[78] Ham. Annot. on Rev. i. 20.

bishops and presbyters in the discharge of their office and function.

to do justice to antiquity, it is necessary for me to observe a threefold distinction between bishops and presbyters in the discharge of ecclesiastical offices. For, 1st, In the common offices, which were ordinarily intrusted in the hands of presbyters, such as preaching, baptizing, administering the eucharist, &c., there was this obvious difference betwixt a bishop and a presbyter, that the one acted by an absolute and independent power; the other, in dependence upon, and subordination to his bishop, by whose authority and directions, under God, he was to be governed, and do nothing without his consent, or against it: so that though there was no difference in the things that were done, yet there was an essential difference in the power of doing them. This is an observation not commonly made, but it is of very great use, both for establishing the just bounds of episcopal and presbyterial power, and clearing the practice of the primitive church. 2dly, Some offices were never intrusted in the hands of presbyters, nor allowed, if performed by them, such as the ordination of bishops, presbyters, &c. 3dly, Bishops always retained the power of calling their presbyters to an account, and censuring them for their misdemeanours in the discharge of their office; which presbyters could not do by their bishop, being always subject and subordinate to him as their superior. These things cleared and set in a fair light, will give us a just account of the office of a bishop, as distinct from that of a presbyter, in the primitive church.

Sect. 2. 1. In the common offices which might be performed by both, the bishop acted by an independent power, but presbyters in dependence upon, and subordination to him.

First, then, we are to observe, that in such ordinary and common offices as might be performed by both, bishops and presbyters acted by a different power; the bishop was the absolute, independent minister of the church, and did whatever he did by his own authority, solely inherent in himself; but the presbyters were only his assistants, authorized to perform such offices as he intrusted them with, or gave them commission and directions to perform, which they still did by his authority, and in dependence upon, and subordination to him as their superior, and might do nothing against his will, or independent of him. This is clear from many passages in Ignatius, Cyprian, and the canons of the ancient councils, which all agree in this, that nothing is to be done without the bishop; that is, without his knowledge, without his consent, directions, or approbation. Thus Ignatius,[1] in his Epistle to the church of Smyrna; Let no one perform any ecclesiastical office without the bishop. Which he explains both there and elsewhere[2] to mean, without his authority and permission. So in the council of Laodicea[3] it is expressed the same way; The presbyters shall do nothing without the consent of the bishop. The councils of Arles[4] and Toledo[5] say, without his privity or knowledge. And the Apostolical Canons[6] give a reason for all this; Because the bishop is the man to whom the Lord's people are committed, and he must give an account of their souls.

Sect. 3. This specified in the offices of baptism and the Lord's supper.

This rule they particularly apply to the offices of baptism and the Lord's supper. A presbyter might ordinarily administer both these sacraments; but not against the will of his bishop, or in opposition and contradiction to him, but by his consent and authority, in a due subordination to him as his superior. It is not lawful, says Ignatius,[7] either to baptize or celebrate the eucharist without the bishop; but that which he allows, is well-pleasing to God. He does not say, that none but a bishop might administer these sacraments, but that none was to do it without his allowance and approbation. And that is plainly the meaning of Tertullian[8] and St. Jerom,[9] when they say, that presbyters and deacons have no power to baptize, without the command and authority of the bishop or chief priest; and that this is for the honour of the church, and the preservation of peace and unity. St. Ambrose[10] asserts the same, that though presbyters do baptize, yet they derive their authority from their superior.

Sect. 4. And in the office of preaching.

The like observation may be made upon the office of preaching. This[11] was in the first place the bishops' office, which they commonly discharged themselves, especially in the African churches. Which is the reason we so often meet with the phrase, *tractante episcopo*, the bishops preaching, in the writings[12] of St. Cyprian: for then it was so much the office and custom of bishops to preach, that no presbyter was permitted to preach in their presence, till the time

[1] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8. Μηδεὶς χωρὶς του ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

[2] Id. Ep. ad Polycarp. n. 4. Μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης σου γινέσθω.

[3] Con. Laodic. can. 56. Ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

[4] Con. Arelat. 1. can. 19. Ut presbyteri sine conscientia episcoporum nihil faciant.

[5] Con. Tolet. 1. can. 20. Sine conscientia episcopi nihil penitus presbyteri agere præsumant.

[6] Can Apost. c. 39.

[7] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8.

[8] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 17. Dandi jus quidem habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi; non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem, quo salvo salva pax est.

[9] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer. p. 139. Inde venit, ut sine jussione episcopi, neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi.

[10] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 3. c. 1. Licet presbyteri fecerint, tamen exordium ministerii a summo est sacerdote.

[11] Vid. Can. Apost. c. 58.

[12] Cypr. Ep. 52, 56, 83. Ed. Oxon. It. Pontius Vit. Cypr. ibid.

of St. Austin, who whilst he was a presbyter was authorized by Valerius his bishop to preach before him: but that, as Possidius,[13] the writer of his Life, observes, was so contrary to the use and custom of the African churches, that many bishops were highly offended at it, and spake against it; till the consequence proved, that such a permission was of good use and service to the church; and then several other bishops granted their presbyters power and privilege to preach before them. So that it was then a favour for presbyters to preach in the presence of their bishops, and wholly at the bishops' discretion whether they would permit them or not; and when they did preach, it was *potestate accepta*, by the power and authority of the bishops that appointed them. In the Eastern churches presbyters were more commonly employed to preach, as Possidius[14] observes, when he says Valerius brought the custom into Africa from their example. And St. Jerom intimates as much, when he complains[15] of it as an ill custom only in some churches to forbid presbyters to preach. Chrysostom preached several of his elaborate discourses at Antioch whilst he was but a presbyter, and so did Atticus[16] at Constantinople. And the same is observed to have been granted to the presbyters[17] of Alexandria, and Cæsarea, in Cappadocia,[18] and Cyprus, and other places. But still it was but a grant of the bishops, and presbyters did it by their authority and commission. And whenever bishops saw just reason to forbid them, they had power to limit or withdraw their commission again; as both Socrates[19] and Sozomen[20] testify, who say, that at Alexandria presbyters were forbidden to preach, from the time that Arius raised a disturbance in the church. Thus we see what power bishops anciently challenged and exercised over presbyters in the common and ordinary offices of the church; particularly for preaching, bishops always esteemed it their office, as much as any other. Such a vast difference was there between the practice of the primitive church and the bishops of Rome in after ages; when, as Blondel observes out of Surius, there was a time when the bishops of Rome were not known to preach for five hundred years together! Insomuch, that when Pius Quintus made a sermon, it was looked upon as a prodigy, and was indeed a greater rarity than the *Sæculares Ludi* were in old Rome. See Blondel, Apolog. p. 58, and Surius, Comment. Rer. in Orbe gestar.

Sect. 5. 2. The office and power of ordination never intrusted in the hands of presbyters.

But to return to the bishops of the primitive church. There were other offices, which they very rarely intrusted in the hands of presbyters; and if ever they granted them commission to perform them, it was only in cases of great necessity: such were the offices of reconciling penitents, confirmation of neophites, consecration of churches, virgins and widows, with some others of the like nature; of which I shall speak nothing more particularly here now, because they will come more properly under consideration in other places. But there was one office which they never intrusted in the hands of presbyters, nor ever gave them any commission to perform; which was the office of ordaining the superior clergy, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The utmost that presbyters could pretend to in this matter, was to lay on their hands together with the bishop in the ordination of a presbyter, whilst the bishop by his prayer performed the office of consecration. Thus much is allowed them by one of the councils of Carthage,[21] which yet expressly reserves the benediction or ordination prayer to the bishop only. In the ordination of bishops they had no concern at all; which was always performed by a synod of bishops, as shall be showed more particularly when we come to speak of the rites and customs observed in their ordinations. Here in this place it will be sufficient to prove in general, that the power of ordinations was the prerogative of bishops, and that they never communicated this privilege to any presbyters. St. Jerom's[22] testimony is irrefragable evidence in this case. For in the same place where he sets off the office of presbyters to the best advantage, he still excepts the power of ordination. What is it, says he, that a bishop does more than a presbyter, setting aside the business of ordination? St. Chrysostom[23] speaks much after the same manner, where he advances the power of presbyters to the highest. Bishops and presbyters, says he, differ not much from one another. For presbyters are admitted to preach and govern the church; and the same qualifications that the apostle requires in bishops, are required in presbyters also. For bishops are superior to them only in the power of ordination, and have that one thing more than they. In another place[24] he proves that

[13] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 5. Eidem presbytero potestatem dedit coram se in ecclesia evangelium prædicandi, ac frequentissime tractandi, contra usum quidem ac consuetudinem Africanarum ecclesiarum. Unde etiam ei nonnulli episcopi detrahebant.——— Postea bono præcedente exemplo, accepta ab episcopis potestate, presbyteri nonnulli coram episcopis populo tractare cœperunt verbum Dei.

[14] Ille in Orientalibus ecclesiis id ex more fieri sciens, obtrectantium non curabat linguas, &c. Possid. ibid.

[15] Pessimæ consuetudinis est in quibusdam ecclesiis tacere presbyteros, et præsentibus episcopis non loqui, &c.

[16] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 2.

[17] Theodor. lib. i. c. 2.

[18] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22.

[19] Socrat. ibid.

[20] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 17.

[21] Con. Carth. 4. can. 3. Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri, qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.

[22] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Quid enim facit, excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod presbyter non facit?

[23] Chrys. Hom. 11. in 1 Tim. iii. 8.

[24] Id. Hom. 1. in Philip. i.

Timothy was a bishop, because the apostle speaks of his power to ordain, bidding him lay hands suddenly on no man. And he adds both there and elsewhere,[25] that the presbytery which ordained Timothy was a synod of bishops, because mere presbyters had no power to ordain a bishop. I might here produce all those canons of the ancient councils, which speak of bishops ordaining,[26] but never of presbyters; which rule was so precisely observed in the primitive church, that Novatian himself would not presume to break it, but sent for three bishops[27] from the farthest corners of Italy, rather than want a canonical number of bishops to ordain him. I only add that observation of Epiphanius,[28] grounded upon the general practice of the church, that the order of bishops begets fathers to the church, which the order of presbyters cannot do, but only beget sons by the regeneration of baptism.

I know some urge the authority of St. Jerom,[29] to prove that the presbyters of Alexandria ordained their own bishop, from the days of St. Mark to the time of Heraclas and Dionysius; and others think the same words prove that he had no new ordination at all: but they both mistake St. Jerom's meaning, who speaks not of the ordination of the bishop, but of his election; who was chosen by the presbyters out of their own body, and by them placed upon the bishop's throne; which in those days was no more than a token of his election, and was sometimes done by the people; but the ordination came after that, and was always reserved for the provincial bishops to perform, as shall be showed hereafter.

Sect. 6. Ordinations by presbyters disannulled by the church.

But it may be inquired, what was the practice of the church in case any presbyters took upon them to ordain? Were their ordinations allowed to stand good, or not? I answer, they were commonly reversed and disannulled. As in the known case of Ischyras,[30] who was deposed by the synod of Alexandria, because Colluthus, who ordained him, was no more than a presbyter, though pretending to be a bishop: and in the case of those presbyters who were reduced to the quality of laymen by the council of Sardica,[31] because Eutychianus and Musæus, who ordained them, were only pretended bishops. The council of Seville in Spain[32] went a little further; they deposed a presbyter and two deacons, because the bishop only laid his hands upon them, whilst a presbyter pronounced the blessing or consecration prayer over them. And some other instances might be added of the like nature, which show that then they did not allow bishops so much as to delegate or commission presbyters to ordain in their name, but reserved this entirely to the episcopal function.

Sect. 7. Some allegations to the contrary examined.

The common pleas which some urge to the contrary, derogate nothing from the truth of this observation. For whereas it is said, 1. That the *chorepiscopi* were only presbyters, and yet had power to ordain; that seems to be a plain mistake; for all the *chorepiscopi* of the ancient church were real bishops, though subordinate to other bishops; as I shall show more particularly hereafter, when I come to speak of their order. 2. It is said, that the city presbyters had power to ordain by the bishop's licence; and that this was established by canon in the council of Ancyra.[33] But this is grounded only upon a very ambiguous sense, if not a corrupt reading of that canon. For all the old translators render it much otherwise, that the city presbyters shall do nothing[34] without the licence and authority of the bishop, in any part of the parish or diocese belonging to his jurisdiction. Which agrees with what I have cited before out of the council of Laodicea; and several other canons, which make presbyters dependent upon their bishops in the ordinary exercise of their function. (See before, Sect. 2. of this chapter.) And some Greek copies[35] read it, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ, which seems to signify that presbyters shall not officiate in another diocese without letters dimissory from their own bishop.

3. It is urged further, that Novatus, a presbyter of Carthage, ordained Felicissimus a deacon. But this seems to be no more than procuring him to be ordained by some bishop. For Cyprian says he made Novatian[36] bishop of Rome after the same

[25] Hom. 13. in 1 Tim. iv. 14. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνουν.

[26] See Con. Nic. c. 19. Con. Antioch. c. 9. Con. Chalced. c. 2 et 6. Con. Carth. 3. c. 45. Can. Apost. c. 1.

[27] Cornel. Ep. ad Fabium, ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[28] Epiph. Hær. 75. Aerian.

[29] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Alexandriæ a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant; quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat.

[30] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 732. Epist. Cler. Mareot. ibid. p. 781.

[31] Con. Sard. can. 20.

[32] Con. Hispal. 2. can. 5. Relatum est nobis de quibusdam clericis, quorum dum unus ad presbyterum, duo ad Levitarum ministerium sacrarentur, episcopus oculorum dolore detentus fertur manum suam super eos tantum imposuisse, et presbyter quidam illis contra ecclesiasticum ordinem benedictionem dedisse, &c. Hi gradum sacerdotii vel Levitici ordinis, quem perverse adepti sunt, amittunt.

[33] Con. Ancyr. can. 13.

[34] Id. ex versione Dionysii exigui: Sed nec presbyteris civitatis, sine præcepto episcopi, amplius aliquid imperare, nec sine authoritate literarum ejus in unaquaque parochia aliquid agere.

[35] Cod. Can. edit. Ehinger.

[36] Cypr. Ep. 49. al. 52. ad Cornel. p. 97. ed. Oxon. Quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit. Qui istic adversus ecclesiam diaconum fecerat, illic episcopum fecit.

manner as he had done Felicissimus, deacon at Carthage. But now it is certain he did not ordain Novatian, but only was instrumental in procuring three obscure Italian bishops to come and ordain him. And in that sense he might ordain Felicissimus too. But admit it were otherwise, it was only a schismatical act, condemned by Cyprian and the whole church.

4. It is pleaded out of Cassian, that Paphnutius, an Egyptian abbot, ordained one Daniel a presbyter. But if Cassian's words be rightly considered, he says no such thing, but only[37] that Paphnutius first promoted him to be made a deacon before several of his seniors, and then, intending to make him his successor, he also preferred him to the dignity of a presbyter. Which preference, or promotion, does not at all exclude the bishop's ordination. It may reasonably signify the abbot's choice, which he had power to make; but it cannot so reasonably be interpreted that he ordained him, since this was contrary to the rules and practice of the church. And considering where and when Paphnutius lived, in the midst of Egypt, among a hundred bishops, in the fifth century, it is not likely he would transgress the canons in so plain a case. Therefore I cannot subscribe to a learned man,[38] who says, Nothing is more plain and evident, than that here a presbyter ordained a presbyter, which we no where read was pronounced null by Theophilus, then bishop of Alexandria, nor any others at that time. I conceive, the contrary was rather evident to them, and therefore they had no reason to pronounce it null, knowing it to be a just and regular ordination.

5. I remember but one instance more in ancient church history (for modern instances I wholly pass by) that seems to make any thing for the ordination of presbyters; and that is in the answer given by Pope Leo to a question put to him by Rusticus Narbonensis, whether the ordination of certain persons might stand good, who were only ordained by some *pseudo-episcopi*, false bishops, who had no legal and canonical right to their places? To this he answers,[39] that if the lawful bishops of those churches gave their consent to their ordination, it might be esteemed valid and allowed; otherwise to be disannulled. But here it is to be considered, that these *pseudo-episcopi* were in some sense bishops, as being ordained, though illegally, to their places: for they seem to be such as had schismatically intruded themselves into other men's sees, or at least obtained them by some corrupt and irregular practices. Now, the church did not always rescind and cancel the acts of such bishops, but used a liberty either to reverse and disannul the ordinations made by them, or otherwise to confirm and ratify them, as she saw occasion. Therefore, though the general council[40] of Constantinople deposed all such as were ordained by Maximus, who had simoniacally intruded himself into Gregory Nazianzen's see at Constantinople; yet the Novatian clergy were admitted by the council of Nice,[41] though ordained by schismatical bishops; and the African councils[42] allowed the ordinations of the Donatist bishops, though they had long continued in schism, and given schismatical orders to others also. Which shows that the primitive church made some difference between orders conferred by schismatical bishops, and those conferred by mere presbyters. I inquire not now into the grounds and reasons of this, but only relate the church's practice. From which upon the whole matter it appears, that this was another difference betwixt bishops and presbyters, that the one had power to ordain, but the other were never authorized or commissioned to do it.

Sect. 8. A third difference between bishops and presbyters: presbyters accountable to their bishops, not bishops to their presbyters.

Besides this, there was a third difference between bishops and presbyters in point of jurisdiction: bishops always retained to themselves the power of calling presbyters to an account, and censuring them for their miscarriages in the discharge of their office; but presbyters had no power to censure their bishops, or set up an independent power in opposition to their authority and jurisdiction. When Felicissimus and Augendus set up a separate communion at Carthage against Cyprian, threatening to excommunicate all that communicated with him, Cyprian gave orders to his deputies (being himself then in banishment) to execute first their own sentence upon them, and let them, for their contempt of him and the church,[43] feel the power of excommunication; which was accordingly done by his delegates, as appears from their answer to him.[44] In another place, writing to Rogatian, a bishop who made complaint to Cyprian and the synod, of an unruly deacon, he tells him, it was his singular modesty to refer the case to them, when he might by virtue of his own episcopal authority himself have punished the delinquent;[45]

[37] Cassian. Collat. 4. c. 1. A beato Paphnutio solitudinis ejusdem presbytero, et quidem cum multis junior esset ætate, ad diaconii est prælatus officium.——Optansque sibimet successorem dignissimum providere, superstes eum presbyterii honore provexit.

[38] Stilling. Irenic. par. 2. c. 7. n. 8. p. 380.

[39] Leo, Ep. 92. ad Rustic. c. 1. Si qui autem clerici ab istis pseudo-episcopis in eis ecclesiis ordinati sunt, quæ ad proprios episcopos pertinebant, et ordinatio eorum cum consensu et judicio præsidentium facta est, potest rata haberi, &c.

[40] Con. Constant. can. 4. [41] Con. Nic. c. 8.

[42] Collat. Carthag. 1. Die, c. 16.

[43] Cypr. Ep. 38. al. 41. p. 80. Cum Felicissimus comminatus sit, non communicaturos in monte (al. morte) secum, qui nobis communicarent: accipiat sententiam quam prior dixit; ut absentum a se nobis sciat.

[44] Ep. 39. al. 42. ad Cypr. Abstinuimus communicatione Felicissimum et Augendum, &c.

[45] Cypr. Ep. 65. al. 3. ad Rogatian. Tu quidem pro solita tua humilitate fecisti, ut malles de eo nobis conqueri, cum pro

against whom, if he persisted in his contempt, he should use the power which belonged to his order, and either depose or suspend him. Nothing can be more plain and evident, than that in Cyprian's time all bishops were invested with this power of censuring delinquents among the clergy. And any one that looks into the councils of the following age, will find nothing more common, than canons which both suppose and confirm this power. As when the Apostolical Canons say,[46] That no presbyter, or deacon, excommunicated by his own bishop, should be received by any other; that supposes all bishops to have power to inflict ecclesiastical censures upon their clergy. The like may be seen in the canons of the council of Nice,[47] which allows an appeal in such a case to a provincial synod; and the council of Sardica,[48] which orders the metropolitan to hear and redress the grievance: so also in the councils of Antioch,[49] Chalcedon,[50] and many others.

Sect. 9. Yet bishops' power not arbitrary, but limited by canon in various respects.

Yet it must be owned, that according to the discipline and custom of those times, bishops seldom did any thing of this nature, without the advice and consent of their presbyters, who were their assessors, and (as it were) the ecclesiastical senate and council of the church: of which I shall give a more particular account, when I come to speak of the honour and privileges of the order of presbyters. And here it is to be further noted out of the preceding canons, That if any clergyman thought himself injured by his bishop, he had liberty to appeal[51] either to the metropolitan, or a provincial synod: and in some places, the better to avoid arbitrary power, the canons provided, That no bishop should proceed to censure a presbyter, or deacon, without the concurrence of some neighbouring bishops to join with him in the sentence. The first council of Carthage[52] requires three to censure a deacon, and six to censure a presbyter. The second council of Carthage[53] requires the same number, according to all correct editions of it: for Crab's edition is palpably false; and yet Blondel[54] lays hold of that corruption, to prove that presbyters and deacons were to be judges of their own bishop; which makes the canon speak mere nonsense, and appoints the bishop to judge himself also. The true reading of the canon is this: The criminal cause of a bishop shall be heard by twelve bishops; the cause of a presbyter, by six; the cause of a deacon, by three joined with his own bishop. This obliges every bishop to take other bishops into commission with him in criminal causes, but does not authorize presbyters and deacons to sit as judges upon their own bishop. Which may be further evidenced from another canon[55] of the next council of Carthage; which speaks of a legal number of bishops to judge a presbyter, or deacon; and assigns six for a presbyter, and three for a deacon, as the former canons appointed. But for the inferior clergy, there was no such restraint laid upon the bishop, that I can find; but he alone, by the same canon,[56] is allowed to hear their causes, and end them. Only they had liberty to appeal, as all others, in case of injury done them, to the metropolitan, or a provincial synod; which the Nicene council,[57] and many others, appoint to be held once or twice a year for that very purpose; That if any clergyman chanced to be unjustly censured by the passion of his bishop, he might have recourse to a superior court, and there have justice done him. This is the true state and account of the power of bishops over their clergy, as near as I can collect it out of the genuine records of the ancient church.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE POWER OF BISHOPS OVER THE LAITY, MONKS, SUBORDINATE MAGISTRATES, AND ALL PERSONS WITHIN THEIR DIOCESE: AND OF THEIR OFFICE IN DISPOSING OF THE REVENUES OF THE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. No exemptions from the jurisdiction of the bishop in the primitive church.

THE next thing to be considered is, the power of bishops over the people; which, upon inquiry, will be found to extend itself over all persons, of what rank or quality soever, within their diocese, or the

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episcopatus vigore et cathedræ auctoritate haberes potestatem, qua posses de illo statim vindicari.——Quod si ultra te contumeliis suis provocaverit, fungeris circa eum potestate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas vel abstineas. See also Cypr. Ep. 10. al. 16. ed. Oxon.

[46] Canon. Apost. c. 31. [47] Con. Nic. can. 5.

[48] Con. Sard. can. 13, 14.

[49] Con. Antioc. can. 3 et 4. [50] Chalced. can. 9.

[51] See for the liberty of appeals: Con. Carthag. 2. c. 8. Carthag. 4. c. 29 et 66. Antioch. c. 12. Vasion. c. 5. Venetic. can. 9.

[52] Con. Carthag. 1. can. 11. Si quis aliquam causam habuerit, a tribus vicinis episcopis, si diaconus est, arguatur: presbyter a sex.

[53] Con. Carth. 2. can. 10. Placet ut causa criminalis episcopi a duodecim episcopis audiatur; causa presbyteri a sex; causa vero diaconi a tribus cum proprio episcopo.

[54] Blondel, Apol. p. 137. And Crab thus reads it corruptly: Episcopus a duodecim episcopis audiatur, et a sex presbyteris, et a tribus diaconibus cum proprio suo episcopo.

[55] Con. Carth. 3. c. 8. Si presbyteri vel diaconi fuerint accusati, adjuncto sibi ex vicinis locis legitimo numero collegarum——in presbyteri nomine sex, in diaconi tribus, ipsorum causas discutiant.

[56] Ibid. c. 8. Reliquorum clericorum causas solus episcopus loci agnoscat et finiat.

[57] Con. Nic. can. 5.

bounds and limits of their jurisdiction. The extent of dioceses themselves, and the reasons why some were much greater than others, I do not here consider; but reserve that for a more proper place, to be treated of when we come to speak of churches. What I observe in this place is, that all orders of men within the diocese were subject to the bishop; for privileges to exempt men from the jurisdiction of their diocesan, were things unknown to former ages. Ignatius makes bold to say,[1] that as he that honours his bishop is honoured of God; so he that does any thing covertly in opposition to him, is the servant of Satan. And Cyprian defines the church[2] to be a people united to its bishop, a flock adhering to its pastor. Whence the church may be said to be in the bishop, and the bishop in the church; and if any are not with their bishop, they are not in the church.

Sect. 2. All monks subject to the bishop of the diocese where they lived.

Particularly, we may observe of all ascetics, and monks, and hermits; that the laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, subjected them to the bishop of the place where they lived. For ecclesiastical laws, we have two canons in the council of Chalcedon[3] to this purpose; the first of which prescribes, that all monks, whether in city or country, shall be subject to the bishop, and concern themselves in no business (sacred or civil) out of their own monastery; except they have his licence and permission, upon urgent occasion, so to do. And if any withdraw themselves from his obedience, the other canon pronounces excommunication against them. The same injunctions may be read in the councils of Orleans,[4] Agde,[5] Lerida,[6] and others; which subject the abbots as well as monks to the bishop's care and correction. Justinian confirms all this by a law in the Code; which says,[7] all monasteries are to be reckoned under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the territories where they are; and that the abbots themselves are part of their care. In one of his Novels,[8] the election of abbots is put into the bishop's hands. And by other laws,[9] no new cells, or monasteries, were to be erected, but by the consent and licence of the bishop, to whose jurisdiction they belonged. It is therefore a very just reflection, which Bede, and some others[10] from him, make upon the state of the Scottish church; that things were in a very unusual and preposterous order, when, instead of abbots being subject to the bishops, the bishops were subject to a single abbot. This was *ordine inusitato*, as Bede[11] rightly observes; for there was no such practice allowed in the primitive church.

Sect. 3. As also all subordinate magistrates in matters of spiritual jurisdiction.

In those days, the authority of bishops was so highly esteemed, and venerable in the eyes of all men, that even the subordinate magistrates themselves were subject to their spiritual discipline and correction. The prefects and governors of cities and provinces were obliged to take their communicatory letters along with them to the bishop of the place, whither the government sent them; and whilst they continued in their office there, they were to be under the bishop's care; who, if they transgressed against the public discipline of the church, was authorized by the imperial laws to punish them with excommunication. This we learn from a canon of the first council of Arles;[12] which was called by Constantine himself, who ratified its canons, and gave them, as it were, the force of imperial sanctions. And by virtue of this power, they sometimes unsheathed the spiritual sword against impious and profane magistrates, and cut them off from all communion with the church. Of which we have an instance in Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais,[13] excommunicating Andronicus the governor, for his cruelties and blasphemies; and many other such examples, which will be mentioned when we come to treat particularly of the discipline of the church. As to what concerns the bishop's power to inspect and examine the acts and decrees of subordinate magistrates; Socrates[14] assures us it was practised by Cyril of Alexandria, in reference to Orestes, the *præfectus Augustalis* of Egypt; though, as he intimates, it was some grievance to him to be under his inspection.

Sect. 4. Of the distinction between temporal and spiritual jurisdiction: bishops' power wholly confined to the latter.

But it must be owned and spoken to the glory of those primitive bishops, that they challenged no power, as of right belonging to them, but only that which was spiritual. They did not as yet lay claim to both swords, much less endeavour to wrest the temporal sword out of the magistrate's hand, and dethrone princes under pretence of excommunica-

[1] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 9. ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τὶ πράσσων, τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει.

[2] Cypr. Epist. 69. al. 66. ad Papian. p. 168. Ecclesia plebs sacerdoti unita, et pastori suo grex adhærens. Unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesia esse, et ecclesiam in episcopo; et si qui cum episcopo non sint, in ecclesia non esse, &c.

[3] Con. Chalced. can. 4 et 8. [4] Con. Aurel. 1. c. 19.

[5] Agathens. can. 38. [6] Ilerdens. c. 3.

[7] Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Episcop. Leg. 40.

[8] Justin. Novel. 5. c. 9.

[9] Con. Chalced. can. 4. Con. Agath. c. 58.

[10] Pearson, Vind. Ignat. part 1. c. 11. p. 333.

[11] Bed. Hist. Gent. Anglor. lib. 3. c. 4. Cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subjecti.

[12] Con. Arelat. 2. c. 7. De præsidibus——ita placuit, ut cum promoti fuerint, literas accipiant ecclesiasticas communicatorias: ita tamen ut in quibuscunque locis gesserint, ab episcopo ejusdem loci cura de illis agatur; at cum cœperint contra disciplinam publicam agere, tunc demum a communione excludantur. Similiter et de his fiat, qui rempublicam agere volunt.

[13] Synes. Ep. 58. ad Episcopos, p. 198.

[14] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 13.

tion. The ancient bishops of Rome themselves always professed obedience and subjection to the emperor's laws; which I shall not stand here to prove, since it has so frequently and so substantially been done by several of our learned writers:[15] and it is confessed by the more ingenuous of the Romish writers[16] themselves, that Gregory VII. was the first pope that pretended to depose Christian princes. The ancient bishops of the church laid no claim to a coercive power over the bodies or estates of men; but if ever they had occasion to make use of it, they applied themselves to the secular magistrate, for his assistance. As in the case of Paulus Samosatensis, who kept possession of the bishop's house, after he was deposed from his bishopric by the council of Antioch. The fathers in that council having no power to remove him, petitioned the emperor Aurelian against him;[17] who, though a heathen, gave judgment on their side, and ordered his officers to see his sentence put in execution. And thus the case stood, as to the power of bishops, for some ages after under Christian emperors: insomuch that Socrates[18] notes it as a very singular thing in Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, that he undertook by his own power to shut up the Novatian churches, seizing upon their plate and sacred utensils, and depriving their bishop Theopemptus of his substance. This was done παρὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως, beyond any ordinary power that bishops were then invested with; and though in after ages they attained to this power, yet it was not by any inherent right of their order, but by the favour and indulgence of secular princes. It must here also be further noted, that it was ever esteemed dishonourable for bishops, so much as to petition the secular power against the life of any man, whom they had condemned by spiritual censures. And therefore, when Ithacius and some other Spanish bishops prevailed with Maximus to slay the heretic Priscillian, St. Martin and many other pious bishops petitioned against it, saying, It was enough to expel heretics from the churches:[19] and when they could not prevail, they showed their resentments of the fact against the author of it, refusing to admit Ithacius, the sanguinary bishop, to their communion. So great a concern had those holy men to keep within the bounds of their spiritual jurisdiction!

Sect. 5. An account of the *literæ formatæ*, and the bishop's prerogative in granting them to all persons.

And it may be observed, that the authority of bishops was never greater in the world, than when they concerned themselves only in the exercise of their own proper spiritual power. For then they had a universal respect paid them by all sorts of men; insomuch that no Christian would pretend to travel, without taking letters of credence with him from his own bishop, if he meant to communicate with the Christian church in a foreign country. Such was the admirable unity of the church catholic in those days, and the blessed harmony and consent of her bishops among one another! These letters were of divers sorts, according to the different occasions or quality of the persons that carried them. They are generally reduced to three kinds; the *epistolæ commendatoriæ*, *communicatoriæ*, and *dimissoriæ*. The first were such as were granted only to persons of quality, or else persons whose reputation had been called in question, or to the clergy who had occasion to travel into foreign countries. The second sort were granted to all who were in the peace and communion of the church; whence they were also called *pacificæ*, and *ecclesiasticæ*, and sometimes *canonicæ*. The third sort were such as were only given to the clergy, when they were to remove from their own diocese, and settle in another; and they were to testify that they had their bishop's leave to depart; whence they were called *dimissoriæ*, and sometimes *pacificæ* likewise. All these went under the general name of *formatæ;* because they were written in a peculiar form, with some particular marks and characters, which served as special signatures to distinguish them from counterfeits. I shall not stand now to give any further account of them here, but only observe, that it was the bishop's sole prerogative to grant them; and none might presume to do it, at least, without his authority and commission. The council of Antioch[20] allows country bishops to write them; but expressly forbids presbyters the privilege. And whereas, in times of persecution, some confessors, who were of great esteem in the church, would take upon them to grant such letters by their own authority, and in their own names; the councils of Arles[21] and Eliberis[22] forbade them to do it; and ordered all persons who had such letters, to take new communicatory letters from the bishop. Baronius,[23] and the common editors of the councils who follow him, mistake these letters for the libels which the confessors were used to grant to the *lapsi*, to have them admitted into the communion of the church again: but Albaspiny[24] corrects this mistake; and rightly observes, that those councils speak not of such libels as were given to

[15] See Bishop Morton's Grand Impost. of the Church of Rome, c. 11. Joh. Roffens. de Potest. Papæ in Temporal. lib. 2. c. 2.

[16] Otho Frisingens. Chron. lib. 6. c. 35. Greg. Tholosan. de Repub. lib. 26. c. 5.

[17] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.

[18] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 7.

[19] Sulp. Sever. lib. 2. p. 119. Maximum orare, ut sanguine infelicium abstineret: satis superque sufficere, ut episcopali sententia hæretici judicati ecclesiis pellerentur.

[20] Con. Antioch. can. 8.

[21] Con. Arelat. 1. c. 9. De his, qui confessorum literas offerunt, placuit, ut sublatis eis literis, alias accipiant communicatorias.

[22] Con. Elib. c. 25.

[23] Baron. an. 142. Loaysa Not. in Con. Elib. c. 25.

[24] Albasp. Not. in Con. Elib. c. 25.

the *lapsi*, but of such as were given to all Christians who had occasion to travel into foreign countries; which it belonged to the bishops to grant, and not to the confessors, whatever authority they might otherwise have obtained by their honourable confession of Christ in time of persecution. The council of Eliberis[25] takes notice of another abuse of this nature, and corrects it; which was, that some women of famous renown in the church, clergymen's wives, as Albaspiny thinks, or rather the wives of bishops, would presume both to grant and receive such letters by their own authority; all which the council orders to be sunk, as being dangerous to the discipline and communion of the church, and an encroachment upon the bishop's power, to whom alone it belonged to grant them. For by all ancient canons, this privilege is reserved entirely to bishops, and this set their authority very high in the church, for no one, either clergy or laity, could communicate in any church beside his own without these testimonials from his bishop; as may be seen in the councils of Carthage,[26] and Agde,[27] and many others.

Sect. 6. Of the bishop's power in disposing of the revenues of the church.

I have but one thing more to observe concerning the power of bishops over the church, and that is, their authority and concern in disposing of the revenues of the church. I intend not here to enter upon the discourse of ecclesiastical revenues, (which has its proper place in this work hereafter,) but only to suggest now, that it was part of the bishop's office and care to see them managed and disposed of to the best advantage. The councils of Antioch[28] and Gangra[29] have several canons to this purpose, that all the incomes and oblations of the church shall be dispensed at the will and discretion of the bishop, to whom the people, and the souls of men, are committed. Those called the Apostolical[30] Canons, and Constitutions[31] speak of the same power. And Cyprian[32] notes, that all who received maintenance from the church had it *episcopo dispensante*, by the order and appointment of the bishop. He did not indeed always dispense with his own hands, but by proper assistants, such as his archdeacon, and the *œconomus*, which some canons[33] order to be one of the clergy of every church; but these officers were only stewards under him, both of his appointing, as St. Jerom[34] observes, and also accountable to him as the supreme governor of the church. Whence Possidius takes notice of the practice of St. Austin; that though neither seal nor key was ever seen in his hand, but some of his clergy were always his administrators, yet he had his certain times to audit their accounts; so that all was still his act, though administered and dispensed by the hands of others. And this was agreeable to the primitive rule and practice of the apostles, to whose care and custody the peoples' oblations, and things consecrated to God, were committed: they chose deacons to be their assistants, as bishops did afterwards, still retaining power in their own hands to direct and regulate them in the disposal of the public charity, as prime stewards of God's revenue, and chief masters of his household.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE OFFICE OF BISHOPS, IN RELATION TO THE WHOLE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Sect. 1. In what sense every bishop supposed to be bishop of the whole catholic church.

WE have hitherto considered the office and power of bishops over the clergy and people of their own particular churches: but there is yet a more eminent branch of their pastoral office and care behind, which is, their superintendency over the whole catholic church; in which every bishop was supposed to have an equal share, not as to what concerned external polity and government, but the prime, essential part of religion, the preservation of the Christian faith. Whenever the faith was in danger of being subverted by heresy, or destroyed by persecution, then every bishop thought it part of his duty and office to put to his helping hand, and labour as much for any other diocese as his own. Dioceses were but limits of convenience, for the preservation of order in times of peace; but the faith was a more universal thing, and when war was made upon that, then the whole world was but one diocese, and the whole church but one flock, and every pastor thought himself obliged to feed his great Master's sheep according to his power, whatever part of the world they were scattered in. In this sense, every bishop was a universal pastor and bishop of the whole world, as having a common care and concern for the whole church of Christ. This is what St. Austin told Boniface,[1] bishop of

[25] Con. Elib. c. 81.

[26] Con. Carth. 1. can. 7. Clericus vel laicus non communicet in aliena plebe sine literis episcopi sui.

[27] Agath. can. 52. Epaun. c. 6. Laodic. c. 41. Milevit. c. 20. Con. Antioch. c. 7.

[28] Con. Antioch. c. 24 et 25.

[29] Con. Gangr. c. 7 et 8.

[30] Canon. Apost. c. 31 et 34.

[31] Constit. Apostol. lib. 2. c. 25.

[32] Cypr. Ep. 38. al. 41. Just. Mart. Apol. 2.

[33] Con. Chalced. c. 26.

[34] Hieron. Ep. 1. ad Nepotian. Sciat episcopus, cui commissa est ecclesia, quem dispensationi pauperum, curæque præficiat.

[1] Aug. cont. Epist. Pelag. in Præfat. ad Bonifac. Communis est nobis omnibus, qui fungimur episcopatus officio (quamvis ipse in eo celsiore fastigio præmineas) specula pastoralis.

Rome, that the pastoral care was common to all those who had the office of bishop; and though he was a little higher advanced toward the top of Christ's watch-tower, yet all others had an equal concern in it. St. Cyprian testifies,[2] for the practice of his own time, that all bishops were so united in one body, that if any of the body broached any heresy, or began to lay waste and tear the flock of Christ, all the rest immediately came in to its rescue; for though they were many pastors, yet they had but one flock to feed, and every one was obliged to take care of all the sheep of Christ, which he had purchased with his blood. In this sense Gregory Nazianzen[3] says of Cyprian, that he was a universal bishop, that he presided not only over the church of Carthage and Africa, but over all the regions of the west, and over the east, and south, and northern parts of the world also. He says the same of Athanasius;[4] that in being made bishop of Alexandria, he was made bishop of the whole world. Which agrees with St. Basil's observation[5] concerning him; that he had the care of all churches, as much as that which was peculiarly committed to him. Chrysostom[6] in like manner styles Timothy, bishop of the universe: and in compliance with this customary character, the author under the name of Clemens Romanus,[7] gives St. James bishop of Jerusalem the title of governor of all churches, as well as that of Jerusalem. Chrysostom[8] says, St. Paul had the whole world committed to his care, and every city under the sun; that he was the teacher[9] of the universe, and presided[10] over all churches: which he repeats in many places of his writings. Nor was this prerogative so peculiar to the apostles, but that every bishop (in some measure) had a right and title to the same character.

Sect. 2. In what respect the whole world but one diocese, and but one bishopric in the church.

Hence came that current notion, so frequently to be met with in Cyprian, of but one bishopric in the church; wherein every single bishop had his share in such a manner, as to have an equal concern in the whole: *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur:*[11] There is but one bishopric in the church, and every bishop has an undivided portion in it. He does not say, it was a monarchy, in the hands of any single bishop; but a diffusive power, that lay in the whole college of bishops,[12] every one of which had a title to feed the whole church of God, and drive away heresy out of any part of it. In this sense, the bishop of Eugubium's power extended as far as the bishop of Rome's; the bishop of Rhegium was as much bishop of the whole church, as Constantinople; and Tanis equal to Alexandria: for in St. Jerom's language,[13] they were all *ejusdem meriti*, and *ejusdem sacerdotii;* of the same merit, and equal in their priesthood, which was but one. In things that did not appertain to the faith, they were not to meddle with other men's dioceses, but only to mind the business of their own: but when the faith or welfare of the church lay at stake, and religion was manifestly invaded; then, by this rule of there being but one episcopacy, every other bishopric was as much their diocese as their own; and no human laws or canons could tie up their hands from performing such acts of their episcopal office in any part of the world, as they thought necessary for the preservation of religion.

Sect. 3. Some particular instances of private bishops acting as bishops of the whole universal church.

For the better understanding the church's practice in this point, I shall illustrate it in two or three particular instances. It was a rule in the primitive church, that no bishop should ordain in another's diocese, without his leave: and though this was a sort of confinement of the episcopal power to a single diocese, yet for order's sake it was generally observed. But then it might happen, that in some cases there might be a necessity to do otherwise: as in case the bishop of any diocese was turned heretic, and would ordain none but heretical clergy, and persecute and drive away the orthodox; in that case, any catholic bishop, as being a bishop of the universal church, was authorized to ordain orthodox men in such a diocese, though contrary to the common rule; because this was evidently for the preservation of the faith, which is the supreme rule of all, and therefore that other rule must give way to this superior obligation. Upon this account, when the church was in danger of being overrun with Arianism, the great

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[2] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Steph. p. 178. Idcirco copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri.——Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas, quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsivit, colligere et fovere debemus.

[3] Greg. Naz. Orat. 18. in Laud. Cypr.

[4] Naz. in Laud. Athan. Or. 21. p. 377. τῆς οἰκουμένης πάσης ἐπιστασίαν πιστεύεται.

[5] Basil. Ep. 52. ad Athanas.

[6] Chrys. Hom. 6. adv. Jud. t. 1. p. 542. τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος.

[7] Pseudo-Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. ap. Coteler. Patr. Apost. t. 1. p. 611. Clemens Jacobo—Regenti Hebræorum sanctam ecclesiam in Hierosolymis; sed et omnes ecclesias, quæ ubique Dei providentia fundatæ sunt.

[8] Chrys. Hom. 17. in illud, Salutate Priscillam. t. 5. p. 241. τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος, &c.

[9] Id. Hom. 6. in Terræmotum et Lazar. t. 5. p. 107. τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος.

[10] Id. Hom. 17. in Priscillam. p. 248.

[11] Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. p. 108.

[12] Id. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 112. Episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus, &c. In the same Epistle he often mentions the collegium sacerdotale. It. Epist. 59 et 68.

[13] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr.

Athanasius, as he returned from his exile, made no scruple to ordain in several cities[14] as he went along, though they were not in his own diocese. And the famous Eusebius of Samosata, did the like in the times of the Arian persecution under Valens. Theodoret[15] says, he went about all Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, in a soldier's habit; ordaining presbyters and deacons, and setting in order whatever he found wanting in the churches. He ordained bishops also in Syria and Cilicia, and other places; whose names Theodoret[16] has recorded. Now all this was contrary to the common rules, but the necessities of the church required it; and that gave them authority in such a case to exert their power, and act as bishops of the whole catholic church. Epiphanius made use of the same power and privilege in a like case; ordaining Paulinianus, St. Jerom's brother, first deacon, and then presbyter, in a monastery out of his own diocese in Palestine; against which, when some of his adversaries objected, that it was done contrary to canon, he vindicated[17] his practice upon the strength of this principle; that in cases of pressing necessity, such as this was, where the interest of God was to be served, every bishop had power to act in any part of the church: for though all bishops had their particular churches to officiate in, and were not ordinarily to exceed their own bounds; yet the love of Christ was a rule above all: and therefore men were not barely to consider the thing that was done, but the circumstances of the action, the time, the manner, the persons for whose sake, and the end for which it was done. Thus Epiphanius apologizes for the exercise of his episcopal power in the diocese of another man. Now, from all this it appears, that every bishop was as much a universal bishop, and had as much the care of the whole church, as the bishop of Rome himself; there being no acts of the episcopal office, which they could not perform in any part of the world, when need required, without a dispensation, as well as he. All that he enjoyed above others, was only the rights of a metropolitan, or a patriarch, and those confined by the canons to a certain district; of which more hereafter in their proper place.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE INDEPENDENCY OF BISHOPS, ESPECIALLY IN THE CYPRIANIC AGE, AND IN THE AFRICAN CHURCHES.

Sect. 1. What meant by the independency of bishops one of another, and their absolute power in their own church.

There is one thing more must be taken notice of, whilst we are considering the proper office of bishops, which is, the absolute power of every bishop in his own church, independent of all others. For the right understanding the just limits of this power, we are to distinguish between the substantial and the ritual part of religion. For it was in the latter chiefly that bishops had an absolute power in their own church, being at liberty to use what indifferent rites they thought fit in their own church, without being accountable for their practice to any other. In matters of faith, indeed, when they corrupted the truth by heretical doctrines, or introduced any rituals that were destructive of it, there they were obnoxious to the censure of all other bishops; and every individual of the whole catholic college of bishops (as has been noted in the last chapter) was authorized to oppose them: but in such indifferent rites as were lawful to be used in the church, every bishop was allowed to choose for himself, and his own church, such as he thought fit and expedient in his own wisdom and discretion.

Sect. 2. All bishops had liberty to form their own liturgies.

Thus, for instance, though there was but one form of worship throughout the whole church, as to what concerned the substance of Christian worship; yet every bishop was at liberty to form his own liturgy in what method and words he thought proper, only keeping to the analogy of faith and sound doctrine. Thus Gregory Nazianzen observes of St. Basil, that among other good services which he did for the church of Cæsarea, whilst he was but a presbyter in it, one was[1] the composing of forms of prayer, which by the consent and authority of his bishop Eusebius were used by the church. And this is thought not improbably by some[2] to be the first draught of that liturgy, which bears his name to this day. The church of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus, where St. Basil was born, had a liturgy peculiar to themselves, which St. Basil[3] speaks of in one of his Epistles. Chrysostom's liturgy, which he composed

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[14] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 24.

[15] Theod. lib. 4. c. 13.

[16] Theod. lib. 5. c. 4.

[17] Epiphan. Ep. ad Joan. Hierosol. Ob Dei timorem hoc sumus facere compulsi: maximè cum nulla sit diversitas in sacerdotio Dei, et ubi utilitati Dei providetur. Nam etsi singuli ecclesiarum episcopi habent sub se ecclesias, quibus curam videntur impendere, et nemo super alienam mensuram extenditur; tamen præponitur omnibus charitas Christi, in qua nulla simulatio est: nec considerandum quid factum sit, sed quo tempore, et quo modo, et in quibus, et quare factum sit.

[1] Naz. Orat. 20. in Laud. Basil. p. 340. *εὐχῶν διατάξεις, καὶ εὐκοσμίας τȣ̃ βήματος.*

[2] Billius, Not. in loc. Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. * p. 194.

[3] Basil, Ep. 63. ad Neocæsar.

for the church of Constantinople, differed from these. The Ambrosian form differed from the Roman, and the Roman from others. The Africans had peculiar forms of their own, differing from the Roman, as appears from some passages cited by Victorinus Afer and Fulgentius, out of the African liturgies, which Cardinal Bona[4] owns are not to be found in the Roman.

Sect. 3. And express the same creed in different forms.

The like observation may be made upon the creeds used in divers churches. There was but one rule of faith, as Tertullian[5] calls it, and that fixed and unalterable, as to the substance, throughout the whole church. Yet there were different ways of expressing it, as appears from the several forms still extant, which differ something from one another. Those in Irenæus,[6] in Cyprian,[7] and Tertullian,[8] are not exactly in the same method nor form of words. The creed of Eusebius[9] and his church of Cæsarea differed from that of Jerusalem, upon which Cyril[10] comments; and that of Cyril's, from that in St. James's[11] liturgy. And to omit abundance more that might here be mentioned, the creed of Aquileia recited by Ruffin[12] differs from the Roman creed, which is that we commonly call the Apostles' creed. Now, the reason of all this difference could be no other but this, that all bishops had power to frame the creeds of their own churches, and express them in such terms as suited best their own convenience, and to meet with the heresies they were most in danger from: as Ruffin observes that the words, invisible and impassible, were added to the first article in the creed of Aquileia, in opposition to the Patripassian or Sabellian heretics, who asserted that the Father was visible and passible in human flesh, as well as the Son. And it is evident the bishops of other churches used the same liberty, as they saw occasion.

Sect. 4. And appoint particular days of fasting in their own churches.

It were easy to confirm this observation by many other instances of the like nature; but I shall only name one more, which is the power every bishop had to appoint particular days of fasting in his own church. This we learn from St. Austin's answer to Casulanus about the Saturday fast. Casulanus was very much troubled and perplexed about it, because he observed in Africa some churches keep it a fast, and others a festival; nay, sometimes in the same church men were divided in their practice, and one part dined on that day, whilst another fasted. Now, to remove Casulanus his scruple, St. Austin gives him this answer:[13] That the best way in this case was, to follow those who were the rulers of every church. Therefore, if he would take his advice, he should never resist his bishop in this matter, but do as he did without doubt or scruple. Which plainly implies, that it was then in every bishop's power to order or not order this fast in his own church, as he saw most convenient.

Sect. 5. The independency of bishops most conspicuous in the African churches.

And indeed these privileges of bishops, and their absolute and independent power in all such matters, were no where more fully reserved to them, than in the African churches, from the time of Cyprian, who frequently makes mention of this independent power; which extended not only to mere rituals, but to several momentous points of discipline; such as the case of rebaptizing heretics, admitting adulterers to the communion of the church again, and the question about the validity of clinic baptism. In these points Cyprian's opinion and practice differed from others of his fellow bishops: but yet he assumed no power of censuring those that acted differently from what he did, nor separated from their communion upon it; but left every one to give an account of his own practice to God the Judge of all. For the case of rebaptizing such as were baptized by heretics, he was entirely for it, as is sufficiently known to all; but he was not so zealous for it, as to exercise any judicial power of deposing or excommunicating those who practised otherwise; but declares he left every bishop to his liberty, to act according to his judgment, and answer for what he did to God alone. To this purpose he expresses himself in his letter to Pope Stephen,[14] and that to Jubaianus,[15] but most fully in his speech delivered at the opening of the great council of Carthage, which met to consider this very question. Let us every one now, says he, give our opinion of this matter;[16] judging no man, nor repelling any from our communion, that shall

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[4] Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. 1. c. 7. n. 3.

[5] Tertul. de veland. Virg. c. 1. Regula fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, &c.

[6] Iren. lib. 1. c. 2.

[7] Cypr. Ep. 70. ad Episc. Numid. p. 190. It. Ep. 76. al. 69. ad Magnum. p. 183. ed. Oxon.

[8] Tertul. ibid.

[9] Euseb. Ep. ad Cæsariens. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 8.

[10] Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. 4.

[11] Liturg. Jacobi. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 7.

[12] Ruffin. in Symbol. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, invisibilem, et impassibilem.

[13] Aug. Ep. 86. ad Casulan. Mos eorum mihi sequendus videtur, quibus eorum populorum congregatio regenda commissa est. Quapropter si consilio meo acquiescis: episcopo tuo in hac re noli resistere, et quod facit ipse, sine ullo scrupulo vel disceptatione sectare.

[14] Cypr. Ep. 72. ad Steph. p. 197. Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cum habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.

[15] Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 210.

[16] Con. Carth. ap. Cypr. p. 229. Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus; neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes. Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ, arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec

think otherwise. For no one of us makes himself bishop of bishops, or compels his colleagues by tyrannical terror to a necessity of complying; forasmuch as every bishop, according to the liberty and power that is granted him, is free to act as he sees fit; and can no more be judged by others, than he can judge them. But let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only hath power both to invest us with the government of his church, and to pass sentence upon our actions. Thus far Cyprian, in full and open council, declares for the independent power of every bishop, tacitly reflecting upon the bishop of Rome, who pretended to excommunicate those who differed in opinion and practice from him, which Cyprian condemns as a tyrannical way of proceeding.

For the next point, that is, the case of admitting adulterers to communion again, Cyprian says his predecessors in Africa were divided upon the question; but they did not divide communion upon it: for though some bishops admitted adulterers to penance, and others refused to do it, yet they did not censure each other's practice, but preserved peace and concord among themselves,[17] leaving every one to answer to God for his actions. I know indeed some learned persons[18] interpret this liberty of the African bishops so, as to make it mean no more than a liberty to follow their own judgment, till such times as the church should determine the matter in dispute, by making some public decree about it. But I must own, I cannot but think Cyprian meant something more, because he pleads for the same liberty even after the decrees of a plenary council; as we have seen in his preface to the council of Carthage.

As to the third question, about the validity of clinic baptism, that is, whether persons who were only sprinkled with water in their beds in time of sickness, and not immersed or washed all over the body in baptism, were to be looked upon as complete Christians; Cyprian for his own part resolves it in the affirmative. But yet, if any bishops were otherwise persuaded, that it was not lawful baptism, and upon that ground gave such persons a new immersion, he professes[19] that he prescribes to none, but leaves every one to act according to his own judgment and discretion. This was that ancient liberty of the Cyprianic age, of which I have discoursed a little more particularly in this place, because it shows us what was then the uncontested power and privilege of every bishop in the African church, which is not so commonly understood in these latter ages.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE POWER OF BISHOPS IN HEARING AND DETERMINING SECULAR CAUSES.

Sect. 1. Bishops commonly chosen arbitrators of men's differences in the primitive church.

WE have hitherto considered such offices of the episcopal function, as belonged to all bishops by the laws of God and the canons of the church. Besides these there was one office more, imposed upon them by custom, and the laws of the state; which was the hearing and determining secular causes, upon the continual applications and addresses that people made to them. For such was the singular character and repute of bishops, and such the entire confidence men generally reposed in them for their integrity and justice, that they were commonly appealed to, as the best arbitrators of men's differences, and the most impartial judges of the common disputes that happened among them. Sidonius Apollinaris[1] often refers to this custom: and Synesius calls it[2] part of his own episcopal office and function. St. Ambrose testifies for himself[3] that he was used to be appealed to upon such occasions; and St. Austin[4] says of him, that he was often so much employed in hearing causes, that he had scarce time for other business. And this was St. Austin's case also, who frequently complains of the burden[5] that lay upon him in this respect. For not only Christians, but men of all sects applied to him: insomuch that, as Possidius[6] notes in his Life, he often spent all the morning, and sometimes the whole day, fasting and hearing their causes; which, though it was a great fatigue to him, yet he was willing to bear it, because it gave him frequent opportunities of instilling the principles of truth and virtue into the minds of the parties that applied themselves to him.

Sect. 2. The original of this custom. What meant by the word ἐξουθενημένοι in St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 4.

And it is to be observed, that though there be no express text in the New Testament, that commands bishops to be judges in secular causes, yet St.

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ipse potest judicare. Sed exspectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi.

[17] Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 110.

[18] Bishop Fell, Not. in loc. citat.

[19] Cypr. Ep. 76. al. 69. ad Magnum. p. 186. Qua in parte nemini verecundia et modestia nostra præjudicat, quo minus unusquisque quod putat, sentiat, et quod senserit, faciat. It. p. 188. Nemini præscribentes, quo minus statuat quod putat unusquisque præpositus: actus sui rationem Domino redditurus.

[1] Sidon. lib. 3. Ep. 12. lib. 6. Ep. 2 et 4.

[2] Synes. Ep. 105. p. 399.

[3] Ambros. Ep. 24. ad Marcellum.

[4] Aug. Confess. lib. 6. c. 3.

[5] Aug. Ep. 110 et 147. It. de Opere Monach. c. 29.

[6] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 19.

Austin was of opinion, that St. Paul, in prohibiting men to go to law before the unbelievers, did virtually lay this obligation upon them. For he says once and again,[7] that it was the apostle that instituted ecclesiastical judges, and laid the burden of secular causes upon them. By which he means, that the apostle gave a general direction to Christians to choose arbitrators among themselves; and that custom determined this office particularly to the bishops, as the best qualified by their wisdom and probity to discharge it. And this is very agreeable to St. Paul's meaning, 1 Cor. vi. 4, as some very learned and judicious critics[8] understand him. For though all the common translations render the words, ἐξουθενημένους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, persons that are least esteemed in the church; yet Dr. Lightfoot observes, that they may as well signify persons of the greatest esteem. For the original word, ἐξουθενημένοι, signifies only private judges, or arbitrators of men's own choosing; such as were in use among the Jews, who called them ἰδιῶται, and *non-authentici*, not because they were of the meanest and most contemptible of the people, but because they were the lowest rank of judges, and not settled as a standing court by the sanhedrim, but chosen by the litigants themselves to arbitrate their causes. Such private judges the apostle directs the Christians to choose in the church, and refer their controversies to them: which is not any injunction to choose judges out of the poorest, and meanest, and most ignorant of the people, but rather the contrary, persons that were well qualified by their wisdom and authority to take upon them to be judges, and end controversies among their brethren. Now because none were thought better qualified in these respects than bishops, the office of judging upon that account was commonly imposed upon them, and they in decency and charity could not well refuse it. This seems to be the true original of this part of the episcopal office and function.

Sect. 3. This power of bishops confirmed by the imperial laws.

But what was thus begun by custom, while the civil governors were heathens, was afterward confirmed and established by law, when the emperors became Christians. Eusebius[9] says, Constantine made a law to confirm all such decisions of bishops in their consistories, and that no secular judges should have any power to reverse or disannul them; forasmuch as the priests of God were to be preferred before any other judge. And Sozomen[10] adds, that he gave leave to all litigants to refer their causes to the determination of bishops, whose sentence should stand good, and be as authentic as if it had been the decision of the emperor himself: and that the governors of every province and their officers should be obliged to put their decrees in execution. There is a law now added at the end of the Theodosian Code, which some take for this very law of Constantine mentioned by these authors. Selden himself reckons[11] it a genuine piece; but I think Gothofred's arguments are stronger to prove it spurious. For it grants bishops such a power, as neither Eusebius nor Sozomen mention, and all other laws contradict: viz. That if either of the contending parties, the possessor,[12] or the plaintiff, was minded to bring the cause before a bishop, either when it was before a secular court, or when it was determined, he might do it, though the other party was against it. Whereas all laws and history are against this practice: for no cause was to be brought before a bishop, except both parties agreed by way of compromise to take him for their arbitrator. In this case the bishop's sentence was valid, and to be executed by the secular power, but not otherwise. So that either this was not the genuine law of Constantine, to which Eusebius and Sozomen refer, or else it was revoked and contradicted by all others. Gothofred produces a great many contrary laws. I shall content myself with a single instance.

Sect. 4. Yet not allowed in criminal causes; nor in any causes, but when the litigants both agreed to take them for arbitrators.

In the Justinian Code[13] we have two laws of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius about the same matter, which may serve to explain the law of Constantine. For there any bishops are allowed to judge, and their judgment is ordered to be final, so as no appeal should be made from it; and the officers of the secular judges are appointed to execute the bishop's sentence. But then there are these two limitations expressly put in: first, that they shall only have power to judge, when both parties agree by consent to refer their causes to their arbitration. And, secondly, where the causes are purely civil, and not criminal causes, where perhaps life and death might be concerned. For in such causes, the clergy were prohibited by

[7] Aug. Ser. 24. in Psal. cxviii. Constituit talibus causis ecclesiasticos apostolus cognitores, in foro prohibens jurgare Christianos. Id. de Oper. Monach. c. 29. Quibus nos molestiis affixit apostolus, &c.

[8] Lightfoot, et Lud. de Dieu, in 1 Cor. vi. 4.

[9] Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 4. c. 27.

[10] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 9.

[11] Selden, Uxor Hebr. lib. 3. c. 28. p. 564.

[12] Extravag. de Elect. Judicii Episcop. ad Calcem Cod. Theod. t. 4. p. 303. Quicunque litem habens, sive possessor, sive petitor erit, inter initia litis, vel decursis temporum curriculis, sive cum negotium peroratur, sive cum jam cœperit promi sententia, judicium eligit sacrosanctæ legis antistitis, ilico sine aliqua dubitatione, etiamsi alia pars refragatur, ad episcopum cum sermone litigantium dirigatur. Vid. Gothofred. Comment. in loc.

[13] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 4. Leg. 7. Si qui ex consensu apud sacræ legis antistitem litigare voluerint, non vetabuntur. Sed experientur illius in civili duntaxat negotio, more arbitri sponte residentis judicium. Ibid. Leg. 8. Episcopale judicium ratum sit omnibus, qui se audiri a sacerdotibus elegerint; eamque eorum judicationi adhibendam esse reverentiam jubemus, quam vestris deferri necesse est potestatibus, a quibus non licet provocare, &c.

the canons of the church,[14] as well as the laws of the state, from being concerned as judges. Therefore bishops never suffered any criminal causes to come before them, except such as were to be punished with ecclesiastical censures.

Sect. 5. Bishops sometimes made their presbyters, and sometimes laymen, their substitutes in this affair.

But they had commonly civil causes more than enough flowing in upon them. So that they were forced sometimes to let part of this care devolve upon some other person, whose integrity and prudence they could confide in. This was commonly one of their clergy, a presbyter or a principal deacon. St. Austin, when he found the burden of this affair begin to press too hard upon him, substituted Eradius his presbyter[15] in his room. And the council of Taragone speaks not only of presbyters, but deacons also,[16] who were deputed to hear secular causes. And Socrates says,[17] Sylvanus, bishop of Troas, took the power wholly out of the hands of his clergy, because he had found some of them faulty in making an unlawful gain of the causes that were brought before them; for which reason he never deputed any one of them to be judge, but made some layman his delegate, whom he knew to be a man of integrity, and strict lover of justice. I leave the learned to inquire, whether lay chancellors in the church had not their first rise and original from some such occasion as this, whilst bishops deputed laymen to hear secular causes in their name, still reserving the proper spiritual and ecclesiastical power entirely to themselves.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE PRIVILEGE OF BISHOPS TO INTERCEDE FOR CRIMINALS.

Sect. 1. Of the great power and interest of bishops in interceding to the secular magistrates.

I HAVE observed in the foregoing chapter, that bishops were never allowed to be judges in capital or criminal causes, because they were not to be concerned in blood: they were to be so far from having any thing to do in the death of any man, that custom made it almost a piece of their office and duty to save men from death, by interceding to the secular magistrates for criminals that were condemned to die. St. Ambrose often made use of this privilege, as the author of his Life observes; frequently addressing himself to Macedonius,[1] and Stilico,[2] and other great ministers of the age, in behalf of poor delinquents, to obtain pardon for them. St. Austin did the same for the Circumcellions, when they were convicted and condemned for murdering some of the catholic clergy: he wrote two pathetic letters[3] to the African magistrates, Marcellinus Comes, and Apringius, desiring that their lives might be spared, and that they might only be punished with close custody and confinement, where they might be set to work, and have time allowed them for repentance. The council of Sardica[4] seems to speak of it as the duty of all bishops, to intercede for such as implored the mercy of the church, when they were condemned to be transported or banished, or any the like punishment. And the custom was become so general, that it began to be considered as a condition in the election of a bishop, whether he were qualified to discharge this part of his office as well as others. Sidonius Apollinaris[5] instances in such a case, where it was made an objection by the people against the election of a certain bishop, that being a man of a monkish and retired life, he was fitter to be an abbot than a bishop: he might intercede, they said, indeed with the heavenly Judge for their souls, but he was not qualified to intercede with the earthly judges for their bodies. He was not a man of address, which they then thought necessary to discharge this part of the office of a bishop. They might perhaps judge wrong, as those in St. Jerom[6] did, who pretended that clergymen ought to give splendid entertainments to the secular judges, that they might gain an interest in them; whom St. Jerom justly reproves, telling them, that any judge would pay a greater reverence to a pious and sober clergyman, than to a wealthy one, and would respect him more for his holiness than his riches. However, this shows what was then the common custom, and how great an interest bishops generally had in the secular magistrate, who seldom rejected any petitions of this nature. Socrates notes, that even some of the Novatian bishops enjoyed this privilege, as Paulus[7] of Constantinople, and Leontius[8] of Rome, at whose intercession Theodosius the emperor pardoned Symmachus, who had been guilty of treason, in making a panegyric upon Maximus the tyrant, but was, after his death, fled for sanctuary to a Christian church.

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[14] Concil. Tarracon. can. 4. Habeant licentiam judicandi, exceptis criminalibus negotiis.

[15] Aug. Ep. 110.

[16] Con. Tarracon. c. 4. Nullus episcoporum, presbyterorum, vel clericorum, die Dominico propositum cujuscunque, causæ negotium audeat judicare.

[17] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 37.

[1] Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 8. [2] Ibid. p. 12.

[3] Aug. Ep. 159 et 160. [4] Con. Sardic. can. 7.

[5] Sidon. lib. 7. Ep. 9. p. 443. Hic qui nominatur, inquiunt, non episcopi, sed potius abbatis complet officium: et intercedere magis pro animabus apud cœlestem, quam pro corporibus apud terrenum judicem potest.

[6] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Novatian. p. 15. Quod si obtenderis te facere hæc, ut roges pro miseris atque subjectis: judex sæculi plus deferet clerico continenti, quam diviti, et magis sanctitatem tuam venerabitur quam opes.

[7] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 17. [8] Id. lib. 5. cap. 14.

Sect. 2. The reasons why bishops interceded for some criminals and not others.

We may here observe, that crimes in themselves of a very heinous nature, such as treason and murder, were sometimes pardoned at their request. But we are not to imagine that bishops at any time turned patrons for criminals, to the obstruction of public justice, (which would have been to have cut the sinews of government,) but only in such cases, where pardon would manifestly be for the benefit and honour both of the church and commonwealth; or else where the crimes themselves had some such alleviating circumstances, as might incline a compassionate judge to grant a pardon. As when St. Ambrose interceded with Stilico for the pardon of some poor deluded wretches, whom Stilico's own servant by forgery had drawn into an error: their ignorance might reasonably be pleaded in their behalf. And when St. Austin petitioned for favour to be showed to the Circumcellions, it was, he thought, for the honour of the church, to free her from the suspicion and charge of revenge and cruelty, which the Donatists were so ready to cast upon her. And therefore he desired Apringius[9] the proconsul to spare them for the sake of Christ and his church, as well as to give them time to see their error and repent of it.

Sect. 3. They never interceded in civil matters and pecuniary cases.

It must further be noted from St. Ambrose, that bishops, though they themselves were sometimes chosen judges in civil causes, yet never interceded for any man in such causes to the secular judges. And he gives a very good reason[10] for it: Because, in pecuniary causes, where two parties are concerned, a bishop could not intercede for one party, but the other would be injured, and have reason to think he lost his cause by the interest and favour of the intercessor inclining to the adverse party. For which reason, there are no examples of their interceding in such cases.

CHAPTER IX.

OF SOME PARTICULAR HONOURS AND INSTANCES OF RESPECT SHOWED TO BISHOPS BY ALL PERSONS IN GENERAL.

Sect. 1. Of the ancient custom of bowing the head, to receive the benediction of bishops.

There are several other privileges belonging to bishops in common with the rest of the clergy; such as their exemption from burdensome offices, and some sort of taxes, and the cognizance of the secular courts in some cases; of which I shall say nothing particularly here, because they will be considered when we treat of the privileges of the clergy in general. But there are two or three customs, which argued a particular respect paid to bishops, and therefore I must not here wholly pass them over. One of these was the ancient custom of bowing the head before them, to receive their blessing; a custom so universally prevailing, that the emperors themselves did not refuse to comply with it. As may appear from that discourse of Hilary[1] to Constantius; where he tells him, he entertained the bishops with a kiss, with which Christ was betrayed; and bowed his head to receive their benediction, whilst he trampled on their faith. This plainly refers to the custom we are speaking of. And by it we may understand the meaning of Theodoret, when he says,[2] the emperor Valentinian gave orders to the bishops, who were met to make choice of a bishop of Milan, that they should place such a one on the bishop's throne, of that eminency for life and doctrine, that the emperors themselves might not be ashamed to bow their heads to him. The same custom is more plainly hinted at by St. Chrysostom, in one of his Homilies[3] to the people of Antioch; where speaking of Flavian their bishop, who was gone to the emperor to procure a pardon for them, he says, Flavian was a prince, and a more honourable prince than the other; forasmuch as the sacred laws made the emperor submit his head to the hands of the bishop. He speaks of no other submission, but only this, in receiving the bishop's benediction: for in other respects, the priests in those days were always subject to the emperors. He that would see more proofs of this custom, may consult Valesius, who[4] has collected a great many passages out of other authors relating to it. I shall only add here that rescript of Honorius and Valentinian, which says, Bishops were the persons to whom all the world bowed the head; *Quibus omnis terra caput inclinat.*

Sect. 2. Of kissing their hand.

Such another customary respect was paid them, by kissing their hand; which seems to have accompanied the former ceremony. For St. Ambrose joins them both together,[5] saying, that kings and princes did not disdain to bend and bow their necks to the

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[9] Aug. Ep. 160. Illi impio ferro fuderunt sanguinem Christianum: tu ab eorum sanguine etiam juridicum gladium cohibe propter Christum.———Tu inimicis ecclesiæ viventibus relaxa spatium pœnitendi.

[10] Ambros. de Offic. lib. 3. c. 9. In causis pecuniariis intervenire non est sacerdotis, &c.

[1] Hilar. adv. Constant. p. 95. Osculo sacerdotes excipis, quo et Christus est proditus: caput benedictioni summittis, ut fidem calces.

[2] Theod. lib. 4. c. 6. ὅπως αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑποκλίνωμεν κεφαλάς.

[3] Chrys. Hom. 3. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 48.

[4] Vales. Not. in Theod. lib. 4. c. 6.

[5] Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 2. Quippe cum videas

knees of the priests, and kiss their hands; thinking themselves protected by their prayers. Paulinus says,[6] the people paid this respect commonly to St. Ambrose. And Chrysostom, speaking of Meletius, bishop of Antioch, says,[7] At his first coming to the city, the whole multitude went out to meet him, and as many as could come near him, laid hold on his feet, and kissed his hands. They that please to see more of this custom, may consult Sidonius Apollinaris,[8] and Savaro's learned Notes[9] upon him; who cites Ennodius, and several other authors to the same purpose.

Sect. 3. The custom of singing hosannas to them sometimes used, but not approved.

St. Jerom[10] mentions another custom, which he condemns as doing too great an honour to mere mortal men; which was, the people's singing hosannas to their bishops, as the multitude did to our Saviour at his entrance into Jerusalem. Valesius[11] cites a passage out of Antoninus's Itinerary, to the same purpose; where the form of words is, Blessed be ye of the Lord, and blessed be your coming; hosanna in the highest. Some also understand Hegesippus[12] in the same sense; where, speaking of the preaching of James, bishop of Jerusalem, he says, The people that were converted by his discourse cried out, "Hosanna to the Son of David." Scaliger understands this as spoken to James himself: but others[13] take it for a doxology, or acclamation to Christ, whom they glorified upon the testimony that James had given him: and this seems to be the truer sense of that place; however, in the other acceptation, there is nothing contrary to custom in it, as appears from what has been said. I do not insist upon what St. Jerom, in another place,[14] says further of this bishop of Jerusalem; that he was a man of such celebrated fame among the people, for his great sanctity, that they ambitiously strove to touch the hem of his garment: for this honour was not paid him as a bishop, but as a most holy man; who was, indeed, according to the character given him by Hegesippus and Epiphanius, a man of singular abstinence and piety, and one of the miracles of the age he lived in. So that this was a singular honour done to him, for his singular holiness and virtue.

Sect. 4. What meant by the *corona sacerdotalis*, and the form of saluting bishops *per coronam*.

But to proceed with the common honours paid to bishops. Another instance of respect may be observed in the usual forms of addressing them: for when men spake to them, they commonly prefaced their discourse with some title of honour, such as that of *Precor coronam*, and *Per coronam vestram;* which we may English, Your honour and dignity; literally, Your crown. This form often occurs in Sidonius Apollinaris, Ennodius, St. Jerom,[15] and others. St. Austin says, both the catholics[16] and Donatists used it, when they spake to the bishops of either party; giving them very respectful titles, and entreating, or rather adjuring, them, *per coronam*, that they would hear and determine their secular causes.

Sect. 5. Whether bishops anciently wore a mitre, or any the like ornament?

The use of this form of speech then is plain, but the reason of it is not so evident. Savaro,[17] and some others, fancy it respected the ancient figure of the clerical tonsure; by which the hair was cut into a round from the crown of the head downwards. Others think it came from the ornament which bishops wore upon their head; and that they will needs have to be a crown or mitre. Whereas, it does not appear that bishops had any such ornament in those days. I know, indeed, both Valesius[18] and Petavius[19] are very confident that all bishops (from the very first) had an appendant badge of honour in their foreheads, which they say was the same with the *petalum*, or golden plate, which the Jewish high priests wore: and it cannot be denied, but that as ancient an author as Polycrates,[20] mentioned both by Eusebius and St. Jerom, says, that St. John was a priest, wearing a *petalum:* and Epiphanius[21] says the same of James, bishop of Jerusalem. But this was not spoken of them as Christian

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regum colla et principum submitti genibus sacerdotum, et exosculatis eorum dexteris, orationibus eorum credant se communiri.

[6] Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 2 et 3.

[7] Chrys. Hom. 45. in Melet. t. 1. p. 593.

[8] Sidon. lib. 8. Ep. 11. Sancti Gallicini manu osculata. Id. lib. 7. Ep. 11.

[9] Savaro, Not. in Sidon. lib. 8. Epist. 11. p. 532.

[10] Hieron. in Matt. xxi. t. 9. p. 62. Videant ergo episcopi, et quantumlibet sancti homines, cum quanto periculo dici ista sibi patiantur, &c.

[11] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23.

[12] Hegesip. ap. Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23. *Πολλῶν δοξαζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ιακώβου, καὶ λεγόντων, ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ.*

[13] Grabe, Spicileg. Sæc. 2. p. 207, translates it thus: Multi hoc Jacobi testimonio confirmati glorificabant (Jesum) dicentes, Hosanna Filio David.

[14] Hieron. Com. in Gal. i. Jacobus episcopus Hierosolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Justus; vir tantæ sanctitatis et rumoris in populo, ut fimbriam vestimenti ejus certatim cuperent attingere.

[15] Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 3. Auctoritas coronæ tuæ, &c. Id. lib. 7. Ep. 8. ad Euphron. De minimis rebus coronam tuam maximisque consulerem. Ennod. lib. 4. Ep. 29. ad Symmac. Lib. 5. Ep. 17. ad Marcellinum. Lib. 9. Ep. 27. ad Aurelian. Hieron. Ep. 26. ad August. inter Ep. Aug. Precor coronam tuam.

[16] Aug. Ep. 147. ad Proculeian. Episc. partis Donati. Honorant nos vestri, honorant vos nostri. Per coronam nostram nos adjurant vestri; per coronam vestram vos adjurant nostri.

[17] Savaro, Not. in Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 3. Baron. an. 58. n. 134.

[18] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24.

[19] Petav. Not. in Epiph. Hær. 78. n. 14.

[20] Polycrat. ap. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24.

[21] Epiphan. Hær. 29. n. 4. It. Hær. 78. n. 14.

bishops, but on presumption of their having been Jewish priests, and of the family of Aaron. Valesius himself cites a MS. Passion of St. Mark, which sets the same ornament on his head, and gives this very reason for it: It is reported, says he, that St. Mark, according to the rites of the carnal sacrifice, wore the chief priest's *petalum* among the Jews: which gives us plainly to understand,[22] says that author, that he was one of the tribe of Levi, and of the family of Aaron. So he did not take this for the ornament of a Christian bishop, but a Jewish priest; and that opens the way for us to understand what the other authors meant by it, however Valesius chanced not to observe it. Now, if it cannot be proved, that bishops anciently wore any such ornament as this, it will much less follow that they wore a royal crown, or mitre, as Spondanus[23] asserts they did, and thence deduces the custom of addressing them *Per coronam;* therein deserting his great master Baronius, who assigns another reason for it. After all, it seems most probable that it was no more than a metaphorical expression, used to denote the honour and dignity of the episcopal order: though I do not deny that the clerical tonsure was sometimes called *corona;* but that was not peculiar to bishops, but common to all the clergy.

Sect. 6. Of the titles *ἁγιώτατοι, sanctissimi,* &c.

It will not be improper to add, while we are upon this point, that it was usual in men's addresses to bishops, or in speaking of them, to mention their names with some additional titles of respect, such as *θεοφιλέστατοι,* and *ἁγιώτατοι,* most dear to God, and most holy fathers: which titles occur frequently in the emperor's rescripts in the civil law,[24] and were of such common use in those times, that Socrates (when he comes to the sixth book of his history, which treats of his own times) thinks himself obliged to make some apology[25] for not giving the bishops that were then living these titles. Which I the rather note, because of the vanity of some, who reckon the title, most holy father, the pope's sole prerogative; and to correct the malice of others, who will not allow a protestant bishop to receive that title, without the suspicion and imputation of popery. As if St. Austin and St. Jerom had been to blame, because the one wrote, and the other received, epistles always thus inscribed, *Domino vere sancto, et beatissimo papæ Augustino.* See St. Austin's Epist. 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, where St. Jerom and others give him those honourable titles.

Sect. 7. Bishops distinguished by their throne in the church.

There is one thing more that must not be omitted, because it was the common honour and privilege of all bishops, to be distinguished in the church by a chair, or seat, which was commonly called their throne. Thus Eusebius[26] calls the bishop of Jerusalem's seat, *θρόνον ἀποστολικὸν,* the apostolical throne, because St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, first sat in it. And for the same reason Gregory Nazianzen[27] calls the bishop of Alexandria's seat, the throne of St. Mark. It was otherwise called *βῆμα,* and *θρόνος ὑψηλὸς,* the high throne, because it was exalted something higher than the seats of the presbyters, which were on each side of it, and were called the second thrones, as we shall see hereafter, when we come to speak of presbyters. All that I shall observe further here concerning this throne of the bishops is, that though it be sometimes called the high and lofty throne, especially by those writers[28] who speak in a rhetorical strain, yet that is only meant comparatively in respect of the lower seats of presbyters; for otherwise, it was a fault in any bishop to build himself a pompous and splendid throne in imitation of the state and grandeur of the secular magistrates. This was one of the crimes which the council of Antioch,[29] in their Synodical Epistle against Paulus Samosatensis, laid to his charge, that he built himself a high and stately tribunal, not as a disciple of Christ, but as one of the rulers of the world, making a *secretum* to it, in imitation of the secular magistrates, whose tribunals had a place railed out from the rest, and separated by a veil, which they called the *secretum,* and the ambitious bishop gave his the same name, by which, and some other such like practices, he raised the envy and hatred of the heathens against the Christians, as they there complain of him. It was then the great care of the Christian church, to observe a decorum in the honours which she bestowed upon her bishops, that they might be such as might set them above contempt, but keep them below envy; make them venerable, but not minister to vanity, or the outward pomp and ostentation of secular greatness.

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[22] Auctor. MS. Passion. S. Marc. ap. Vales. ibid. B. Marcum juxta ritum carnalis sacrificii, pontificalis apicis petalum in populo gestassè Judæorum, illustrium virorum Syngraphæ declarant: ex quo manifestè datur intelligi, de stirpe eum Levitica, imo pontificis Aaron sacræ successionis, originem habuisse.

[23] Spondan. Epitom. Baron. an. 58. n. 54.

[24] Justin. Novel. 8, 40, 42, 67, 86, &c. Concil. Chalced. Act. 10.

[25] Socrat. Procem. ad lib. 6. [26] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 19 et 32.

[27] Naz. Orat. 21. in Laud. Athanas. t. 1. p. 377.

[28] Naz. Somnium de Eccl. Anastas. Sublimi throno insidere mihi videbar. Id. Orat. 20. in Laud. Basil. p. 342 *ἐπὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον,* &c.

[29] Ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE AGE, AND SOME PARTICULAR QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED IN SUCH AS WERE TO BE ORDAINED BISHOPS.

Sect. 1. Bishops not to be ordained under thirty years of age, except they were men of extraordinary worth.

Those qualifications of bishops, which were common to them with the rest of the clergy, shall be spoken of hereafter: here I shall only take notice of a few that were more peculiar to them. Such as, first, their age; which, by the canons, was required to be at least thirty years. The council of Neocæsarea[1] requires thirty in presbyters, which is a certain argument that the same age was requisite in a bishop. The council of Agde[2] more expressly limits their age to that time, requiring all metropolitans to insist upon it in their ordination. The reasons given by these councils are, because our Saviour himself did not begin to teach before he was thirty years old, and because that is the perfect age of man. Therefore, though a man was otherwise never so well qualified, the council of Neocæsarea says, he shall wait, and not be ordained so much as presbyter before that time. But whether this rule was always observed from the days of the apostles may be questioned, for there is no such rule given by the apostles in Scripture. That which goes under their name in the Constitutions,[3] requires a bishop to be fifty years old before he is ordained, except he be a man of singular merit and worth, which may compensate for the want of years. This shows, that the custom of the church varied in this matter, and that persons of extraordinary qualifications were not always tied to be of such an age. Timothy was ordained young, as may be collected from what the apostle says to him, 1 Tim. iv. 12, "Let no man despise thy youth." The history of the church affords many other such instances. Eusebius[4] says, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and his brother Athenodorus, were both ordained bishops very young; ἔτι νέους ἄμφω. St. Ambrose[5] says the same of Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica; that he was young in years, but of mature age in respect of his virtues. And Socrates[6] gives the like account of Paulus, bishop of Constantinople. Theodoret[7] observes also of Athanasius, that he was but young when he attended his bishop Alexander at the council of Nice; and yet within five months after, he was chosen his successor at Alexandria. Which probably was before he was thirty years old: for the council of Nice was not above twenty years after the persecution under Maximian; and yet Athanasius was so young, as not to remember the beginning of that persecution, anno 303, but only as he heard it from his fathers. For when he speaks of it, he says,[8] he learned of his parents, that the persecution was raised by Maximian, grandfather to Constantius. So that if we compute from that time, we can hardly suppose him to be thirty years old, when he was ordained bishop, anno 326. It is agreed by all authors,[9] that Remigius, bishop of Rhemes, was but twenty-two years old when he was ordained, anno 471. And Cotelerius,[10] after Nicephorus, says, St. Eleutherius, an Illyrican bishop, was consecrated at twenty. Ignatius gives a plain intimation, that Damas, bishop of the Magnesians, was but a very young bishop; though he does not expressly mention his age. He calls his ordination,[11] νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, a youthful ordination; and therefore cautions the people not to despise him for his age, but to reverence and give place to him in the Lord. Salmasius[12] and Ludovicus Capellus miserably pervert this passage, and force a sense upon it, which the author never so much as dreamt of: they will needs have it, that by the words νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, Ignatius means the novelty of episcopacy in general, that it was but a new and late institution: which is not only contrary to the whole tenor and design of all Ignatius's epistles, but to the plain sense of this passage in particular; which speaks nothing of the institution of episcopacy, but of the age of this bishop, who was but young when he was ordained.

Now, from all this it appears, that though there was a rule in the church, requiring bishops to be thirty years old when they were ordained; yet it was frequently dispensed with, either in cases of necessity, or in order to promote persons of more extraordinary worth and singular qualifications. Yet such dispensations, as qualify boys of eleven or twelve years old to be made bishops, are no where to be met with in the primitive church; though the history of the papacy affords frequent instances of such promotions; as those that please may see in a catalogue of them, collected by Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Mason,[13] two learned writers of our church.

[1] Con. Neocæs. can. 11.

[2] Concil. Agathen. c. 17. Presbyterum vel episcopum ante triginta annos, id est, antequam ad viri perfecti ætatem perveniat, nullus metropolitanorum ordinare præsumat. See also Con. Tolet. 4. c. 18 et 19.

[3] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 1.

[4] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 30.

[5] Ambr. Ep. 60. ad Anysium. Benedictus processus juventutis ipsius, in qua ad summum electus est sacerdotium, maturo jam probatus virtutum stipendio.

[6] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 6. Ἄνδρα νέον μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν, προβεβηκότα δὲ ταῖς φρεσίν.

[7] Theod. lib. 1. c. 25. νέος μὲν ὢν τὴν ἡλικίαν.

[8] Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. t. 1. p. 853.

[9] Hincmar. Vit. Remig. Baron. an. 471. p. 298.

[10] Coteler. Not. in Const. Apost. lib. 2. c. 1. Niceph. lib. 3. c. 29.

[11] Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. 3.

[12] Vid. Pearson, Vindic. Ignat. Præf. ad Lector.

[13] Vid. Rainoldi Apolog. Thes. n. 26. Mason of the Consecrat. of Bishops, lib. 1. c. 5.

Sect. 2. Bishops to be chosen out of the clergy of the church to which they were ordained.

But to return to the bishops of the primitive church: another qualification in a bishop, anciently very much insisted on, was, that he should be one of the clergy of the same church over which he was to be made bishop. For strangers, who were unknown to the people, were not reckoned qualified by the canons. This is plainly implied by Cyprian,[14] when he says, the bishop was to be chosen in the presence of the people; who had perfect knowledge of every man's life and actions, by their conversation among them. St. Jerom observes, that this was the constant custom of Alexandria,[15] from St. Mark, to Dionysius and Heraclas, for the presbyters of the church to choose a bishop out of their own body. And therefore Julius[16] makes it a strong objection against Gregory, whom the Arians obtruded on the church of Alexandria in the room of Athanasius; that he was a perfect stranger to the place; neither baptized there, nor known to any: whereas, the ordination of a bishop ought not to be so uncanonical; but he should be ordained by the bishops of the province in his own church, and be ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱερατείου, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλήρου, one of the clergy of the church to which he was ordained. The ancient bishops of Rome were all of the same mind, so long as they thought themselves obliged to walk by the laws of the church: for Celestine,[17] and Hilary,[18] and Leo,[19] insist upon the same thing, as the common rule and canon of the church. And we find a law as late as Charles the Great, and Ludovicus Pius, to the same purpose. For in one of their Capitulars[20] it is ordered, that bishops shall be chosen out of their own diocese, by the election of the clergy and the people. Though, as Baluzius[21] notes, this law did not extend to very many dioceses: for by this time, the French kings had the disposal of all bishoprics in their dominions, (except some few churches, which by special privilege retained the old way of electing,) and they did not bind themselves to nominate bishops always out of the clergy of that church which was vacant, but used their liberty to choose them out of any other; as now it is become the privilege and custom of kings and princes almost in all nations: which is the occasion of the difference betwixt the ancient and modern practice in this particular. For while the ancient way of elections continued, the general rule was for every church to make choice of one of her own clergy to be her bishop, and not a stranger.

Sect. 3. Some exceptions to this rule.

Yet in some extraordinary cases this rule admitted of legal exceptions; particularly in these three cases: 1. When it was found for the benefit of the church to translate bishops from one see to another. In this case, though the bishop was a stranger, yet his translation being canonical, was reckoned no violation of this law. 2. When the church could not unanimously agree upon one in their own body, then, to pacify their heats and end their controversies, the emperor or a council proposed one of another church to their choice, or promoted him by their own authority. Upon this ground Nectarius, Chrysostom, and Nestorius, all strangers, were made bishops of Constantinople. It was to end the disputes that arose in the church, which was divided in their elections, as Socrates and Sozomen[22] give an account of them. 3. Sometimes men's extraordinary merit gave them preference, though strangers, before all the members of the church to which they were chosen. As St. Ambrose[23] observes of Eusebius Vercellensis, that he was chosen, *posthabitis civibus*, before all that were citizens or bred in the place, though none of the electors had ever seen him before, but only heard of his fame and character: and there are many other instances of the like nature. But excepting some such cases as these, the rule was generally observed, to choose no one bishop of any place, who was not known to the people, and a member of the same church before.

Sect. 4. Bishops to go through the inferior orders of the church.

Another qualification required in a bishop was, that he should arise gradually to his honour, and not come to the throne *per saltum;* but first pass through some, if not all, the inferior orders of the church. The council of Sardica has a canon[24] very full to this purpose: If any rich man, or pleader at the law, desire to be made a bishop, he shall not be ordained, till he has first gone through the offices of reader, deacon, and presbyter; that behaving himself worthily in each of these offices, he may ascend gradually to the height of the episcopal function: and in every one of these degrees he shall continue some considerable time, that his faith, and good conversation, and constancy, and moderation may be known. The same rule is prescribed by the

[14] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Fratr. Hispan. p. 172. Episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit.

[15] Hieron. Epist. 85. ad Evagr. Alexandriæ a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant.

[16] Jul. Ep. ad Oriental. ap. Athan. Apol. 2. t. 1. p. 749.

[17] Cælestin. Ep. 2. ad Episc. Narbon. c. 4 et 5.

[18] Hilar. Pap. Epist. 1. ad Ascan. Tarracon. c. 3.

[19] Leo, Ep. 84. ad Anastas. c. 6.

[20] Capitular. Karoli et Ludov. lib. i. c. 18. Episcopi per electionem cleri et populi, secundum statuta canonum, de propria diœcesi eligantur.

[21] Baluz. Not. ad Concilia Gall. Narbon. p. 34. It. Not. ad Gratian. Dist. 63. c. 34. p. 467.

[22] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 2. lib. 7. c. 29. Sozom. lib. 8. c. 2.

[23] Ambros. Ep. 82. ad Eccl. Vercel.

[24] Concil. Sardic. can. 10.

council of Bracara[25] and some others. And that it was the ancient practice of the church, appears from what Cyprian says[26] of Cornelius, that he was not made bishop of Rome all of a sudden, but went gradually through all the offices of the church, till his merits advanced him to the episcopal throne. Theodoret[27] commends Athanasius upon the same account: and Gregory Nazianzen[28] speaks it to the honour of St. Basil, with some reflection on several bishops of his age, that he did not as soon as he was baptized leap into a bishopric, as some other ambitious persons did, but rise to his honour by degrees. He adds, that in military affairs this rule was generally observed; every great general is first a common soldier, then a captain, then a commander: and it would be happy for the church, says he, if matters were always so ordered in it. By this time it seems this rule was frequently transgressed, without any reason or necessity; but only by the ambition of some who affected the office of bishop, yet were not willing to undergo the inferior offices that were preparative to it.

Sect. 5. Deacons might be ordained bishops, though never ordained presbyters.

But I must observe, that it was not always necessarily required that a man should be ordained presbyter first in order to be made a bishop: for deacons were as commonly made bishops as any other. Cæcilian was no more than archdeacon of Carthage,[29] when he was ordained bishop, as we learn from Optatus. And both Theodoret[30] and Epiphanius[31] say, that Athanasius was but a deacon, when he was made bishop of Alexandria. Liberatus observes the same[32] of Peter Moggus and Esaias, two other bishops of Alexandria: as also of Agapetus[33] and Vigilius, bishops of Rome. Socrates[34] and Theodoret[35] relate the same of Felix, bishop of Rome, who was ordained in the place of Liberius. Eusebius[36] takes notice of one of his own name, a deacon of Alexandria, who was made bishop of Laodicea. And Socrates[37] says, Chrysostom made Heraclides, one of his own deacons, bishop of Ephesus, and Serapion bishop of Heraclea. And that this was a general practice, and agreeable to canon, appears also from a letter of Pope Leo, where, speaking of the election of a metropolitan, he says[38] he ought to be chosen either out of the presbyters, or out of the deacons of the church.

Sect. 6. Bishops in cases of necessity chosen out of the inferior orders.

Sometimes in cases of necessity bishops were chosen out of the inferior orders, subdeacons, readers, &c. Liberatus says, Silverius, who was competitor with Vigilius for the bishopric of Rome, was but a subdeacon.[39] And St. Austin himself, when he erected his new bishopric at Fussala, being disappointed of the person whom he intended to have had consecrated bishop, offered one Antonius a reader to the primate to be ordained bishop in his room; and the primate without any scruple immediately ordained him; though, as St. Austin[40] testifies, he was but a young man, who had never showed himself in any other office of the church beside that of reader.

Sect. 7. And in some extraordinary cases ordained immediately from laymen.

There want not also several instances of persons, who were ordained bishops immediately of laymen, when God by his particular providence seemed to point them out as the fittest men, in some certain junctures, to be employed in his service. Thus it was in the known case of St. Ambrose, who was but newly baptized when he was ordained bishop, as both Paulinus[41] and all the historians testify. When the people of Milan were so divided in the election of a bishop, that the whole city was in an uproar, he, being prætor of the place, came in upon them to appease the tumult, as by virtue of his office he thought himself obliged to do; and making an eloquent speech to them, it had a sort of miraculous effect upon them; for they all immediately left off their dispute, and unanimously cried out, they would have Ambrose to be their bishop. Which the emperor understanding, and looking upon it as a providential call, he ordered him to be baptized, (for he was yet but a catechumen,) and in a few days after to be ordained their bishop. St. Cyprian was another instance of the like providential dispensation. For Pontius[42] says in his Life, that he was chosen bishop by the judgment of God and the favour of the people, though he was but a neophite, or newly baptized. Socrates[43] and and Sozomen[44] say the same of Nectarius, Gregory

[25] Concil. Bracar. 1. c. 39. Per singulos gradus eruditus, ad sacerdotium veniat.

[26] Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 103. Non iste ad episcopatum subitò pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus, et in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit.

[27] Theod. lib. 1. c. 25.

[28] Naz. Orat. 20. in Laud. Basil. p. 335.

[29] Optat. lib. 1. p. 41. [30] Theodor. lib. 1. c. 25.

[31] Epiphan. Hær. 69. Arian.

[32] Liberat. Breviar. c. 16 et 18.

[33] Liberat. ibid. c. 21 et 22.

[34] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 37.

[35] Theod. lib. 2. c. 17.

[36] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11.

[37] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 11. lib.

[38] Leo, Ep. 84. c. 6. Ex presbyteris ejusdem ecclesiæ, vel ex diaconibus eligatur.

[39] Liberat. Brev. c. 22. [40] Aug. Ep. 261. ad Cælestin.

[41] Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 3. Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 11. Theod. lib. 4. c. 6 et 7. Socrat. lib. 4. c. 30. Sozom. lib. 6. c. 24.

[42] Pont. Vit. Cypr. p. 2. Judicio Dei et plebis favore ad officium sacerdotii et episcopatus gradum adhuc neophytus, et ut putabatur novellus electus est.

[43] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 8.

[44] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 8. *τὴν μυστικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔτι ἠμφιεσμένος*, &c.

Nazianzen's successor at Constantinople, that he was chosen bishop by the second general council, whilst he had his mystical garments on him, meaning those white garments, which the newly baptized were used to wear. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Pontus, St. Basil's predecessor, was not baptized, but only a catechumen, when he was chosen bishop, as Nazianzen himself[45] informs us. And Eucherius was but a monk, that is, a layman, when he was chosen and ordained bishop of Lyons, as Baronius[46] says, from Hilarius Arelatensis in the Life of Honoratus. Chrysostom[47] seems to say the same of Philogonius, bishop of Antioch, when he reports of him, that he was taken from the court of judicature, and carried from the judge's bench to the bishop's throne, *ἀπὸ βήματος δικαστικοῦ ἐπὶ βῆμα ἱερόν*. In all these instances there seems to have been the hand of God and the direction of Providence, which supersedes all ordinary rules and canons: and therefore these ordinations were never censured as uncanonical or irregular, though contrary to the letter of a common rule; because the rule itself was to be understood with this limitation and exception, as one of the ancient canons[48] explains itself, and all others that relate to this matter; saying, One that is newly converted from Gentilism, or a vicious life, ought not presently to be advanced to a bishopric: for it is not fit, that he who has yet given no proof of himself, should be made a teacher of others; unless it be so ordered by the grace and appointment of God himself, *εἰ μὴ που κατὰ θείαν χάριν τοῦτο γένοιτο*. For in this case there could be no dispute; the will of God being superior to all human canons whatsoever. And therefore, though the same limitation be not expressed in other canons, yet it is evident that they are always to be understood with this exception. Upon which account, it was not reckoned any breach of canon to make a layman bishop, when Providence seemed first to grant a dispensation, by directing the church to be unanimous in the choice of such a person. They did not in such cases make a layman receive one order one day, and another the next, and so go through the several orders in the compass of a week, but made him bishop at once, when need required, without any other ordination. The contrary custom is a modern practice, scarce ever heard of till the time of Photius, anno 858, who, to avoid the imputation of not coming gradually to his bishopric, was on the first day made a monk, on the second a reader, on the third a subdeacon, on the fourth a deacon, on the fifth a presbyter, and on the sixth a patriarch, as Nicetas David,[49] a writer of that age, informs us in the Life of Ignatius. Spalatensis[50] observes the same practice to be continued in the Romish church, under pretence of complying with the ancient canons; though nothing can be more contrary to the true intent and meaning of them; which was, that men should continue some years in every order, to give some proof of their behaviour to the church, and not pass cursorily through all orders in five or six days' time; which practice, as it does not answer the end of the canons, so it is altogether without precedent in the primitive church.

[45] Naz. Orat. 19. de Laud. Patr. t. 1. p. 308.
[46] Baron. an. 441. p. 9.
[47] Chrys. Hom. 31. de S. Philogon. t. 1. p. 397.
[48] Canon. Apost. c. 80.
[49] Nicet. Vit. Ignat. Concil. t. 8. p. 1199.
[50] Spalat. de Repub. lib. 3. c. 4. n. 19. p. 430.

CHAPTER XI.

OF SOME PARTICULAR LAWS AND CUSTOMS OBSERVED ABOUT THE ORDINATION OF BISHOPS.

Sect. 1. Bishoprics not to be void above three months.

When any bishopric became void by the death or cession of its bishop, then, forasmuch as bishops were looked upon as a necessary constituent part of the church, all imaginable care was taken to fill up the vacancy with all convenient speed. In the African churches a year was the utmost limits that was allowed for a vacancy; for if within that time a new election was not made, he that was appointed administrator of the church during the vacancy, whose business it was to procure and hasten the election, was to be turned out of his office, and a new one put in his room, by a canon of the fifth council[1] of Carthage, which is also confirmed in the African Code.[2] But in other places this was limited to a much shorter time. For by a canon of the general council of Chalcedon,[3] every metropolitan is obliged to ordain a new bishop in the vacant see within the space of three months, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, unless some unavoidable necessity forced him to defer it longer.

Sect. 2. In some places a new bishop was chosen before the old one was buried.

At Alexandria the custom was to proceed immediately to election as soon as the bishop was dead, and before he was interred. Epiphanius[4] hints at this custom, when he says, they were used to make no delay after the decease of a bishop, but chose one presently, to preserve peace among the people, that they might not run into factions about the choice of a successor. But Liberatus is a little more particular in describing the circumstances of it. He says,[5] it was customary for the successor to

[1] Con. Carth. 5. can. 8.
[2] Cod. Can. Eccl. Afric. can. 75.
[3] Con. Chalced. can. 25.
[4] Epiphan. Hær. 69. Arian. n. 11. *μὴ χρονίζειν μετὰ τελευτὴν τȣ̃ ἐπισκόπȣ*, &c.
[5] Liberat. Breviar. c. 20. Consuetudo quidem est Alex-

watch over the body of the deceased bishop, and to lay his right hand upon his head, and to bury him with his own hands, and then take the pall of St. Mark, and put it upon himself, and so sit in his throne. To these authorities we may add that of Socrates, who says,[6] that Cyril of Alexandria was enthroned the third day after the death of Theophilus: and he intimates, that the same thing was practised in other places; for Proclus, bishop of Constantinople,[7] was enthroned before Maximian his predecessor was interred, and after his enthronement he performed the funeral office for him. And this was done at the instance and command of the emperor Theodosius, that there might be no dispute or tumult raised in the church about the election of a bishop.

Sect. 3. Some instances of longer vacancies in times of difficulty and persecution.

Yet, notwithstanding this care and diligence of the church in filling up vacant sees, it sometimes happened, that the election of bishops was deferred to a much longer season. For in Africa, at the time of the collation of Carthage, there were no less than threescore bishoprics void at once, which was above an eighth part of the whole. For the whole number of bishops was but four hundred and sixty-six, whereof two hundred and eighty-six were then present at the conference, and one hundred and twenty were absent by reason of sickness or old age; besides which, there were sixty vacant sees, which were unprovided of bishops at that time, as the catholics told the Donatists,[8] who pretended to vie numbers with them, though they were but two hundred and seventy-nine. What was the particular reason of so many vacancies at that juncture, is not said; but probably it might be the difficulty of the times, that catholic bishops could not there be placed, where the Donatists had gotten full possession. Or, perhaps it might be the negligence of the people, who contented themselves with administrators during the vacancy, and would not admit of a new bishop. The council of Macriana, mentioned by Fulgentius Ferrandus,[9] takes notice of this dilatory practice in some churches, and censures it by a canon, which orders the administrators, who were always some neighbouring bishops, to be removed; and condemns such churches to continue without administrators, till they sought for a bishop of their own. Another reason of long vacancies in some times and places, was the difficult circumstances the churches lay under in time of persecution. For the bishops were the men chiefly aimed at by the persecutors. And therefore, when one bishop was martyred, the church sometimes was forced to defer the ordination of another, either because it was scarce possible to go about it in such times of exigency, or because she was unwilling to expose another bishop immediately to the implacable fury of a raging adversary, and bring upon herself a more violent storm of persecution. The Roman clergy[10] give this for their reason to Cyprian, why, after the martyrdom of Fabian, they did not immediately proceed to a new election. The state of affairs, and the difficulty of the times, was such as would not permit it. Baronius[11] reckons the time of this vacancy a year and three months, but others,[12] who are more exact in the calculation, make it a year and five months; by either of which accounts, it was above a year beyond the time limited by the canons. But this was nothing in comparison of that long vacancy of the bishopric of Carthage, in the time of the Arian persecution under Gensericus and Hunericus, two heretical kings of the Vandals, which Victor Uticensis[13] says was no less than twenty-four years, during all which time the church of Carthage had no bishop. But these were difficulties upon the church, and matters of force, not her choice: for in times of peace she always acted otherwise, and did not think such extraordinary instances fit precedents to be drawn into example; much less to be drawn into consequence and argued upon, as some[14] have done, that therefore the church may be without bishops, because she subsisted in some extraordinary vacancies without them, when she could not have them: which argument would hold as well against any other order as that of bishops, did but they who urge this argument rightly consider it.

Sect. 4. Three bishops required to the ordination of a bishop.

But to return to the ordination of bishops: at the time appointed for ordination, the metropolitan was used to send forth his circular letters, and summon all the bishops of the province to meet at the place where the new bishop was to be ordained, and assist at his consecration. The presence of them all was required, if they could conveniently attend; if not, they were to send their consent in writing: in

andriæ, illum, qui defuncto succedit, excubias super defuncti corpus agere, manumque dexteram ejus capiti suo imponere, et sepulto manibus suis, accipere collo suo beati Marci pallium, et tunc legitime sedere.

[6] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 7.

[7] Id. lib. 7. c. 40.

[8] Aug. Brevic. Collat. primæ Diei. c. 14. Sane propter cathedras, quas episcopis vacuas apud se esse dixerunt, responsum est a catholicis, sexaginta esse quibus successores episcopi nondum fuerant ordinati.

[9] Ferrand. Brev. Can. c. 23. ap. Justel. t. 1. p. 449. Ut interventores episcopi conveniant plebis quæ episcopum non habent, ut episcopum accipiant; quod si accipere neglexerint, remoto interventore sic remaneant, quam diu sibi episcopum quærant.

[10] Ep. 31. al. 30. ap. Cyprian. p. 58. Post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est episcopus propter rerum et temporum difficultates constitutus.

[11] Baron. an. 253. n. 6. an. 254. n. 46.

[12] Pearson, Annal. Cypr. an. 250. n. 3. et an. 251. n. 6.

[13] Victor. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. 2.

[14] Blondel, Apol.

which case three bishops, with the assistance or consent of the metropolitan, were reckoned a sufficient canonical number to perform the ceremony of consecration. St. Cyprian[15] speaks of it as the general practice of the church in his time, to have all the bishops of the province present at any such ordination. And Eusebius[16] particularly takes notice of the ordination of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, who succeeded Narcissus, that he was ordained *μετὰ κοινῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων γνώμης*, with the common consent of the bishops of his province. The council of Chalcedon[17] calls this a canonical ordination, when the metropolitan, with all or most of his provincial bishops, ordain the bishops of their own province, as the canons have appointed. And the general council of Constantinople[18] justified the ordinations of Flavian bishop of Antioch, and Cyril of Jerusalem, as canonical in this respect, because they were ordained by the bishops of their provinces synodically met together. This was the ancient rule of the council of Nice, which requires the assistance of all the bishops of the province, if they could conveniently attend the ordination:[19] but forasmuch as that, either through urgent necessity, or by reason of their great distance, it might happen that all of them could not be present, it is added, that in that case three bishops should be sufficient to ordain, provided the metropolitan and the rest sent their consent in writing. But under three the canons did not generally allow of. The first council of Arles[20] and the third of Carthage[21] require three besides the metropolitan. And the second council of Arles[22] does not allow the metropolitan to be one of the three, but saith expressly, that he shall take the assistance of three provincial bishops beside himself, and not presume to ordain a bishop without them. It is true, those called the Apostolical Canons[23] and Constitutions[24] allow the ordination that is performed by two bishops only: but this is contrary to all other canons; which are so far from allowing two bishops to ordain by themselves, that the council of Orange[25] orders both the ordaining bishops and the ordained to be deposed: and the council of Riez[26] actually deposed Armentarius for this very thing, because he had not three bishops to ordain him. All churches indeed did not punish such ordinations with the same severity, but in all places they were reckoned uncanonical. When Paulinus ordained Evagrius, bishop of Antioch, Theodoret[27] takes notice that this was done against the laws of the church, because he was ordained by a single person, and without the consent of the provincial bishops. And Synesius[28] says the same of the ordination of Siderius, bishop of Palæbisca, that it was irregular, because he neither had the consent of the bishop of Alexandria, his metropolitan, nor three bishops to ordain him. It was to avoid this censure of irregularity, that Novatian, when he set himself up to be bishop of Rome against Cornelius, sent for three bishops out of the farthest corner of Italy to come and ordain him,[29] lest it should be objected against him, that he had not a canonical ordination. And upon this account, when Pelagius the First was to be ordained bishop of Rome, because three bishops could not be procured, a presbyter[30] was taken in to make up the number. In all which the general practice of the church is very clearly seen and descried.

Sect. 5. Yet ordinations by one bishop allowed to be valid, though not canonical.

Yet it must be observed, that though this was the common rule and practice of the church, yet it was not simply and absolutely of the essence of ordination. For the church many times admitted of the ordinations of bishops that were consecrated only by one or two bishops. The council of Orange,[31] which orders both the ordaining bishops and the ordained to be deposed, in case two bishops only ordained a bishop with his consent, decrees notwithstanding, that if a bishop was ordained by any sort of violence against his will, though only by two bishops, in that case his ordination should stand good, because he was passive in the thing, and not consenting to the breach of the canons. And without this passivity there are several instances of ordinations by two bishops only, the validity of which we do not find disputed. Pe-

[15] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Fratr. Hispan. p. 172. Quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, &c.

[16] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 11.

[17] Con. Chalced. Act. 16. C. t. 4. p. 817.

[18] Ep. Synod. ap. Theodor. lib. 5. c. 9.

[19] Con. Nic. can. 4. Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα· μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι.

[20] Con. Arelat. 1. c. 20. Si non potuerint septem, sine tribus fratribus non præsumant ordinare.

[21] Con. Carth. 3. can. 19. Forma antiqua servabitur, ut non minus quam tres sufficiant, qui fuerint a metropolitano directi ad ordinandum episcopum. See also Con. Carth. 6. c. 4.

[22] Con. Arelat. 2. c. 5. Nec episcopus metropolitanus sine tribus episcopis comprovincialibus præsumat episcopum ordinare.

[23] Can. Apost. c. 1. Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν.

[24] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 27.

[25] Con. Arausic. 1. can. 21.

[26] Con. Reiens. can. 2. Ordinationem quam canones irritam definiunt, nos quoque vacuandam esse censuimus: in qua prætermissa trium præsentia, nec expetitis comprovincialium literis, metropolitani quoque voluntate neglecta, prorsus nihil quod episcopum faceret ostensum est.

[27] Theod. lib. 5. c. 23.

[28] Synes. Ep. 67.

[29] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. ex Epist. Cornel.

[30] Lib. Pontifical. Vit. Pelag. Dum non essent episcopi, qui eum ordinarent, inventi sunt duo episcopi, Joannes de Perusio, et Bonus de Ferentino, et Andreas presbyter de Ostia, et ordinaverunt eum.

[31] Con. Arausic. 1. c. 21.

lagius, bishop of Rome, was reckoned a true bishop, though, as we have just now heard, he had but two bishops and a presbyter to ordain him. Dioscorus of Alexandria was consecrated likewise by two bishops only, and those under ecclesiastical censure; as we learn from an epistle of the bishops of Pontus[32] at the end of the council of Chalcedon; yet neither that council, nor any others, ever questioned the validity of his ordination, unless perhaps those Pontic bishops did, who call it *nefandam atque imaginariam ordinationem.* Siderius, bishop of Palæbisca, was ordained by one bishop; yet Athanasius not only allowed his ordination and confirmed it, but finding him to be a useful man, he afterward advanced him, as Synesius says,[33] to the metropolitical see of Ptolemais. Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, ordained Evagrius his successor, without any other bishop to assist him: which, though it was done against canon, yet Theodoret assures us,[34] that both the bishops of Rome and Alexandria owned Evagrius for a true bishop, and never in the least questioned the validity of his ordination. And though they afterwards consented to acknowledge Flavian, at the instance of Theodosius, to put an end to the schism; yet they did it upon this condition, that the ordinations of such as had been ordained by Evagrius, should be reputed valid also: as we learn from the letters of Pope Innocent,[35] who lived not long after this matter was transacted.

Sect. 6. The bishop of Rome not privileged to ordain alone, any more than any other single bishop.

Hence it appears, that the ordination of a bishop made by any single bishop was valid, if the church thought fit to allow it. Nor had the bishop of Rome any peculiar privilege in this matter above other men, though some pretend to make a distinction. There is indeed an ancient canon alleged in the collection of Fulgentius Ferrandus, out of the council of Zella and the letters of Siricius, which seems to make a reserve in behalf of the bishop of Rome: for it says,[36] One bishop shall not ordain a bishop, the Roman church excepted. But Cotelerius[37] ingenuously owns this to be a corruption in the text of Ferrandus, foisted in by the ignorance or fraud of some modern transcriber, who confounded two decrees of Siricius into one, and changed the words *sedes apostolica primatis* into *sedes apostolica Romana.* For in the words of Siricius[38] there is no mention made at all of the Roman church, but it is said, that no one shall ordain without the consent of the apostolical see; that is, the primate or metropolitan of the province; and that one bishop alone shall not ordain a bishop, because that is arrogant and assuming, and looks like giving an ordination by stealth, and is expressly forbidden by the Nicene council. So that in these times the bishops of Rome were under the direction of the canons, and did not presume to think they had any privilege of ordaining singly, above what was common to the rest of their order.

Sect. 7. Every bishop to be ordained in his own church.

The next thing to be taken notice of in this affair is, that every bishop, by the laws and custom of the church, was to be ordained in his own church, in the presence of his own people. Which is plainly intimated by Cyprian,[39] when he says, that to celebrate ordinations aright, the neighbouring bishops of the province were used to meet at the church where the new bishop was to be ordained, and there proceed to his election and ordination. And this was so generally the practice of the whole church, that Pope Julius[40] made it an objection against Gregory of Alexandria, who was obtruded on the church by the Eusebian party in the room of Athanasius, that he was ordained at Antioch, and not in his own church, but sent thither with a band of soldiers; whereas, by the ecclesiastical canon, he ought to have been ordained, ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, in the church of Alexandria itself, and that by the bishops of his own province. This rule was very nicely observed in the African churches, where it was the constant custom for the primate (whose office it was to ordain bishops) to go to the church where the new bishop was to be settled, and ordain him there. Of this we have several instances in St. Austin, who himself was ordained in his own church at Hippo[41] by the primate of Numidia: and having divided his diocese, and erected a new bishopric at Fussala, and elected a bishop, he sent for the primate, though living[42] at a great distance, to come to the place and ordain him there.

[32] Concil. tom. 4. p. 960. Ordinationem suam a damnatis episcopis, et hoc duobus, accepit, cum regulæ patrum ———vel tres episcopos corporaliter adesse in hujusmodi dispensationibus omnino prospiciant.

[33] Synes. Ep. 67.

[34] Theod. lib. 5. c. 23.

[35] Innoc. Ep. 14. ad Bonifac. Ecclesia Antiochena ita pacem postulavit et meruit, ut et Evagrianos suis ordinibus ac locis, intemerata ordinatione, quam acceperant a memorato, susciperet.

[36] Ferrand. Brev. Canon. c. 6. Ut unus episcopus episcopum non ordinet, excepta ecclesia Romana. Concilio Zellensi. Ex Epistola Papæ Siricii.

[37] Coteler. Not. in Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 20.

[38] Siric. Ep. 4. c. 1. Ut extra conscientiam sedis apostolicæ, hoc est, primatis, nemo audeat ordinare. It. c. 2. Ne unus episcopus episcopum ordinare præsumat propter arrogantiam, ne furtivum præstitum beneficium videatur. Hoc enim et a synodo Nicæna constitutum est atque definitum.

[39] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Fratr. Hispan. p. 172. Ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, &c.

[40] Jul. Ep. ad Oriental. ap. Athanas. Apol. 2. t. 1. p. 749.

[41] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 8.

[42] Aug. Ep. 261. Propter quem ordinandum, sanctum senem, qui tunc primatum Numidiæ gerebat, de longinquo ut veniret rogans, literis impetravi.

Sect. 8. The ancient form of ordination of bishops.

As to the manner and form of ordaining a bishop, it is thus briefly described by one of the councils[43] of Carthage: when a bishop is ordained, two bishops shall hold the book of the Gospels over his head, and whilst one pronounces the blessing or consecration prayer, all the rest of the bishops that are present shall lay their hands upon his head. The ceremony of laying the Gospels upon his head, seems to have been in use in all churches. For the author of the Apostolical Constitutions[44] (a Greek writer, who is supposed to relate the customs of the third century) makes mention of it, only with this difference, that instead of two bishops, there two deacons are appointed to hold the Gospels open over his head, whilst the senior bishop, or primate, with two other bishops assisting him, pronounces the prayer of consecration. This ceremony of holding the Gospels over his head, is also mentioned by St. Chrysostom,[45] and the author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, under the name of Dionysius, who says it was a peculiar ceremony, used only in the ordination of a bishop.

Sect. 9. A form of prayer used at their consecration.

The author of the Constitutions recites one of the ancient forms of prayer, the close of which is in these words:[46] "Grant to him, O Lord Almighty, by thy Christ, the communication of the Holy Spirit; that he may have power to remit sins according to thy commandment, and to confer orders according to thy appointment, and to loose every bond according to the power which thou gavest to the apostles; that he may please thee in meekness and a pure heart, constantly, blameless, and without rebuke; and may offer unto thee that pure unbloody sacrifice, which thou, by Christ, hast appointed to be the mystery or sacrament of the new covenant, for a sweet-smelling savour, through Jesus Christ thy holy Son, our God and Saviour, by whom be glory, honour, and worship to thee, in the Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen." It is not to be imagined that one and the same form was used in all churches: for every bishop having liberty to frame his own liturgy, as there were different liturgies in different churches, so it is most reasonable to suppose the primates or metropolitans had different forms of consecration, though there are now no remains of them in being, to give us any further information.

Sect. 10. Of their enthronement, *homiliæ enthronisticæ, et literæ enthronisticæ.*

The consecration being ended, the bishops that were present conducted the new-ordained bishop to his chair or throne, and there placing him, they all saluted him with a holy kiss in the Lord. Then the Scriptures being read, (according to custom, as part of the daily service,) the new bishop made a discourse or exposition upon them, which was usually called *sermo enthronisticus*, from the time and circumstances in which it was spoken. Such was that famous homily of Meletius, bishop of Antioch, mentioned by Epiphanius[47] and Sozomen, for which he was immediately sent into banishment by Constantius. Socrates frequently takes notice of such homilies made by bishops[48] at their instalment; and Liberatus,[49] speaking of Severus of Antioch, mentions his exposition made upon that occasion, calling it, *expositio in enthronismo.* It was usual also for bishops, immediately after their instalment, to send letters to foreign bishops to give them an account of their faith and orthodoxy, that they might receive letters of peace and communion again from them; which letters were therefore called *literæ enthronisticæ*, or *συλλαβαὶ ἐνθρονιστικαὶ*, as Evagrius[50] terms them, speaking of the circular letters which Severus, bishop of Antioch, wrote to the rest of the patriarchs upon that occasion. These were otherwise called communicatory letters, *κοινωνικὰ συγγράμματα*, as the council of Antioch, that deposed Paulus Samosatensis, terms them: for the fathers in that council having ordained Domnus in the room of Paul, gave notice thereof to all churches, telling them that they signified it to them for this reason, that they might write to Domnus, and receive *κοινωνικὰ συγγράμματα*,[51] communicatory letters from him: which, as Valesius[52] rightly notes, do not mean there those letters of communion which bishops were used to grant to persons travelling into foreign countries; but such letters as they wrote to each other upon their own ordination, to testify their communion mutually with one another. These letters are also called *synodicæ* by Liberatus,[53] who says, this custom of every new bishop's giving intimation of his own promotion to those of his own order, was so necessary, that the omission of it was interpreted a sort of refusal to hold communion with the rest of the world, and a virtual charge of heresy upon them.

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[43] Con. Carth. 4. c. 2. Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem super caput et verticem ejus, et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant.

[44] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 4.

[45] Chrys. de Laudib. Evang. cited by Habertus, p. 79. Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. c. 5. par. 3. sect. 1. p. 364.

[46] Constit. lib. 8. c. 5.

[47] Epiphan. Hær. 73. Sozom. lib. 4. c. 28.

[48] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 43. lib. 7. c. 29.

[49] Liberat. Breviar. c. 19.

[50] Evagr. lib. 4. c. 4.

[51] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.

[52] Vales. Not. in loc.

[53] Liberat. Breviar. c. 17. Quia literas synodicas non direxisset, &c.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE RULE WHICH PROHIBITS BISHOPS TO BE ORDAINED IN SMALL CITIES.

Sect. 1. The reason of the law against placing bishops in small cities.

BEFORE I end this discourse about bishops, I must give an account of two rules more respecting their ordination. The first of which was, That bishops should not be placed in small cities or villages: which law was first made by the council of Sardica, with a design to keep up the honour and dignity of the episcopal order; as the reason is given in the canon made about it; which says, It shall not be lawful to place a bishop in a village, or small city,[1] where a single presbyter will be sufficient: for in such places, there is no need to set a bishop; lest the name and authority of bishops be brought into contempt. Some add to this the fifty-seventh canon of the council of Laodicea, which forbids the placing of bishops in villages, and in the country,[2] appointing visitors to be constituted in their room: but this canon speaks not of absolute bishops, but of the *chorepiscopi*, who were subject to other bishops, of which I shall treat particularly hereafter. However, there is no dispute about the Sardican canon; for the reason annexed explains its meaning, that it prohibits universally the ordination of bishops in small cities and country places.

Sect. 2. Some exceptions to this rule in Egypt, Libya, Cyprus, Arabia, Asia Minor, &c.

But it may be observed, that this rule did never generally obtain: for both before and after the council of Sardica, there were bishops both in small cities and villages. Nazianzum was but a very small city; Socrates[3] calls it πόλις εὐτελής, a little one: and upon the same account Gregory Nazianzen[4] styles his own father, who was bishop of it, μικροπολίτης, a little bishop, and one of the second order. Yet he was no *chorepiscopus*, but as absolute a bishop in his own diocese, as the bishop of Rome or Alexandria. Geræ, near Pelusium, was but a small city, as Sozomen notes;[5] yet it was a bishop's see. Theodoret observes the same of Dolicha, where Maris was bishop,[6] that it was but a very little city, πολίκνη σμικρὰ, he calls it: and he says the like of Cucusus[7] in Armenia, the place whither Chrysostom was banished: yet as small a city as it was, Chrysostom[8] found a bishop there, who treated him very civilly and respectfully in his exile. Synesius makes mention of the bishop of Olbiæ in one of his epistles,[9] and at the same time tells us the place was but a village; for he calls the people δῆμος κωμήτης, a country people. So he says in another epistle,[10] that Hydrax and Palæbisca had for some time each of them their own bishop; though they were but villages of Pentapolis, formerly belonging to the diocese of Erythra, to which they were some time after annexed again. In Sozomen's time, among the Arabians and Cyprians, it was a usual thing to ordain bishops not only in cities but villages, as also among the Novatians and Montanists in Phrygia, all which he affirms[11] upon his own knowledge. Some think Dracontius was such a bishop, because Athanasius[12] styles his bishopric χώρας ἐπισκοπήν: but whether this means that he was an absolute bishop, or only a *chorepiscopus*, as others think, is not very easy to determine. As neither what kind of bishops those were which the council of Antioch,[13] in their Synodical Epistle against Paulus Samosatensis, calls country bishops, for perhaps they might be only *chorepiscopi*, or dependent bishops, as Valesius conjectures. But this cannot be said of those mentioned by Sozomen, nor of the other instances I have given out of Synesius, and the rest of the forecited authors, from whose testimonies it plainly appears that there were bishops in very small cities, and sometimes in villages, notwithstanding the contrary decree of the Sardican council. It is also very observable, that in Asia Minor, a tract of land not much larger than the isle of Great Britain, (including but two dioceses of the Roman empire,) there were almost four hundred bishops, as appears from the ancient *Notitia's* of the church. Whence it may be collected, that Cucusus and Nazianzum were not the only small cities in those parts, but that there were many other cities and dioceses of no very great extent in such a number.

Sect. 3. Reasons for erecting bishoprics in small places.

One thing that contributed much to the multiplication of bishoprics, and that caused them to be erected sometimes in small places, was, that in the primitive church every bishop, with the consent of his metropolitan, or the approbation of a provincial council, had power to divide his own diocese, and ordain a new bishop in some convenient part of it, for the good of the church, whenever he found his diocese too large, or the places to lie at too great a distance, or the multitude of converts to increase, and make the care and encumbrance of his diocese become too great a burden for him. This was the reason why St. Austin[14] erected a new bishopric at Fussala,

[1] Con. Sardic. Can. 6. Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ἁπλῶς καθιστᾶν ἐπίσκοπον κώμῃ τινὶ, ἢ βραχείᾳ πόλει.

[2] Concil. Laodic. c. 57.

[3] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 11 et 26.

[4] Naz. Orat. 19. de Laud. Patr. t. 1. p. 310.

[5] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 19. πόλις μικρά.

[6] Theod. lib. 5. c. 4.

[7] Theod. lib. 2. c. 5. et lib. 5. c. 34.

[8] Chrys. Ep. 125. ad Cyriacum.

[9] Synes. Ep. 76.

[10] Id. Ep. 67. Κῶμαι δὲ αὐταὶ πενταπόλεως.

[11] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 19. Ἐστὶν ὅπῃ καὶ ἐν κώμαις ἐπίσκοποι ἱεροῦνται, ὡς παρὰ Ἀραβίοις καὶ Κυπρίοις ἔγνων, &c.

[12] Athanas. Epist. ad Dracont. t. 1. p. 954.

[13] Ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. Ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων.

[14] Augustin. Epist. 261. ad Cælestin. Quod ab Hippone memoratum castellum millibus quadraginta sejungitur, cum in eis regendis, et eorum reliquiis licet exiguis colligendis

a town in his own diocese, about forty miles from Hippo. It was a place where great numbers had been converted from the schism of the Donatists, and some remained to be converted still; but the place lying at so great a distance, he could not bestow that care and diligence, either in ruling the one, or regaining the other, which he thought necessary; and therefore he prevailed with the primate of Numidia, to come and ordain one Antonius to be bishop there. And this was consonant to the rules of the African church, which allowed new bishoprics to be erected[15] in any diocese where there was need, if the bishop of the diocese and the primate gave their consent to it; or, as Ferrandus[16] has it in his collection, if the bishop, the primate, and a provincial council, by their joint consent and authority, gave way to it. By virtue of these canons, during the time of the schism of the Donatists, many new bishoprics were erected in very small towns in Africa; as appears from the Acts of the Collation of Carthage, where the catholics and Donatists mutually charge each other with this practice; that they divided single bishoprics sometimes into three or four, and made bishops in country towns and villages to augment the numbers of their parties. Thus, in one place, we find Petilian the Donatist[17] complaining, that the catholics had made four bishops in the diocese of Januarius, a Donatist bishop, to outdo them with numbers. And in another place, Alypius the catholic orders it to be entered[18] upon record, that a great many Donatist bishops there mentioned, were not ordained in cities, but only in country towns, or villages. To which Petilian[19] replies, that the catholics did the same; ordaining bishops in country towns, and sometimes in such places where they had no people: his meaning is, that in those places all the people were turned Donatists, and for that very reason the catholic bishops thought themselves obliged to divide their dioceses, and ordain new bishops in small towns; that they might outdo the Donatists, both in number and zeal, and more effectually labour in reducing the straying people back again to their ancient communion with the catholic church. This was the practice of Africa, and this their reason for erecting so many small bishoprics in those times of exigency: they had always an eye to the benefit and edification of the church.

Gregory Nazianzen highly commends St. Basil's piety and prudence for the like practice. It happened in his time, that Cappadocia was divided into two provinces, and Tyana made the metropolis of the second province, in the civil account: this gave occasion to Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, to lay claim to the rights of a metropolitan in the church; which St. Basil opposed, as injurious to his own church of Cæsarea, which, by ancient custom and prescription, had been the metropolis of the whole province. But Anthimus proving a very contentious adversary, and raising great disturbance and commotions about it, St. Basil was willing to buy the peace of the church with the loss of his own rights; so he voluntarily relinquished his jurisdiction over that part of Cappadocia, which Anthimus laid claim to: and, to compensate his own loss in some measure, he erected several new bishoprics in his own province; as, at Sasima, and some other such obscure places of that region. Now, though this was done contrary to the letter of a canon, yet Nazianzen extols the fact upon three accounts. First, because hereby a greater care was taken of men's souls.[20] Secondly, by this means every city had its own revenues. And lastly, the war between the two metropolitans was ended. This, he says, was an admirable policy, worthy the great and noble soul of St. Basil, who could turn a dispute so to the benefit of the church, and draw a considerable advantage out of a calamity, by making it an occasion to guard and defend his country with more bishops. Whence we may collect, that in Nazianzen's opinion, it is an advantage to the church to be well stocked with bishops; and that it is no dishonour to her to have bishops in small towns, when necessity and reason require it.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE RULE WHICH FORBIDS TWO BISHOPS TO BE ORDAINED IN ONE CITY.

Sect. 1. The general rule and practice of the church, to have but one bishop in a city.

Another rule generally observed in the church, was, that in one city there should be but one bishop, though it was large enough to admit of many

——me viderem latius quam oportebat extendi, nec adhibendæ sufficerem diligentiæ, quam certissima ratione adhiberi debere cernebam, episcopum ibi ordinandum constituendumque curavi.

[15] Concil. Carth. 2. c. 5. Si accedente tempore, crescente fide, Dei populus multiplicatus desideravit proprium habere rectorem, ejus videlicet voluntate, in cujus potestate est diœcesis constituta, habeat episcopum. It. Con. Carth. 3. c. 42.

[16] Ferrand. Breviar. Canon. c. 13. Ut episcopus non ordinetur in diœcesi, quæ episcopum nunquam habuit, nisi cum voluntate episcopi ad quem ipsa diœcesis pertinet, ex concilio tamen plenario et primatis auctoritate.

[17] Collat. Carth. 1. c. 117. Petilianus episcopus dixit, In una plebe Januarii collegæ nostri præsentis, in una diœcesi, quatuor sunt constituti contra ipsum; ut numerus scilicet augeretur.

[18] Ibid. c. 181. Alypius dixit, Scriptum sit istos omnes in villis vel in fundis esse episcopos ordinatos, non in aliquibus civitatibus.

[19] Ibid. c. 182. Petilianus episcopus dixit: Sic etiam tu multos habes per omnes agros dispersos: imo crebros ubi habes, sane et sine populis habes.

[20] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil. t. 1. p. 356.

presbyters. In the time of Cornelius, there were forty-six presbyters[1] in the church of Rome, seven deacons, as many sub-deacons, and ninety-four of the inferior orders of the clergy: and the body of the people, at a moderate computation, are reckoned by some[2] to be about fifty thousand; by others,[3] to be a far greater number; yet there was but one bishop over all these. So that when Novatian got himself ordained bishop of Rome, in opposition to Cornelius, he was generally condemned over all the world, as transgressing the rule of the catholic church. Cyprian[4] delivers it as a maxim upon this occasion; that there ought to be but one bishop in a church at a time, and one judge as the vicegerent of Christ. Therefore he says[5] Novatian was no bishop, since there could not be a second after the first; but he was an adulterer,[6] and a foreigner, and ambitious usurper of another man's church, who had been regularly ordained before him. And so he was told not only by Cyprian,[7] but a whole African council at once; who, in return to Novatian's communicatory letter, which (according to custom) he wrote to them upon his ordination, sent him this plain and positive answer: That he was an alien; and that none of them could communicate with him, who had attempted to erect a profane altar, and set up an adulterous chair, and offer sacrilegious sacrifice against Cornelius the true bishop; who had been ordained by the approbation of God, and the suffrage of the clergy and people. There were, indeed, some confessors at Rome, who at first sided with Novatian: but Cyprian[8] wrote a remonstrating letter to them, wherein he soberly laid before them the sinfulness of their practice. And his admonition wrought so effectually on some of the chief of them, that not long after they returned to Cornelius, and publicly confessed their fault in these words: We acknowledge our error; we have been imposed upon and deluded by treacherous and deceitful words; for though we seemed to communicate with a schismatical and heretical man, yet our mind was always sincerely in the church. For we are not ignorant,[9] that as there is but one God, one Christ the Lord, and one Holy Spirit; so there ought to be but one bishop in a catholic church. Pamelius[10] and others, who take this for a confession of the bishop of Rome's supremacy, betray either gross ignorance, or great partiality for a cause: for though this was spoken of a bishop of Rome, yet it was not peculiar to him, but the common case of bishops in all churches. Ignatius, and all the writers after him, who have said any thing of bishops, always speak of a single bishop in every church. And though Origen[11] seems to say otherwise, that there were two bishops in every church; yet, as he explains his own notion, his meaning is the same with all the rest: for he says, the one was visible, the other invisible; the one an angel, the other a man. So that his testimony (though there be something peculiar in his notion) is a further confirmation of the church's practice.

The writers of the following ages do so frequently mention the same thing, that it would be as tedious as it is needless to recite their testimonies.[12] Therefore I shall only add these two things: First, That the council of Nice repeats and confirms this ancient rule. For in the eighth canon, which speaks of the Novatian bishops that return to the catholic church, it is said, that any bishop may admit them to officiate as presbyters in the city, or as *chorepiscopi* in the country, but not as city bishops, for this reason, *ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ὦσιν*, that there may not be two bishops in one city. Secondly, That in fact the people were generally possessed with the opinion of the absolute unlawfulness of having two bishops sit together: insomuch that Theodoret tells us,[13] when Constantius proposed to the Roman people to have Liberius and Felix sit as copartners, and govern the church in common, they unanimously agreed to reject the motion, crying out, One God, one Christ, one bishop.

Sect. 2. Yet two bishops sometimes allowed, by compromise, to end a dispute, or cure an inveterate schism.

Yet it must be observed, that as the great end and design of this rule was to prevent schism, and preserve the peace and unity of the church; so, on the other hand, when it mani-

[1] Cornel. Ep. ad Fabium. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[2] Bishop Burnet, Letter 4. p. 207.

[3] Basnag. Exerc. ad Annal. Baron. an. 44. p. 532.

[4] Cypr. Epist. 55. al. 59. ad Cornel. p. 129. Unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi.

[5] Id. Epist. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 104. Cum post primum secundus esse non possit, quisquis post unum, qui solus esse debeat, factus est, non jam secundus ille, sed nullus est.

[6] Ibid. p. 112. Nisi si episcopus tibi videtur, qui episcopo in ecclesia a sedecim coepiscopis facto, adulter atque extraneus, episcopus fieri a desertoribus per ambitum nititur.

[7] Cypr. Ep. 67. al. 68. ad Steph. p. 177. Se foris esse cœpisse, nec posse a quoquam nostrum sibi communicari; qui, episcopo Cornelio in catholica ecclesia de Dei judicio, et cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato, profanum altare erigere, adulteram cathedram collocare, et sacrilega contra verum sacerdotem sacrificia offerre tentaverit.

[8] Cypr. Ep. 44. al. 46. ad Nicostrat. et Maxim.

[9] Cornel. Ep. 46. al. 49. ad Cyprian. Nec enim ignoramus unum Deum esse, unum Christum Dominum, quem confessi sumus, unum Spiritum Sanctum, unum episcopum in catholica ecclesia esse debere.

[10] Pamel. Not. in loc.

[11] Orig. Hom. 13. in Luc. Per singulas ecclesias bini sunt episcopi, alius visibilis, alius invisibilis.——Ego puto inveniri simul posse et angelum et hominem bonos (leg. binos) ecclesiæ episcopos.

[12] See Chrysost. Epist. 125. ad Cyriac. et Hom. 1. in Philip. Jerom. Epist. 4. ad Rustic. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Com. in Tit. ii. Pseudo-Hieron. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. Hilar. Diac. Com. in Phil. i. 1. It. in 1 Cor. xii. 28. et in 1 Tim. iii. 12. Pacian. Ep. 3. ad Sempronian. Socrat. lib. 6. c. 22. Sozom. lib. 4. c. 14 et 15. Theod. lib. 3. c. 4.

[13] Theod. lib. 2. c. 14.

festly appeared, that the allowing of two bishops in one city, in some certain circumstances and critical junctures, was the only way to put an end to some long and inveterate schism, in that case there were some catholic bishops, who were willing to take a partner into their throne, and share the episcopal power and dignity between them. Thus Meletius, bishop of Antioch, made the proposal to Paulinus his antagonist, who, though he was of the same faith, yet kept up a church divided in communion from him. I shall relate the proposal in the words of Theodoret.[14] Meletius, says he, the meekest of men, thus friendly and mildly addressed himself to Paulinus: Forasmuch as the Lord hath committed to me the care of these sheep, and thou hast received the care of others, and all the sheep agree in one common faith, let us join our flocks, my friend, and dispute no longer about primacy and government: but let us feed the sheep in common, and bestow a common care upon them.[15] And if it be the throne that creates the dispute, I will try to take away this cause also. We will lay the holy Gospel upon the seat, and then each of us take his place on either side of it. And if I die first, you shall take the government of the flock alone: but if it be your fate to die before me, then I will feed them according to my power. Thus spake the divine Meletius, says our author, lovingly and meekly; but Paulinus would not acquiesce, nor hearken to him.

We meet with another such proposal made to the Donatist bishops, by all the catholic bishops of Africa assembled together, at the opening of the famous conference of Carthage. There they offered them freely before the conference began, that if they would return to the unity and communion of the church, upon due conviction, they should retain their episcopal honour and dignity still:[16] and because this could not be done, as the circumstances and case of the church then were, without allowing two bishops for some time to be in the same city, it was further proposed, that every catholic bishop should take the other to be his copartner, and share the honour with him; allowing him to sit with him in his own chair, as was usual for bishops to treat their fellow bishops that were strangers; and also granting him a church of his own, where he might be capable of returning him the like civility: that so they might pay mutual respect and honour to each other, and take their turns to sit highest in the church, till such times as one of them should die; and then the right of succession should be always in a single bishop, as it was before. And this, they say, was no new thing in Africa: for, from the beginning of the schism, they that would recant their error, and condemn their separation, and return to the unity of the church, were by the charity of catholics always treated in the same courteous manner. From hence it is plain, that this had been the practice of Africa for above one whole century; and the present bishops proposed to follow the example of their predecessors, in making this concession to the Donatists, in order to close up and heal the divisions of the church. But they add, that forasmuch as this method might not be acceptable to all Christian people, who would be much better pleased to see only a single bishop in every church, and, perhaps, would not endure the partnership of two, which was an unusual thing; they therefore proposed, in this case, that both the bishops should freely resign, and suffer a single bishop to be chosen by such bishops as were singly possessed of other churches. So that at once they testify both what was the usual and ordinary rule of the church, to have but one bishop in a city, and also how far they were willing to have receded, in order to establish the peace and unity of the church in that extraordinary juncture. I have been the more easily tempted to recite this passage at large, not only because it is a full proof of all that has been asserted in this chapter, but because it gives us such an instance of a noble, self-denying zeal and charity, as is scarce to be paralleled in any history; and shows us the admirable spirit of those holy bishops, among whom St. Austin was a leader.

Sect. 3. The opinions of learned men concerning two bishops in a city in the apostolic age, one of the Jews, and the other of the Gentiles.

Some very learned persons[17] are further of opinion, that this rule about one bishop in a city, did not take place in the apostolical age: for they think that, before the perfect incorporation and coalition of the Jews and Gentiles into one body, there were two bishops in many cities, one of

[14] Theod. lib. 5. c. 3.

[15] *Εἰ δὲ ὁ μέσος θῶκος τὴν ἔριν γεννᾷ, ἐγὼ καὶ ταύτην ἐξελάσαι πειράσομαι· ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ θεῖον προτεθεικὼς εὐαγγέλιον, ἑκατέρωθεν ἡμᾶς καθῆσθαι παρεγγύω.*

[16] Collat. Carth. 1. die, c. 16. Sic nobiscum teneant unitatem, ut non solum viam salutis inveniant, sed nec honorem episcopatus amittant.———Poterit quippe unusquisque nostrum, honoris sibi socio copulato, vicissim sedere eminentius, sicut peregrino episcopo juxta considente collega. Hoc cum alternis Basilicis utrisque conceditur, uterque ab alterutro honore mutuo prævenitur: quia ubi præceptio charitatis dilataverit corda, possessio pacis non fit angusta, ut uno eorum defuncto, deinceps jam singulis singuli, pristino more, succedant. Nec novum aliquid fiet: nam hoc ab ipsius separationis exordio, in eis qui damnato nefariæ discessionis errore, unitatis dulcedinem vel sero sapuerunt, catholica dilectio custodivit. Aut si forte Christiani populi singulis delectantur episcopis, et duorum consortium, inusitata rerum facie, tolerare non possunt: utrique de medio secedamus; et ecclesiis in singulis, damnata schismatis causa, in unitate pacifica constitutis, ab his qui singuli in ecclesiis singulis invenientur, unitati factæ per longa necessaria singuli constituantur episcopi.

[17] Pearson, Vind. Ignat. par. 2. c. 13. p. 414. Hammond, Dissert. 5. adv. Blondel, c. 1.

the Jews, and another of the Gentiles. Thus they think it was at Antioch, where Euodius and Ignatius are said to be bishops ordained by the apostles; as also Linus and Clemens at Rome, the one ordained by St. Peter bishop of the Jews, and the other by St. Paul bishop of the Gentiles. Epiphanius seems to have been of this opinion; for he says,[18] Peter and Paul where the first bishops of Rome: and he makes it a question whether they did not ordain two other bishops to supply their places in their absence. In another place[19] he takes occasion to say, that Alexandria never had two bishops, as other churches had: which observation, Bishop Pearson thinks, ought to be extended to the apostolical ages; as implying that St. Mark, being the only preacher of the gospel at Alexandria, left but one bishop his successor, but in other churches sometimes two apostles gathered churches, and each of them left a bishop in his place. Yet this does not satisfy other learned persons,[20] who are of a different judgment, and think that though the apostles had occasion to ordain two bishops in some cities, yet it was not upon the account of different churches of Jews and Gentiles, but in the ordinary way of succession: as Ignatius was ordained at Antioch after the death of Euodius, and Clemens at Rome after the death of Linus. I shall not pretend to determine on which side the right lies in so nice a dispute,[21] but leave it to the judicious reader, and only say, that if the former opinion prevails, it proves another exception to the common rule of having but one bishop in a city; or rather shows what was the practice of the church before the rule was made.

Sect. 4. The case of coadjutors.

To these we may add a third exception in a case that is more plain, which was that of the coadjutors. These were such bishops as were ordained to assist some other bishops in case of infirmity or old age, and were to be subordinate to them as long as they lived, and succeed them when they died. Thus, when Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, was disabled by reason of his great age, (being a hundred and twenty years old,) Alexander was made his coadjutor. Eusebius[22] and St. Jerom both say it was done by revelation; but they do not mean, that Narcissus needed a revelation to authorize him to take a coadjutor, but only to point out to him that particular man: for Alexander was a stranger, and a bishop already in another country, so that without a revelation he could not have been judged qualified for this office; but being once declared to be so, there was no scruple upon any other account, but by the unanimous consent[23] of all the bishops in Palestine, he was chosen to take part with Narcissus in the care and government of the church. Valesius[24] reckons this the first instance of any coadjutor to be met with in ancient history, but there are several examples in the following ages. Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea, made Anatolius his coadjutor, designing him to be his successor, so that for some time they[25] both governed the same church together. Maximus[26] is said by Sozomen to be bishop of Jerusalem together with Macarius. Orion, bishop of Palæbisca, being grown old, ordained Siderius his coadjutor and successor, as Synesius[27] informs us. So Theodoret[28] takes notice that John, bishop of Apamea, had one Stephen for his colleague. And St. Ambrose[29] mentions one Senecio, who was coadjutor to Bassus. In the same manner Gregory Nazianzen was bishop of Nazianzum together with his aged father. Baronius indeed[30] denies that ever he was bishop of Nazianzum, but St. Jerom[31] and all the ancient historians, Socrates,[32] Sozomen,[33] Ruffin,[34] and Theodoret[35] expressly assert it; though some of them mistake in calling him his father's successor: for he was no otherwise bishop of Nazianzum, but only as his father's coadjutor. He entered upon the office with this protestation, that he would not be obliged to continue bishop there any longer than his father lived, as he himself acquaints us in his own Life,[36] and other places; so that after his father's death he actually resigned, and getting Eulalius to be ordained in his room, he betook himself to a private life.[37] All which evidently proves that he was not his father's successor, but only his coadjutor. I will but add one instance more of this nature, which is the known case of St. Austin, who was ordained bishop of Hippo whilst Valerius was living, and sat with him[38] for some time as his coadjutor; which he did by the consent of the primate

[18] Epiphan. Hær. 27. Carpocrat. n. 6.

[19] Idem, Hær. 68. Meletian. n. 6.

[20] Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apost. lib. 7. c. 46.

[21] Bishop Pearson himself altered his opinion. See his Dissert. 2. de Successione Rom. Pontif. c. 3.

[22] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 11.

[23] Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Alexandro. Cunctis in Palæstina episcopis in unum congregatis, adnitente quoque ipso vel maxime Narcisso. Hierosolymitanæ ecclesiæ cum eo gubernaculum suscepit.

[24] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 6. c. 11.

[25] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 32. ἄμφω τῆς αὐτῆς προύστησαν ἐκκλησίας.

[26] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 20

[27] Synes. Ep. 67.

[28] Theod. lib. 5. c. 4.

[29] Ambr. 79. ad Theophil. Fratri nostro et coepiscopo Basso in consortium regendæ ecclesiæ datus est Senecio.

[30] Baron. an. 371. n. 106.

[31] Hieron. de Script. Eccl. Gregorius primum Sasimorum, deinde Nazianzenus episcopus, &c.

[32] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 26. [33] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 8.

[34] Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 9. [35] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 8.

[36] Naz. Carm. de Vita sua. It. Orat. 8. ad Patr.

[37] Naz. Ep. 42. ad Greg. Nyss.

[38] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 8. Paulin. Ep. 46. ad Roman. Aug. Ep. 34 et 110.

of Carthage, and the primate of Numidia, who ordained him. Possidius says, he had some scruple upon him at first, because he looked upon it as contrary to the custom of the church; but being told that it was a thing commonly practised both in the African and transmarine churches, he yielded with some reluctancy to be ordained. These instances are evident proof, that it was not thought contrary to the true sense of the canon, in case of infirmity or old age, to have coadjutors in the church: though, it is true, St. Austin was of opinion that his own ordination was not regular, when afterward he came to know the Nicene canon, which he did not know before; and for this reason he would not ordain[39] Eradius bishop whilst he himself lived, though he had nominated him with the consent of the church to be his successor. But all men did not understand the canon in this strict and rigorous sense that St. Austin did, as absolutely forbidding two bishops to be in a church at the same time in all cases whatsoever, but only when there was no just reason, and the necessities of the church did not require it: but if there was a reasonable cause to have more bishops than one, as when a bishop was unable to execute his office, or in any the like case, the canon did not oblige, as appears from the instances that have been mentioned, and several others that might be added to them.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE CHOREPISCOPI, ΠΕΡΙΟΔΕΥΤΑΙ, AND SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS: AND HOW THESE DIFFERED FROM ONE ANOTHER.

Sect. 1. Of the reason of the name *chorepiscopi*, and the mistake of some about it.

As the bishops, when they were disabled by old age or infirmity, ordained themselves coadjutors in the city; so, when their dioceses were enlarged by the conversion of pagans in the country and villages at a great distance from the city church, they created themselves another sort of assistants in the country, whom they called *chorepiscopi;* who were so named, not because they were *ex choro sacerdotum*, as a Latin writer[1] by mistake derives the word, but because they were τῆς χώρας ἐπίσκοποι, country bishops, as the word properly signifies, and not presbyters of the city regions, as Salmasius understands it.

Sect. 2. Three different opinions about the nature of this order: 1st, That they were mere presbyters.

Now, though the name does in some measure determine their quality, yet great dispute has been among learned men concerning the nature of this order. Among the schoolmen and canonists, it is a received opinion, that they were only presbyters; as may be seen in Turrian,[2] Estius,[3] Antonius Augustinus,[4] and Gratian,[5] who are followed not only by Salmasius,[6] but by Spalatensis,[7] Dr. Field,[8] and Dr. Forbes,[9] the last of which brings several arguments to prove that they were mere presbyters, and never had any episcopal ordination.

Sect. 3. A 2nd opinion, that some of them were presbyters, and some of them bishops.

Others think there were two sorts of *chorepiscopi*, some that had episcopal ordination, and others that were simple presbyters: which is the opinion of Cabassutius,[10] Peter de Marca[11] and Bellarmin.[12] They allow that in some cases it happened that the *chorepiscopi* were bishops, because they were ordained bishops before they were made *chorepiscopi*. And thus much is certainly true: for in the primitive church, sometimes bishops were ordained to a place, but not received, either through the perverseness of the people, or by reason of persecution, or the like cause: and such bishops (whom the ancient writers[13] and canons term σχολαῖοι and σχολάζοντες ἐπίσκοποι, vacant bishops) not being permitted to officiate in their own church, were admitted to act as *chorepiscopi* under any other bishop that would entertain them. The council of Nice[14] made the like provision for such of the Novatian bishops as would return to the catholic church; that the bishop of the place should admit them either to the office of a city presbyter, or a *chorepiscopus;* that there might not be two bishops in one city. And so it was determined likewise by the same council[15] in the case of the Meletian bishops, that upon their return to the unity of the church, they should be allowed to officiate in subordination to the bishops of the catholic church. Now, it is plain that all such *chorepiscopi* as these were properly bishops, because they were originally ordained bishops before they came to act in the quality of country bishops under others. But for all the rest, De Marca thinks they were only presbyters.

[39] Aug. Ep. 110. Quod reprehensum est in me, nolo reprehendi in filio meo. Erit presbyter ut est, quando Deus voluerit futurus episcopus.

[1] Raban. Maur. de Instit. Sacerd. lib. 1. c. 5. Salmas. de Primat. c. 1.

[2] Turrian. Not. in can. 54. Con. Nic. Arabic.

[3] Est. in 4. Sent. dist. 24. sect. 30.

[4] Ant. August. Epit. Jur. Can. lib. 6. tit. 1. c. 8, 11, 13.

[5] Grat. Dist. 6. c. 4, 5. [6] Walo Messalin. c. 5. p. 315.

[7] Spalat. de Repub. par. 1. lib. 2. c. 9. n. 17, 18, 19.

[8] Field, of the Church, lib. 5. c. 29.

[9] Forb. Iren. lib. 2. c. 11. prop. 14. p. 249.

[10] Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. 8. p. 45.

[11] Pet. de Marca, de Concord. lib. 2. c. 13.

[12] Bellarm. de Cleric. lib. 1. c. 17.

[13] Socrat. H. E. lib. 4. c. 7. Conc. Antioch. can. 16.

[14] Conc. Nic. can. 8.

[15] Conc. Nic. Ep. Synod. ap. Socrat. H. E. lib. 1. c. 9.

Sect. 4. The 3rd opinion, that they were all bishops, the most probable.

Both these opinions (which differ little from one another) are rejected by Bishop Barlow,[16] Dr. Hammond,[17] Dr. Beverege,[18] Dr. Cave,[19] and even by Mr. Blondel[20] himself, who, though by some reckoned among those of the contrary opinion, has a long dissertation against De Marca, to prove that all the *chorepiscopi* mentioned in the ancient councils were properly bishops. And there needs no fuller proof of this than what Athanasius says in his Second Apology, where he puts a manifest distinction betwixt presbyters and the *chorepiscopi*. For speaking of the irregular promotion of Ischyras, who was made bishop of the region of Mareotis by the Eusebian faction, he says, Mareotis was only a region of Alexandria, and that all the churches of that precinct were immediately subject to the bishop of Alexandria, and never had either bishop or *chorepiscopus*[21] among them, but only presbyters fixed each in their respective villages or churches. This, as Blondel[22] well observes, shows evidently that the *chorepiscopi* were not the same with presbyters, however the forger of the Decretal Epistles, under the name of Pope Leo and Damasus, would have persuaded the world to believe so.

Sect. 5. Some objections against this answered.

But why then does the council of Neocæsarea[23] say that the *chorepiscopi* were only an imitation of the seventy? I answer, because they were subject to the city bishops, as the seventy elders were subject to Moses, or the seventy disciples to the apostles. For whatever the council means by the seventy, it cannot be proved thence that the *chorepiscopi* were mere presbyters.

But it is said, that they could not be bishops, because the ordination of bishops was to be performed by three bishops, with the consent of the metropolitan and the provincial bishops; whereas the council of Antioch[24] says, that a *chorepiscopus* was ordained by one bishop only, the bishop of the city to whose jurisdiction he belonged. To this the reply is easy, that this was one principal difference between the city bishops and country bishops, who differed both in the manner of their ordination, and in their power; for the one was subordinate to the other. Therefore, those canons which require three bishops to impose hands in the ordination of a bishop, speak only of such bishops as were to be absolute and supreme governors of their own diocese, and not of such who were subordinate to them, whom the city bishops might ordain at their own discretion, yet so as to stand accountable to a provincial synod.

Sect. 6. The *chorepiscopi* allowed to ordain the inferior clergy, but not presbyters or deacons, without special licence from the city bishop.

The office of these *chorepiscopi* was, to preside over the country clergy, and inquire into their behaviour, and make report thereof to the city bishop; as also to provide fit persons for the inferior service and ministry of the church. And to give them some authority, they had certain privileges conferred on them. As, 1. They might ordain readers, subdeacons, and exorcists for the use of the country churches. St. Basil[25] requires of his *chorepiscopi*, that they should first acquaint him with the qualification of such persons, and take his licence to ordain them. But the council of Antioch[26] gives them a general commission to ordain all under presbyters and deacons, without consulting the city bishop upon every such promotion. And for presbyters and deacons, they might ordain them too, but not δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπȣ, without the special leave of the city bishop, under whose jurisdiction both they and the country were. And this is the meaning of the council of Ancyra,[27] which says, the *chorepiscopi* shall not have power to ordain presbyters or deacons: which we must interpret by the explication given in the council of Antioch, that they should not be authorized to do it without the particular direction of the city bishop, but by his leave they might.

Sect. 7. They had power to confirm.

2. They had power to minister confirmation to such as were newly baptized in country churches. This is expressly provided by the council of Riez[28] in the case of Armentarius, whom they reduced to the quality of a *chorepiscopus*, but still allowed him the privilege of confirming neophites; which argues that confirmation might then be administered by the hands of the *chorepiscopi* in country churches.

Sect. 8. And power to grant letters dimissory to the clergy.

3. They had power to grant letters dimissory, or, as they were otherwise called, canonical and irenical letters, to the country clergy, who desired to remove from one diocese to another. Thus I understand that canon of the council of Antioch[29] which says, Country presbyters shall not grant canonical letters, κανονικὰς ἐπιστολὰς, or send letters to any neighbouring bishop; but the *chorepiscopi* may grant εἰρηνικὰς, letters dimissory, or letters of peace.

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[16] Barlow's Letter to Bishop Usher, in Ush. Let. 222. p. 520.
[17] Ham. Dissert. 3. cont. Blondel, c. 8.
[18] Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. Not. in Conc. Ancyr. can. 13.
[19] Cave, Prim. Christ. par. 1. c. 8. p. 224.
[20] Blondel, Apol. p. 95, &c.
[21] Athan. Apol. 2. t. 1. p. 802.
[22] Blondel, Apol. p. 127. Non unum cum presbyteri chorepiscopus fuisse, aut eandem formam gestasse, prout decretalium suppositori somniare visum est.
[23] Conc. Neocæsar. can. 14. χωρεπίσκοποί εἰσι μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα.
[24] Concil. Antioch. can. 10.
[25] Basil. Epist. 181.
[26] Conc. Antioch. can. 10.
[27] Conc. Ancyr. can. 13.
[28] Conc. Reiens. c. 3.
[29] Conc. Antioch. can. 8.

Sect. 9. They had power to officiate in the presence of the city bishop.

4. They had liberty to officiate in the city church, in the presence of the bishop and presbyters of the city, which country presbyters had not. For so the council of Neocæsarea determined in two canons to this purpose:[30] "The country presbyters shall not offer the oblation, nor distribute the bread and wine in time of prayer in the city church, when the bishop and presbyters are present: but the country bishops, being in imitation of the seventy, as fellow labourers, for their care of the poor, are admitted to offer."

Sect. 10. And to sit and vote in councils.

5. They had the privilege of sitting and voting in synods and councils: of which there are several instances still remaining in the acts of the ancient councils. In the first Nicene council[31] Palladius and Seleucius subscribe themselves *chorepiscopi* of the province of Cœlosyria: Eudæmon, *chorepiscopus* of the province of Cilicia: Gorgonius, Stephanus, Euphronius, Rhodon, Theophanes, *chorepiscopi* of the province of Cappadocia: Hesychius, Theodore, Anatolius, Quintus, Aquila, *chorepiscopi* of the province of Isauria: Theustinus and Eulalius, of the province of Bithynia. So again in the council of Neocæsarea,[32] Stephanus and Rudus, or Rhodon, two of the same that were in the council of Nice, subscribed themselves *chorepiscopi* of the province of Cappadocia. And in the council of Ephesus,[33] Cæsarius, *chorepiscopus* of Alce.

Sect. 11. The power of the *chorepiscopi* not the same in all times and places.

But here I must observe, that the power and privileges of the *chorepiscopi* varied much, according to the difference of times and places. For when the synod of Riez, in France, anno 439, had deposed Armentarius from his bishopric, because he was uncanonically ordained, they allowed him the privilege of being a *chorepiscopus*, after the example of the Nicene fathers, but limited him as to the exercise of his power. For though they gave him authority to confirm neophites, and consecrate virgins, and celebrate the eucharist in any country church with preference to any presbyter of the region; yet, first, They denied him the privilege of consecrating the eucharist in the city church,[34] which, by the thirteenth canon of the council of Neocæsarea, was allowed to other *chorepiscopi*. Secondly, They confined him to a single church in the exercise of his chorepiscopal power; whereas others had power over a whole region. Thirdly, They forbade him to ordain any of the inferior clergy even in his own church, which other *chorepiscopi* were allowed to do by the thirteenth canon of the council of Ancyra. And hence it appears, that, as their power was precarious, and depending upon the will of councils and city bishops, from whom they received it; so by this time their authority began to sink apace in the church.

Sect. 12. Their power first struck at by the council of Laodicea, which set up περιοδευταὶ in their room.

The council of Laodicea gave them the first blow, anno 360. For there it was decreed,[35] that for the future no bishops should be placed in country villages, but only περιοδευταὶ, itinerant or visiting presbyters; and for such bishops as were already constituted, they should do nothing without the consent and direction of the city bishop. In the council of Chalcedon we meet with some such presbyters expressly styled περιοδευταὶ, as Alexander[36] and Valentinus,[37] each of which has the title of presbyter and περιοδευτής. And so in the fifth general council at Constantinople,[38] one Sergius, a presbyter, has the same title of περιοδευτής, curator or visitor of the Syrian churches: yet still the order of the *chorepiscopi* was preserved in many places. For not only mention is made of them by Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil[39] in the fourth century, but also by Theodoret,[40] who speaks of Hypatius and Abramius, his own *chorepiscopi*; and in the council of Chalcedon, in the fifth century, we find the *chorepiscopi* sitting and subscribing in the name of the bishops that sent them. But this was some diminution of their power; for in former councils they subscribed in their own names, as learned men[41] agree: but now their power was sinking, and it went on to decay and dwindle by degrees, till at last, in the ninth century, when the forged Decretals were set on foot, it was pretended that they were not true bishops, and so the order, by the pope's tyranny, came to be laid aside in the western church.

Sect. 13. Of the attempt to restore the *chorepiscopi* in England, under the name of suffragan bishops

Some attempt was made in England, at the beginning of the Reformation, to restore these under the name of suffragan bishops. For as our Histories inform us,[42] by an act of the 26th of Henry VIII., anno 1534, several towns were appointed for suffragan sees, viz. Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guildford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftesbury, Molton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penrith, Bridgewater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Penreth, Berwick, St. Germains in Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight. These suffragans were to be consecrated by the archbishop

30 Con. Neocæs. can. 13 et 14.
31 Con. Nic. 1. in Subscription.
32 Con. Neocæs. in Subscription.
33 Con. Ephes. Act. 1.
34 Conc. Reiens. can. 3.
35 Con. Laod. can. 57.
36 Con. Chalced. Act. 4.
37 Ibid. Act. 10.
38 Con. CP. sub Menna, Act. 1. p. 563.
39 Nazian. Ep. 88. Theodoro. Basil. Ep. 181.
40 Theod. Ep. 113. ad Leon.
41 Blondel, Apol. p. 113. Bevereg. Not. in Con. Ancyr. c. 13.
42 Burnet, Hist. of Refor. vol. 1. p. 157.

and two other bishops, and by the act to have the same episcopal power as suffragans formerly had within this realm: but none of them either to have or act any thing properly episcopal, without the consent and permission of the bishop of the city, in whose diocese he was placed and constituted. Now, any one that compares this with the account that I have given of the ancient *chorepiscopi*, will easily perceive that these suffragans were much of the same nature with them. But then I must observe, that this was a new name for them: for anciently suffragan bishops were all the city bishops of any province under a metropolitan, who were called his suffragans, because they met at his command to give their suffrage, counsel, or advice in a provincial synod. And in this sense the word was used in England at the time when Linwood wrote his Provinciale, which was not above a hundred years before the Reformation, anno 1430. In his comment upon one of the constitutions of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, which begins with these words, *Omnibus et singulis coepiscopis suffraganeis nostris*, To all and singular our fellow bishops and suffragans, upon the word suffragans he has this note:[43] "They were called suffragans, because they were bound to give their suffrage and assistance to the archbishop, being summoned to take part in his care, though not in the plenitude of his power." Whence it is plain, that in his time suffragan bishops did not signify *chorepiscopi*, or rural bishops, but all the bishops of England, under their archbishops or metropolitans. Thus it was also in other churches: the seventy bishops who were immediately subject to the bishop of Rome, as their primate or metropolitan, were called his suffragans, because they were frequently called to his synods; as the reason of the name is given in an ancient Vatican MS. cited by Baronius.[44]

Sect. 14. Suffragan bishops different from the *chorepiscopi* in the primitive church.

Sect. 15. The suffragan bishops of the Roman province called by a technical name, *libra*.

And here it will not be amiss to observe, whilst we are speaking of suffragan bishops, that these seventy bishops, who were suffragans to the bishop of Rome, were by a peculiar technical name called *libra;* which name was given them for no other reason, but because of their number seventy. For the Roman *libra*, as antiquaries[45] note, consisted of seventy *solidi*, or so many parts; and therefore the number seventy in any other things, or persons, thence took the name of *libra:* as the seventy witnesses which are introduced deposing against Marcellinus, in the council of Sinuessa, that they saw him sacrifice, are by the author of those acts[46] termed *libra occidua*, for no other reason, as Baronius[47] conceives, but because they were seventy in number. And Grotius[48] gives the same reason for affixing this title on the seventy bishops, who were assessors or suffragans to the bishop of Rome; they were, as one might say, his *libra*, or ordinary provincial council.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE INTERCESSORES AND INTERVENTORES IN THE AFRICAN CHURCHES.

Sect. 1. Why some bishops called intercessors in the African churches.

THERE is one appellation more given to some bishops in the African councils, which must here be taken notice of, whilst we are speaking of bishops; which is the name intercessor and interventor; a title given to some bishops upon the account of a pro-tempore office which was sometimes committed to them. In the African churches, and perhaps in others also, upon the vacancy of a bishopric, it was usual for the primate to appoint one of the provincial bishops to be a sort of procurator of the diocese, partly to take care of the vacant see, and partly to promote and procure the speedy election of a new bishop. And from this he had the name of intercessor and interventor.

Sect. 2. The office of an intercessor not to last above a year.

The design of this office was manifestly to promote the good of the church; but it was liable to be abused two ways. For the intercessor by this means had a fair opportunity given to ingratiate himself with the people, and promote his own interest among them, instead of that of the church; either by keeping the see void longer than was necessary; or, if it was a wealthier or more honourable place than his own, by getting himself chosen into it. To obviate any such designs, the African fathers in the fifth council of Carthage made a decree, that no intercessor should continue in his office for above a year; but if he did not procure a new bishop to be chosen within that time, another intercessor should be sent in his room: and the more effectually to cut off all abuses, and prevent corruption, they enacted it also

[43] Linwood, Provinc. lib. 1. tit. 2. c. 1. Suffraganeis. Sic dictis, quia archiepiscopo suffragari et assistere tenentur, &c.

[44] Baron. an. 1057. n. 23. Præter septem collaterales episcopos erant alii episcopi, qui dicuntur suffraganei Romani pontificis, nulli alii primati vel archiepiscopo subjecti, qui, frequenter ad synodos vocarentur.

[45] Brerewood de Ponder. et Pret. c. 15.

[46] Concil. Sinuess. ap. Crab. t. 1. p. 190. Hi omnes electi sunt viri, libra occidua, qui testimonium perhibent, videntes Marcellinum thurificasse.

[47] Baron. an. 302. n. 92.

[48] Grot. in Luc. x. 1. Romanis episcopis jam olim 70 episcopi adsessores libra dicti, quod libra Romana tot solidos contineret.

Sect. 3. No intercessor to be made bishop of the place where he was constituted intercessor.

into a law,[49] that no intercessor should be capable of succeeding himself in the vacant see, whatever motions or solicitations were made by the people in his behalf. So extremely cautious were these holy African fathers to prevent abuses in matters of this nature.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF PRIMATES, OR METROPOLITANS.

Sect. 1. Some derive the original of metropolitans from apostolical constitution.

The same reasons which first brought in *chorepiscopi* and coadjutors, as subordinate to bishops in every city church, made the bishops of every province think it necessary to make one of themselves superior to all the rest, and invest him with certain powers and privileges for the good of the whole, whom they therefore named their primate, or metropolitan, that is, the principal bishop of the province. Bishop Usher[1] derives the origin of this settlement from apostolical constitution. So also Bishop Beverege,[2] Dr. Hammond,[3] Peter de Marca, and some others. And there are several passages in Eusebius and Chrysostom which seem to favour this. For Eusebius says,[4] Titus had the superintendency of all the churches in Crete: and Chrysostom in like manner,[5] that the apostle committed to him the whole island, and gave him power to censure all the bishops therein. He says the same of Timothy,[6] that he was intrusted with the government of the church in the whole region or province of Asia. And it is certain the Cyprian bishops, in the council of Ephesus,[7] pleaded the privileges of their metropolitan to be as ancient as the apostles.

Sect. 2. Others, from the age next after the apostles.

But it may be doubted, whether the apostles made any such general settlement of metropolitans in every province; and the records of the original of most churches being lost, it cannot be certainly proved they did. De Marca[8] thinks, that though the apostles gave a model or specimen in Timothy and Titus, yet they left it to following ages to finish and complete it. Dr. Cave says[9] it commenced not long after the apostolic age, when sects and schisms began to break in apace, and controversies multiplying between particular bishops, it was found necessary to pitch upon one in every province, to whom the umpirage of cases might be referred, and by whom all common and public affairs might be directed. Perhaps it took its rise from that common respect and deference, which was usually paid by the rest of the bishops, to the bishop of the civil metropolis in every province; which advancing into a custom, was afterward made into a canon by the council of Nice.

Sect. 3. Confessed by all to have been long before the council of Nice.

This is certain, that the Nicene council speaks of metropolitans as settled by ancient custom long before, when it ushers in the canon about them with, *Ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω*, Let ancient customs be continued,[10] and then goes on to speak of the custom in Egypt, which was for the bishop of Alexandria to have power over all the churches of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; which was metropolitical, if not patriarchal, power. Epiphanius[11] mentions the same: speaking of Alexander and Peter, bishops of Alexandria, before the council of Nice, he says, they had *ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διοίκησιν*, the administration of ecclesiastical affairs throughout all Egypt, Thebais, Mareotes, Libya, Ammoniaca, Mareotis, and Pentapolis. And Athanasius,[12] speaking of Dionysius, who was bishop of Alexandria above sixty years before this council, says, he also enjoyed this power, having the care of the churches of Pentapolis and Libya, when Sabellius broached his heresy, and that he wrote letters of admonition to several bishops of those parts, who began to be infected with his heresy. These are undeniable evidences that the bishops of Alexandria were not first invested with metropolitical power by the council of Nice, but only confirmed in those rights which, by ancient custom and prescription, they had long enjoyed. And this was also the case of other churches.

The council of Eliberis in Spain[13] speaks of a *primæ cathedræ episcopus*, a primate or bishop of the first see; and those called the Apostles' Canons (which were the Canons of the Greek church in the third century) mention a *πρῶτος*, or chief bishop, in every province, whom the rest were to look upon as their head,[14] and do nothing without him. And it appears from several of Cyprian's epistles,[15] that

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[49] Con. Carth. 5. can. 8. Placuit, ut nulli intercessori licitum sit, cathedram cui intercessor datus est, quibuslibet populorum studiis, vel seditionibus retinere: sed dare operam, ut intra annum eisdem episcopum provideat. Quod si neglexerit, anno expleto, interventor alius tribuatur.

[1] Usser. de Orig. Episc. et Metrop.

[2] Bevereg. Cod. Can. Vind. lib. 2. c. 5. n. 12.

[3] Ham. Pref. to Titus. It. Dissert. 4. cont. Blondel, c. 5.

[4] Euseb. H. E. lib. 3. c. 4. *τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι.*

[5] Chrys. Hom. 1. in Tit. *νῆσον ὁλόκληρον—καὶ τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν.*

[6] Id. Hom. 15. in 1 Tim. [7] Con. Ephes. Act. 7.

[8] Marca de Concord. lib. 6. c. 1. n. 9.

[9] Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov. p. 92. [10] Con. Nicen. can. 6.

[11] Epiphan. Hær. 68. n. 1. et Hær. 69. n. 3.

[12] Athan. de Sentent. Dionys. t. 1. p. 552.

[13] Con. Eliber. an. 305. can. 58.

[14] Can. Apost. c. 23.

[15] Cypr. Ep. 42. ad Cornel. Per provinciam nostram

the bishop of Carthage had a presidency over all the other African bishops, and power to send his mandates among them. And St. Austin speaks of the primate of Numidia, as well as the primate of Carthage, before the schism of the Donatists, and says, they gave that for one reason of their schism,[16] that the primate of Numidia was not called to elect and consecrate the primate of Carthage. And therefore, as both the same St. Austin[17] and Optatus[18] take notice, the Donatists pretending that the ordination of Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, was not valid, because not performed by a primate, sent for Secundus Tigisitanus, who was then primate of Numidia, to ordain Majorinus in his room. Now, as all this was transacted several years before the council of Nice, so it proves that primates were in Africa antecedent to the establishment of that council.

Sect. 4. Proofs of metropolitans in the second century.

If we ascend higher yet, and look into the second century, there are some footsteps of the same power, though not so evident as the former. Lyons, in France, was a metropolis in the civil account, and Irenæus, who was bishop of it, is said to have the superintendency of the Gallican *parœciæ*, or dioceses, as Eusebius[19] words it. Philip, bishop of Gortyna, in Crete, is styled, by Dionysius[20] of Corinth, bishop of all the Cretian churches. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, presided in council over all the bishops of Asia;[21] Palmas, bishop of Amastris, over the bishops of Pontus, and Theophilus,[22] of Cæsarea, with Narcissus, of Jerusalem, over the rest of the bishops of Palestine.

These are the common proofs, which are ordinarily alleged in this case. Yet I shall freely own, that the three last of them do not cogently prove the thing in dispute. For presiding in council does not necessarily infer metropolitical power; because they might preside as senior bishops, as Eusebius says expressly one of them did, viz. Palmas, bishop of Amastris, ὡς ἀρχαιότατος προυτέτακτο, he presided as the most ancient bishop among them. Which seems to be noted by Eusebius not without good reason; for Heraclea, and not Amastris, was the civil metropolis of Pontus. Blondel, from this passage, concludes, that at this time the senior bishops in all places were the metropolitans. But this does not sufficiently appear to have been the custom any where else but in the African churches, of which I shall presently give an account: for the other instances that have been given, seem rather to make it evident, that the bishops of the civil metropoles were generally the primates or metropolitans in the church also.

Sect. 5. By what names metropolitans were anciently called.

It is true, indeed, none of these are expressly called metropolitans; for that name scarcely occurs in any ancient record before the council of Nice: but they were at first termed πρῶτοι, and κεφαλαὶ, chief bishops, and heads of the province, as the Apostolical Canon styles them.[23] After ages gave them other names, as that of archbishops, at Alexandria[24] and other places, till that name became appropriate to the patriarchs. The council of Sardica[25] styles them, ἔξαρχοι τῆς ἐπαρχίας, exarchs of the province. St Austin sometimes calls them *principes*,[26] princes: and Pope Hilary,[27] monarchs. But these being titles of secular grandeur, and savouring too much of absolute sovereignty and dominion, were expressly prohibited by the third council of Carthage, which ordered that no superior bishop should be called high priest,[28] or prince of the priests, but only *primæ sedis episcopus*, primate, or senior bishop. Hence it was that those bishops, who, in other parts of the world, were called metropolitans, in Africa had commonly the name of primates; though we sometimes meet with the name metropolitan[29] in the African councils also.

Sect. 6. Primates in Africa called *senes*, because the oldest bishop was always metropolitan.

But these primates, in Africa, are frequently called *patres* and *senes*. As, in the African code, Xantippus, primate of Numidia, is once and again styled *senex Xantippus*.[30] And St. Austin, writing to him, inscribes his epistle *Patri et consacerdoti seni Xantippo*.[31] And thus in many other epistles,[32] writing to the primates, or speaking of them, he gives them the name of *senes*. And there was a peculiar reason for giving them this name in Africa. For here the primacy was not fixed, as in other places, to the civil metropolis, but always went along with the oldest bishop of the province, who succeeded to this dignity by virtue of his seniority, whatever place he lived in. In other parts of the world, the bishop of the civil metropolis was com-

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hæc eadem collegis singulis in notitiam perferentes, ab his quoque fratres nostros cum literis dirigendos esse mandavimus. See also Ep. 40. ad Pleb. Carthag. Ep. 45. ad Cornel.

[16] Aug. Brevic. Collat. tert. die, c. 16.

[17] Aug. Cont. Parmen. lib. 1. c. 3. Venientes cum primate suo tunc Secundo Tigisitano, &c.

[18] Optat. lib. 1. p. 41.

[19] Euseb. H. E. lib. 5. c. 23. Τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν παροικιῶν, ἃς Εἰρηναῖος ἐπισκόπει.

[20] Dionys. Ep. ap. Euseb. lib. 4. c. 23.

[21] Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24.

[22] Euseb. lib. 5. c. 23.

[23] Canon. Apost. c. 37.

[24] Epiphan. Hær. 68 et 69.

[25] Con. Sard. can. 6.

[26] Aug. Brevic. Collat. tert. die, c. 16. Non exspectavit Cæcilianus, ut princeps a principe ordinaretur.

[27] Hilar. Ep. ad Leont. Arelatens. ap. Baron. an. 462. In provincia quæ ad monarchiam tuam spectat, &c.

[28] Con. Carth. 3. can. 26. Ut primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus.

[29] Con. Car. 3. can. 39. Carth. 4. can. 1.

[30] Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr. c. 91 et 101.

[31] Aug. Ep. 236.

[32] Aug. Ep. 149, 152, 235, 261, &c.

monly metropolitan in the church also: and so it was ordered to be by several canons both of the eastern and western churches. The council of Antioch[33] bids all bishops observe, that the bishop of the metropolis has the care of the whole province, because all men that have business or controversies to be decided, resort from all parts to the metropolis. And the council of Turin[34] upon this foot determined a dispute about primacy betwixt the two bishops of Arles and Vienna; decreeing that he that could prove his city to be the metropolis, should be the primate of the whole province. The council of Chalcedon has two canons,[35] appointing those cities to be metropoles in the church, which were so in the civil division of the empire. And the council of Trullo[36] has one to the same purpose.

But in the African churches it was otherwise: for they were governed by rules and canons of their own; and their rule was, to let the primacy remove from city to city, and still go along with the senior bishop, without any regard to the civil metropolis, except only at Carthage, where the bishop was a fixed and standing metropolitan for the province of Africa, properly so called. But in Numidia and Mauritania this honour was movable; as may appear from this one instance. Constantina was the civil metropolis of Numidia, as we learn both from the ancient *notitia* of the empire, and one of the canons[37] of the African code, which expressly styles it so: yet the primacy was so far from being settled here, that we never so much as find that the bishop of Constantina was at any time the primate; but in Constantine's time, Secundus Tigisitanus[38] was primate of Numidia; in St. Austin's time, Megalius bishop of Calama was primate, who by virtue of his office[39] ordained St. Austin bishop; afterwards Xantippus of Tagasta[40] succeeded by virtue of his seniority, whence he is always styled in St. Austin[41] and the African councils,[42] *senex Xantippus*. This is sufficient to show, that the primacy in Africa was not confined to the civil metropolis, but was always conferred upon the senior bishop, whose seniority was reckoned from the time of his consecration. Some there are who pretend to say, that these African primates, notwithstanding this, were subject to the bishops of the civil metropoles, who were properly the metropolitans. But there is no ground for this opinion, and it is justly exploded by De Marca[43] and others, who have occasionally touched upon this subject.

Sect. 7. How African bishops might forfeit their title to the primacy.

It is true indeed, by the African discipline, a bishop might lose his primogeniture, and so forfeit his title to the primacy; as is evident from a passage in St. Austin,[44] which speaks of such a punishment inflicted upon one Priscus, a Mauritanian bishop, who for some misdemeanor was denied this privilege, though he still kept his bishopric: but in such cases, the primacy did not devolve to the bishop of the civil metropolis, but to the next in order, who could prove himself senior by consecration.

Sect. 8. A register of ordinations to be kept in the primate's church. And all bishops to take place by seniority, &c.

And because disputes sometimes arose about seniority; to prevent these, several good orders were made by the African fathers relating to this matter. As, first, that a *matricula*, or *archivus*, as they called it, should be kept both in the primate's church,[45] and in the metropolis of the province, for bishops to prove the time of their ordination by.

Then, secondly, every bishop was to have his letters of ordination subscribed by his ordainers, and dated with the year and day of his consecration.[46] Thirdly, all bishops were to take place according to seniority, and so sit and vote, and have their names subscribed in council; which was a rule not only in Africa,[47] but in all other churches, being enacted by several councils,[48] and inserted into the civil law[49] by Justinian the emperor. But they were the more nice in observing this in Africa, where the primacy went by seniority, lest the neglect of it should have bred confusion among them. Insomuch that St. Austin[50] blames Victorinus, (who pretended to be primate of Numidia,) only because in his *tractoria*, or letter of summons to a provincial council, he wrote the names of the Numidian bishops in a confused order, and put Austin's name before many of

[33] Con. Antioch. can. 9.

[34] Con. Taurin. can. 2. Qui ex iis comprobaverit suam civitatem esse metropolim, is totius provinciæ honorem primatus obtineat.

[35] Con. Chalced. can. 12 et 17.

[36] Con. Trull. can. 38.

[37] Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr. c. 86.

[38] Aug. cont. Parmen. lib. 1. c. 3. Ep. 68. ad Januar.

[39] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 8. Adveniente ad ecclesiam Hipponensem tunc primate Numidiæ Megalio Calamensi episcopo.

[40] Con. Milev. 1. in Cod. Afr. can. 84. Xantippus primæ sedis Numidiæ episcopus. Aug. Ep. 217. Collega noster Xantippus Tagastensis dicit, quod eum primatus ipse contingat, &c.

[41] Aug. Ep. 236. [42] Cod. Can. Afr. c. 91, 101.

[43] Marca, Dissert. de Primat. n. 3. Albaspin. Not. in Optat. lib. 1. p. 121. Stillingfleet, Hist. of Separ. par. 3. sect. 9. p. 253. Fell, Not. in Con. Carth. ap. Cypr. p. 230.

[44] Aug. Ep. 261.

[45] Con. Milev. in Cod. Can. Afr. c. 86.

[46] Con. Milev. can. 14. Placuit ut quicunque ab episcopis ordinantur, literas accipiant ab ordinatoribus suis, manu eorum subscriptas, continentes consulem et diem, ut nulla altercatio de posterioribus vel anterioribus oriatur.

[47] Con. Milev. c. 13. Posteriores anterioribus deferant, &c. Vit. Fulgentii, cap. 20. Inter episcopos, tempore ordinationis inferior, ultimus sedebat.

[48] Con. Bracar. 1. can. 24. Con. Tolet. 4. can. 4. Secundum ordinationis suæ tempora resideant.

[49] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. tit. 4. c. 29. Episcopi tempore ordinationis prælati, &c.

[50] Aug. Ep. 217. ad Victorin.

his seniors: which was a thing, he says, equally injurious to them, and invidious to himself. So cautious was he of doing any thing that might seem to intrench upon this rule, for fear of breeding confusion in the government of their churches.

Sect. 9. Three sorts of honorary primates, besides the primate in power. 1. *Primates ævo.*

I must here take notice further, that besides the primacy of power, there was in most provinces also a primacy of honour; whence some bishops had the name and title of primates, who had not the jurisdiction. And these were of three sorts: 1. The *primates ævo*, the oldest bishop in each province next to the metropolitan. These had no power above others, except when the metropolitan was some way disabled, or unqualified for discharging his office by irregularity or suspension: then his power of course devolved to the senior bishop of the province. And this, I conceive, was the reason why the bishop of Amastris[51] presided in council over the bishops of Pontus, when yet Heraclea, and not Amastris, was the metropolis of the province.

Sect. 10. 2. Titular metropolitans.

The second sort of honorary primates were the titular metropolitans, which were the bishops of such cities as had the name and title of civil metropoles bestowed on them by some emperor, without the power and privileges, which were still retained to the ancient metropolis of the province. Thus Marcian the emperor dignified the city Chalcedon with the title of a metropolis, and the honour was confirmed to the bishop by the council of Chalcedon[52] itself, only with a *salvo jure* to the rights of Nicomedia the old metropolis: from that time therefore the bishop of Chalcedon styled himself metropolitan of Bithynia, as may be seen in the Acts[53] of the Sixth General Council. The same honour was done to the city and bishop of Nice, in the council of Chalcedon[54] likewise. So that here were three metropolitans in one province, but one only had the power; the privileges of the other two were only honorary, to sit and vote in council next to their metropolitan. Yet this gave such bishops an opportunity to exalt themselves, and sometimes they so far encroached upon the rights of the first metropolitan, as to draw off his suffragans, and divide the province with him. Thus it was with the bishop of Nice, who before the time of the sixth general council, had got a synod of suffragans under him. For so Photius subscribed himself in that council[55] bishop of Nice, and metropolitan of Bithynia for himself and the synod that was under him.

Sect. 11. 3. The bishops of some mother churches, which were honoured by ancient custom.

Besides these there were a third sort of primates, who, though they were neither bishops of titular metropoles, nor the oldest bishops of the province, yet took place of all the rest, by a general deference that was paid to them, out of regard to the eminency of their see, being some mother church, or particularly honoured by ancient prescription. This was the case of the bishop of Jerusalem. That city was no metropolis of the empire, but subject to Cæsarea, the metropolis of Palestine; yet, in regard that it was the mother church of the world, this peculiar honour was paid to it, that the bishop thereof was always next in dignity to the metropolitan of Cæsarea, and took place of all the other bishops of the province. And this privilege was confirmed to him by the Nicene council,[56] which made a canon to this purpose: That whereas, by ancient custom and tradition, the bishop of Ælia had a particular honour paid him, the same should be continued to him, still reserving to the metropolis the dignity and privilege which belonged to it. Some fondly imagine[57] that this canon gave the bishop of Jerusalem patriarchal power; whereas it does not so much as make him a metropolitan, but leaves him subject to the metropolis of Palestine, which was Cæsarea, as St. Jerom[58] informs us, whose words clear the sense of this canon, and prove that the bishop of Jerusalem was no metropolitan, nor independent of his metropolitan, as Valesius[59] imagines, but had only the second place of honour assigned him next to his metropolitan, which was that honorary primacy which the bishops of Jerusalem had always enjoyed, because, as the council of Constantinople words it,[60] Jerusalem was the mother of all other churches.

Sect. 12. The offices of metropolitans. 1. To ordain their suffragan bishops.

But leaving these honorary primates, who had little more than a name, I am here to show what were the offices and privileges of those who were properly metropolitans; and they were these that follow. First, They were to regulate the elections of all their provincial bishops, and either ordain, or authorize the ordination of them. No bishop was to be elected or ordained without their consent and approbation: otherwise the canons pronounce both the election and the ordination null. The κῦρος, or ratification of all that is done, says the council of Nice,[61] belongs to the metropolitan in

[51] Euseb. lib. 5. c. 23, says he presided as the senior bishop, ὡς ἀρχαιότατος προυτέτακτο.

[52] Con. Chalced. Act. 6. t. 4. p. 612.

[53] Con. 6. Gen. Act. 18.

[54] Con. Chalced. Act. 13. p. 716.

[55] Con. 6. Gen. Act. 18. p. 1080.

[56] Con. Nic. can. 7. ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος.

[57] Sylvius Addit. ad Caranz. summ. Concil.

[58] Jerom. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. Hoc ibi decernitur ut Palæstinæ metropolis Cæsarea sit.

[59] Vales. Not. in Euseb. 5. 23.

[60] Con. Constant. Ep. Synod. ad Damas.

[61] Con. Nic. can. 4.

every province. And again, If any bishop is made without the consent of the metropolitan, this great synod[62] pronounces such a one to be no bishop. The same rule is repeated in the councils of Antioch,[63] Laodicea,[64] Arles,[65] Turin,[66] Sardica,[67] Ephesus,[68] and Chalcedon.[69] And whereas some pretend that the African primates had not this power, the contrary appears evidently from several canons of their councils. The second council of Carthage[70] says, No one shall presume to ordain a bishop without consulting the primate of the province, and taking his precept, though many other bishops should join with him. The third council of Carthage requires but three bishops to the ordination of a bishop, but then[71] they must be such as are expressly authorized by the metropolitan. And the fourth council[72] requires either his presence, or at least his authority and commission. Here a primate and a metropolitan are the same thing, viz. the senior bishop of the province, who usually went to the church, where the new bishop was to be placed, and consecrated him with his own hands, as St. Austin and Possidius[73] testify, who are good witnesses of their practice.

Sect. 13. This power continued to them after the setting up of patriarchs.

Nor was this power at all infringed by setting up of patriarchs above them. For though the metropolitans were then to be ordained by the patriarchs, and obliged to attend on them for it, who before were ordained by their own provincial synod; yet still the right of ordaining their own suffragans was all along preserved to them, and expressly confirmed by the council of Chalcedon;[74] nor do we ever find any patriarch assuming this power, except the bishop of Alexandria, for a particular reason, of which I shall give an account in the following chapter, sect. 11.

Sect. 14. Yet this power not arbitrary, but determined by the major vote of a provincial synod.

But here I must observe, that this power of metropolitans was not arbitrary: for though no bishop was to be elected or ordained without their consent, yet they had no negative voice in the matter, but were to be determined and concluded by the major part of a provincial synod. For so the council of Arles[75] decreed, that if there arose any doubt or hesitation betwixt the parties, the metropolitan should side with the greater number. And the council of Nice[76] to the same purpose: If two or three out of a contentious humour shall oppose the common election, duly and regularly made according to the canons of the church, in this case let the majority of voices prevail.

Sect. 15. Metropolitans to be chosen and ordained by their own provincial synod.

And the same rule was to be observed in the ordination of metropolitans themselves, who were to be chosen and consecrated by their own provincial bishops; who were not obliged to send for a metropolitan out of another province to do it, but they had power to do it in their own provincial synod among themselves. This, St. Austin says, was the custom of the catholic church, both in Africa and at Rome. And therefore, when the Donatists objected against Cæcilian, primate of Carthage, that his ordination was uncanonical, because he had not sent for the neighbouring primate of Numidia to come and ordain him: his answer was,[77] that Cæcilian had no need of this; since the custom of the catholic church was otherwise, which was not to have the Numidian bishops to ordain the bishop of Carthage, but the neighbouring bishops of the province of Carthage: as it was not the custom at Rome to send for a metropolitan out of another province, to ordain the bishop of Rome, but he was always ordained by the bishop of Ostia, a neighbouring bishop of the same province.

It is true there is a canon in the council of Sardica,[78] which orders the bishops of the next province, as some interpret it, to be called in to the ordination of a metropolitan, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πλησιοχώρου ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπους. But this perhaps may as well be rendered, the neighbouring bishops of the same province;[79] and since custom and the practice of the church, which is the best interpreter of doubtful canons, does manifestly favour this sense, there is some reason so to understand it. But however it be, here is no mention of one metropolitan having a right to ordain another. From which it appears,

[62] Con. Nic. can. 6.

[63] Con. Antioch. can. 19. [64] Con. Laodic. can. 12.

[65] Con. Arelat. 2. can. 5 et 6. [66] Con. Taurin. can. 1.

[67] Con. Sardic. can. 6.

[68] Con. Ephes. Decret. de Episc. Cypr.

[69] Con. Chalced. Act. 13. It. can. 25.

[70] Con. Carth. 2. c. 12. Inconsulto primate cujuslibet provinciæ nemo præsumat, licet cum multis episcopis, sine ejus præcepto, episcopum ordinare.

[71] Con. Carth. 3. c. 39. Non minus quam tres sufficiant, qui fuerint a metropolitano directi ad ordinandum episcopum.

[72] Con. Carth. 4. c. 1. Conventu totius provinciæ episcoporum, maximeque metropolitani vel præsentia, vel auctoritate ordinetur episcopus.

[73] Aug. Ep. 261. Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 8.

[74] Con. Chalced. Act. 16. in fin.

[75] Con. Arelat. 2. can. 5. Si inter partes aliqua nata fuerit dubitatio, majori numero metropolitanus in electione consentiat.

[76] Con. Nic. can. 6.

[77] Aug. Brevic. Collat. tert. die, c. 16. Non exspectavit Cæcilianus ut princeps a principe ordinaretur; cum aliud habeat ecclesiæ catholicæ consuetudo, ut non Numidiæ, sed propinquiores episcopi episcopum ecclesiæ Carthaginis ordinent: sicut nec Romanæ ecclesiæ ordinat aliquis episcopus metropolitanus, sed de proximo Ostiensis episcopus.

[78] Con. Sard. can. 6.

[79] Harmenopulus so understood it; for in his Epitome he thus words it: Οἱ πλησιόχωροι τῆς ἐπαρχίας παρέστωσαν. Vid. Harmen. Epit. Canon. ap. Leunclav. Jur. Gr. Rom. t. 1. p. 2.

that in these times no metropolitan was obliged to go or send out of his own province, much less to Rome, for his ordination; but all was to be done by his suffragans in his own church. Nor was any bishop obliged to go for ordination to his metropolitan's church, but ordinarily the metropolitan and the rest of the bishops met synodically in the vacant church, and there elected and consecrated a new bishop in the presence of the people for whom they ordained him. This was the first part of the metropolitan's office.

Sect. 16. The 2nd office of metropolitans, to decide controversies arising among their provincial bishops, and take appeals from them.

Their next office was, to preside over their provincial bishops, and if any controversies arose among them, to interpose their authority to end and decide them: as also to hear the accusations of others, who complained of injury done them by their own bishops, from whom there was liberty always to appeal to their metropolitan. Thus in Africa it was ordained by the council of Milevis,[80] that if two bishops disputed about the bounds of their dioceses, the metropolitan should appoint a committee of bishops to hear and determine their controversy. If a presbyter or deacon was excommunicated by his own bishop, the council of Sardica[81] allows him liberty to appeal to the metropolitan of his province; or if he were absent, to the metropolitan of the next province, to desire a new hearing of his cause. In such cases as these the metropolitan had three ways of proceeding: either, first, he was to appoint a select number of bishops to be judges; which was the practice of Africa, where such judges were therefore called[82] *judices electi*, and their number assigned to be twelve,[83] if a bishop's cause was to be tried before them. Or, secondly, he was to refer the matter to a provincial synod, which seems to have been the general practice, when those called the Apostolical Canons were made; one of which orders,[84] that when a bishop is accused, he shall be convened before a synod of bishops. Another says,[85] The primate shall do nothing without the consent of all the other bishops; so concord will be preserved, and God will be glorified. And another, Twice a year let there be a synod of bishops[86] to examine doctrines of religion, and terminate all ecclesiastical controversies that may happen. But, thirdly, by Justinian's law[87] the metropolitan has power to hear causes upon appeal himself without a synod: yet whether he could proceed so far as to depose a bishop by his sole authority, is questioned. Spalatensis[88] gives some instances of bishops that were deposed by their metropolitans, but for aught that appears it was done in synod: but whether it was, or was not, matters not much; for still in all cases, by the same law of Justinian[89] and the Canons, there lay an appeal from the metropolitan to a provincial synod, of which he was only the president, or moderator and director of business in it.

Sect. 17. Their 3rd office, to call provincial synods, which all suffragans were obliged to attend.

And this leads us to a third office of the metropolitans, which was, to call provincial synods, and preside in them. For since the Canons[90] appointed two synods to be held ordinarily every year in each province, (besides such as might be called upon extraordinary occasions,) it was necessary some one should be appointed to give notice of the time and place, and have authority both to convocate and preside in them. All things therefore relating to this matter, were by common consent put into the primate's power, whose circular letters (which sometimes are called *synodicæ* and *tractoriæ*,[91] as the emperor's were called *sacræ)* were a legal summons, which no bishop of the province might disobey under pain of suspension, or some such canonical censure, which is left to the discretion[92] of the metropolitan and the council.

Sect. 18. 4. Metropolitans to publish imperial laws and canons, visit dioceses, and correct abuses.

4. It belonged to metropolitans to publish and disperse such imperial laws and canons, as were either by councils or emperors made for the common good of the church. This they are required to do by several laws[93] both of the church and state, the better to diffuse the knowledge and enforce the practice of them. Nor were they only to disperse the canons that were made, but to see that they were observed: which gave them right to visit and inquire into neglects, abuses, and disorders committed by any bishop throughout the whole province. The metropolitan in this respect is said to have the care of the whole province, by the council of Antioch.[94] Not that this gave him power to officiate in any other bishop's church, or perform such acts as the bishop himself might perform alone, such as the ordaining of presbyters and deacons, and the like; which are specialties of every bishop, reserved to them by the same council: but in case of omission or scandalous neglect, the bishop

[80] Con. Milev. can. 21. Per episcopos judices causa finiatur, sive quos eis primates dederint, sive quos ipsi vicinos ex consultu primatis delegerint.

[81] Con. Sard. can. 14.

[82] Con. Carth. 3. can. 7.

[83] Con. Carth. 1. can. 11. Episcopus a duodecim consacerdotibus audiatur.

[84] Can. Apost. c. 74. Con. Constant. 2 Gen. can. 6.

[85] Ibid. c. 35. Con. Antioch. can. 9.

[86] Ibid. c. 38.

[87] Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 4. c. 29.

[88] Spalat. de Repub. Eccl. par. 1. lib. 3. c. 7. n. 19.

[89] Cod. Just. ibid.

[90] Con. Nic. can. 5. Antioch. c. 20. Agathen. c. 35. Arelat. 2. c. 18. Can. Apost. c. 38.

[91] Aug. Ep. 217. ad Victorin. Tractoria ad me quinto idus Novembris venit, &c.

[92] Con. Chalced. can. 19. Con. Carth. 4. can. 21. Theodoret, Ep. 81.

[93] Justin. Novel. 6 et 42.

[94] Con. Antioch. can. 9. *τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας.*

of the metropolis was to manifest his care with the advice of the rest of his brethren.

Sect. 19. 5. Bishops not to travel without the letters of their metropolitan.

5. In Africa all bishops paid a peculiar deference to the primate, in taking his licence to travel, whenever they were called into a foreign country upon extraordinary occasions. This was expressly provided by a canon of the third council of Carthage,[95] that no bishop should go beyond sea without consulting his primate, and taking his *formatæ*, or letters of commendation. Nor was this so peculiar to Africa, but that we may meet with the same rule and practice in other places, even as low as the time of Gregory the Great, who in one of his epistles[96] gives the same direction to some bishops in reference to their metropolitan, that they should not travel upon urgent occasion without his letters of concession.

Sect. 20. 6. Metropolitans to take care of vacant sees within their province.

6. It belonged to metropolitans to take care of all vacant sees within their province; to administer the affairs of the church during the vacancy, to secure the revenues of the bishopric, and procure a speedy election of a new bishop. In Africa the primate commonly appointed one of the neighbouring bishops to be his vicegerent in such a case, whom therefore the canons (as have been observed before) call an interventor.[97] The council of Riez[98] in France in like manner puts the administration of a vacant see into the hands of a neighbouring bishop, under the inspection of the metropolitan. And the council of Valentia[99] in Spain authorizes the metropolitan to punish purloiners of the revenues in the vacancy, and to send an administrator till a new bishop is chosen. By a canon of the council of Chalcedon,[100] the care of the revenues of the church is committed to the steward of the church, the *œconomus;* but the care of supplying the vacant see with a new bishop within three months, is the business of the metropolitan.

Sect. 21. Metropolitans to calculate the time of Easter.

7. It belonged to the metropolitan yearly to review the calculation of the time of Easter, and give notice to his suffragans of it. The care of composing the cycle indeed was by the Nicene fathers particularly committed to the bishop of Alexandria,[101] as Pope Leo and others inform us; and he was to give notice to other churches: but due care was not always taken in this matter, and therefore the metropolitan in every province was concerned to settle the time, and acquaint the whole province with it. As we find St. Ambrose[102] did for the province of Milan; and the bishop of Carthage,[103] for the province of Africa: and the Spanish councils[104] order their metropolitans first to concert the matter among themselves, and then communicate it to their comprovincials.

Sect. 22. How the power of metropolitans grew in after ages.

Some later canons[105] make it the privilege of metropolitans to consecrate all churches throughout the province. But I have showed before, that this was originally the privilege of every bishop in his own diocese; and being a private act, which only concerned his own church, and not the whole province, the metropolitan was to have no hand in it, no more than in the consecration of presbyters and deacons, by the ninth canon of the council of Antioch. Other canons[106] bind the whole province to follow the forms and rites of Divine service used in the metropolitan church: but I have observed before, that anciently every bishop had liberty to prescribe for his own diocese, and was under no limitation as to this matter, unless it were the order of a provincial council.

Sect. 23. The primate of Alexandria had the greatest power of any other.

By this we see that the power of metropolitans in some places exceeded others. And I must here observe, that the primate of Alexandria was the greatest metropolitan in the world, both for the absoluteness of his power, and the extent of his jurisdiction. For he was not metropolitan of a single province, but of all the provinces of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, in which there were at least six large provinces, out of which sometimes above a hundred bishops were called to a provincial council. Alexander summoned near that number to the condemnation of Arius[107] before the council of Nice. And Athanasius[108] speaks of the same number meeting at other times: particularly the council of Alexandria, anno 339, which heard and justified the cause of Athanasius after his return from his banishment, had almost a hundred bishops in it; which was above thirty more than the bishop of Rome's *libra*, which was but sixty-nine. Nor was the primate of Alexandria's power less than the extent of his jurisdiction; for he not only ordained all his suffragan bishops, but had liberty to ordain presbyters and deacons in all churches throughout the whole district. Mr. Basnage and Launoy[109] will have it that he had the sole power of ordaining,

[95] Con. Carth. 3. can. 28. Ut episcopi trans mare non proficiscantur, nisi consulto primæ sedis episcopo, &c.

[96] Greg. M. Ep. 8. lib. 7.

[97] Con. Carth. 5. can. 8.

[98] Con. Reiens. can. 5 et 6. [99] Con. Valent. can. 2.

[100] Con. Chalced. c. 25.

[101] Leo, Ep. 72. al. 70. ad Marcian Imper.

[102] Ambros. Ep. 83. ad Episc. per Æmyliam.

[103] Con. Carth. 3. can. 1 et 41.

[104] Con. Bracar. 2. can. 9. Con. Tolet. 4. can. 5.

[105] Gelas. Ep. 1. c. 4. Montan. Tolet. Ep. ad Palentinos ap. Blondel, Apol. p. 150.

[106] Concil. Gerundens. can. 1. Con. Epaun. can. 27. Con. Tolet. 11. can. 3.

[107] Alexand. Ep. Encycl. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 6.

[108] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 720. Con. Alexandr. Ep. Encycl. Con. t. 2. p. 533.

[109] Basnag. Exerc. in Baron. p. 307. et Launoy, ibid.

and that not so much as a presbyter or deacon could be ordained without him. Valesius[110] thinks his privilege was rather that he might ordain if he pleased, but not that he had the sole power of ordaining presbyters and deacons. But either way it was a great privilege, and peculiar to the bishop of Alexandria; for no other metropolitan pretended to the like power besides himself.

Sect. 24. All metropolitans called *apostolici*, and their sees, *sedes apostolicæ*.

I have but one thing more to observe concerning metropolitans, which is, that they were anciently all dignified with the name *apostolici*; which was then no peculiar title of the bishop of Rome. For Pope Siricius himself gives all primates[111] this appellation: and it continued to be their title to the days of Alcuin, who, speaking of the election of bishops, says,[112] when the clergy and people have chosen one, they draw up an instrument, and go with their elect to the *apostolicus*: by whom he means not the pope, but the primate or metropolitan of every province, who had the right and power of consecration.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF PATRIARCHS.

Sect. I. Patriarchs anciently called archbishops.

NEXT in order to the metropolitans or primates, were the patriarchs; or, as they were at first called, archbishops and exarchs of the diocese. For though now an archbishop and a metropolitan be generally taken for the same, to wit, the primate of a single province; yet anciently the name archbishop was a more extensive title, and scarce given to any but those whose jurisdiction extended over a whole imperial diocese, as the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, &c. That this was so, appears evidently from one of Justinian's Novels, where erecting the bishopric of Justiniana Prima into a patriarchal see, he says, Our pleasure is, that the bishop of Justiniana shall not only be a metropolitan, but an archbishop.[1] Here the names are clearly distinguished, and an archbishop reckoned superior to a metropolitan. And hence it was, that after the setting up of patriarchal power, the name archbishop was appropriated to the patriarchs. Liberatus[2] gives all the patriarchs this title of archbishops. So does the council of Chalcedon frequently, speaking of the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople[3] under the name of archbishops also.

Sect. 2. And exarchs of the diocese.

These were otherwise called ἔξαρχοι τῆς διοικήσεως, exarchs of the diocese, to distinguish them from the ἔξαρχοι τῆς ἐπαρχίας, the exarchs of a single province, which were only metropolitans. Thus Domnus, bishop of Antioch, is styled exarch of the eastern diocese,[4] by the councils of Antioch and Chalcedon. And in the subscriptions of the sixth general council at Constantinople, Theodore, bishop of Ephesus, subscribes himself both metropolitan of Ephesus,[5] and exarch of the Asiatic diocese. As also Philalethes, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, styles himself exarch of the Pontic diocese. Which shows, that as the exarch of a province is a metropolitan, so the exarch of a diocese is a patriarch in the ancient language of the church. And by this we understand the meaning of the ninth and seventeenth canons of the council of Chalcedon, which allow of appeals from the metropolitan to the exarch of the diocese.

Sect. 3. Salmasius's mistake about the first use of the name patriarch.

As to the name patriarch, there is some dispute among learned men, when first it began to be used as an appropriate title of any Christian bishops. Salmasius[6] and some others are of opinion, that the bishop of Alexandria had this title from the time of the emperor Hadrian, which was in the beginning of the second century. Their reason is, because that emperor, in an epistle mentioned by Vopiscus, speaks of a patriarch at Alexandria. But the patriarch there spoken of, was not any Christian, but a Jewish patriarch; as may appear from Hadrian's words, and the character which he gives of him.[7] For he says, he was one who was compelled to worship both Christ and Serapis: which agrees very well to the character of a Jewish patriarch, who neither acknowledged the heathen nor the Christian religion, and therefore needed as much compulsion to bring him to worship Christ, as Serapis; but it does not at all agree to the character of a Christian bishop, who, however he might need force to compel him to worship Serapis, yet must be supposed willing of his own accord to worship Christ. Besides, the patriarch which the emperor speaks of was one who came only occasionally into

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[110] Vales. Observ. in Socrat. lib. 3. c. 5.

[111] Siric. Ep. 4. c. 1. Ut extra conscientiam sedis apostolicæ, id est, primatis, nemo audeat ordinare.

[112] Alcuin. de Div. Offic. c. 36. Cum episcopus civitatis fuerit defunctus, eligitur alius a clero seu populo, fitque decretum ab illis, et veniunt ad apostolicum cum suo electo.

[1] Justin. Novel. 11. Volumus, ut non solum metropolitanus, sed etiam archiepiscopus fiat.

[2] Liberat. Breviar. c. 17.

[3] Con. Chalced. Act. 16. It. Act. 4. et can. 30.

[4] Con. Antioch. in Act. 14. Con. Chalced.

[5] Con. 6. Gen. Act. 18. Con. t. 6 p. 1077 et 1080.

[6] Salmas. de Primat. c. 4. p. 44. It. not. in Vopiscum.

[7] Hadrian. Epist. ap. Vopiscum Vit. Saturnin. Illi qui Serapin colunt, Christiani sunt: et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi episcopos dicunt. Nemo illic archisynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter, non mathematicus, non aruspex, non aliptes. Ille ipse patriarcha, quum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum.

Egypt out of another country; which cannot be said of the bishop of Alexandria, who had his fixed and continual residence there: but it suits exactly the state and condition of the Jewish patriarch, who resided at Tiberias in Palestine, and came but accidentally, or at some certain times, into Egypt. These, and the like reasons, make others conclude against Salmasius, that whoever is meant, it is not any Christian patriarch that is here spoken of. Baronius[8] fancies it was the heathen *pontifex*, or high priest of Egypt: but the same reasons will hold against his opinion as against the other; for the high priest of Egypt lived in Egypt, and needed no compulsion to worship Serapis, as this patriarch did: so that it must be the Jewish patriarch, and no other, which Hadrian speaks of, as Mr. Basnage and Bishop Pearson,[9] with some others, have observed.

Sect. 4. Of the Jewish patriarchs, their first rise, duration, and extinction.

These Jewish patriarchs, from whom, as is generally agreed, the Christian patriarchs borrowed their names, were a sort of governors among the Jews set up upon the destruction of Jerusalem; one of which had his residence at Tiberias, and another at Babylon, who were the heads of the Jews dispersed throughout the Roman and the Persian empire. Of these there is frequent mention made in the ancient writers of the church, Origen,[10] Epiphanius,[11] Cyril of Jerusalem,[12] Theodoret,[13] and many others. They continued in great power and dignity till the latter end of the fourth century, about which time their order ceased. For Theodoret says expressly, that long before his time their government was wholly abolished: and one of the laws of the younger Theodosius, anno 429,[14] speaks of them as then extinct.

Sect. 5. Of the patriarchs among the Montanists.

Much about the same time the Montanists, or Cataphrygian heretics, had an order of men among them, which they called patriarchs, and another which they called *cenones*, both which were superior to their bishops, and, as it should seem, distinct orders from them. For St. Jerom[15] charges it on them as a crime, that they thrust down the order of the bishops, who were the apostles' successors, and set up an order of patriarchs and an order of *cenones* among them: which makes some learned men[16] think, that when St. Jerom wrote that against the Montanists, the name patriarch was not as yet adopted into the church, though the power was under another name.

Sect. 6. The name patriarch first used by Socrates and the council of Chalcedon.

Indeed, the first time we meet with the name patriarch given to any bishop by any public authority of the church, is in the council of Chalcedon, which mentions[17] the most holy patriarchs of every diocese, and particularly Leo patriarch[18] of great Rome. Richerius, who has written accurately about the councils, can trace the name no higher.[19] Among private authors, the first that mentions patriarchs by name is Socrates,[20] who wrote his history about the year 440, eleven years before the council of Chalcedon. By what he says, it appears that during the interval between the general council of Constantinople, anno 381, and that of Chalcedon, the name patriarch began to be an appropriate title of some eminent bishops in the church. For speaking of the fathers at Constantinople, he says, They constituted patriarchs, dividing the provinces among them. Valesius[21] and Dr. Cave[22] think Socrates speaks not of true and proper patriarchs, but only of extraordinary legates, or *pro-tempore* commissioners, appointed by the council to judge who were fit to be received to catholic communion in the several dioceses that were allotted them. But all others understand him in the proper sense, because by this time patriarchal power was settled in all the dioceses of the Roman empire.

Sect. 7. Four different opinions concerning the first rise of patriarchal power.

But though the name of patriarchs came not into the church till about the time of Socrates, yet the power itself, as is agreed on all hands, was much earlier; though where precisely to fix the *epocha*, and date its rise, is not so easy to determine. Some carry it as high as the apostles, and derive it, as they do the pope's supremacy, from St. Peter. So Baronius,[23] who is followed by the most eminent writers of his own communion, De Marca, Valesius, Richerius, Pagius, and Schelstrate. Others

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[8] Baron. Annal. tom. 2. an. 112.

[9] Basnag. Exercit. Histor. p. 284. Pearson, Vindic. Ignat. par. 1. c. 11. p. 328. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. Verbo πατριάρχης. Cave, Anc. Chur. Gov. p. 153.

[10] Orig. περὶ ἀρχῶν, lib. 4. c. 1.

[11] Epiphan. Hær. 30.

[12] Cyr. Catech. 12. n. 7. [13] Theodor. Dial. 1.

[14] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 8. de Jud. lib. 29.

[15] Jerom. Ep. 54. ad Marcel. adv. Montan. t. 2. p. 128. Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent: apud eos episcopus tertius est. Habent enim primos de Pepuza hrygiæ patriarchas: secundos quos appellant cenones: atque ita in tertium, id est, pene ultimum locum, episcopi devolvuntur.

[16] Basnag. Exercit. Histor. p. 285. Hinc colligi possit, priscis temporibus nondum episcopis insignioribus affixum fuisse nomen patriarchæ.

[17] Con. Chalced. Act. 2. p. 338. ὁσιώτατοι πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἑκάστης.

[18] Act. 3. p. 395.

[19] Rich. Hist. Concil. tom. 1. c. 2. n. 11. Nomen patriarcharum primum quod sciam usurpatum in synodo Chalcedonensi.

[20] Socrat. H. E. lib. 5. c. 8.

[21] Vales. Annot. in Socrat.

[22] Anc. Ch. Gov. p. 147.

[23] Baron. Annal. t. 1. an. 39. n. 16. Pet. de Marca, de Concord. t. 1. lib. 1. c. 3. n. 5. Vales. Observ. Eccles. lib. 3. Richer. Hist. Concil. t. 1. c. 1. n. 14. Ant. Pag. Critic. an. 37. n. 9.

justly reject this, as founded upon no good authority, nor evidenced by any genuine records of the ancient church, but only the spurious epistles of the first popes; and reckon the first rise of patriarchs to have been after the apostolical age, and some time before the council of Nice. This is the opinion of Spalatensis[24] and Mr. Brerewood. The third opinion is that of Balzamon,[25] and other modern Greeks, that patriarchs were first instituted by the council of Nice: and this seems to be favoured by St. Jerom: for in his epistle to Pammachius, writing against the errors of John of Jerusalem, he says, it was decreed in the council of Nice,[26] that Cæsarea should be the metropolis of Palestine, and Antioch the metropolis of the whole East. Therefore the bishop of Jerusalem must either appeal to the bishop of Cæsarea, as his immediate metropolitan, or to the bishop of Antioch, as metropolitan of the East. But if I rightly understand St. Jerom, he does not mean (as some mistake him) that patriarchs were first set up by the council of Nice: for then metropolitans must be so too; since he says the same of them, which yet every one knows were in the church long before the council of Nice. His meaning then must be, that both metropolitans of provinces and metropolitans of dioceses were in being before the council of Nice, and only received confirmation, or a canonical establishment, from it. And indeed it is evident, that the Nicene fathers made no alteration in these matters, but only confirmed the ancient rights of the bishops of principal cities, as they found them authorized by custom before. For the words[27] they use are, Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, "Let ancient customs still take place; so as in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, the bishop of Alexandria shall have power over all; because such also is the custom of the bishop of Rome. And accordingly in Antioch, and in other provinces, let the privileges be preserved to the churches."

Here it is plain, that no new power is given to any bishops, but only what ancient custom and practice had assigned them. So that either patriarchs were set up by custom before the council of Nice,[28] and confirmed by the council, as St. Jerom thinks; or else not introduced till afterwards. This last opinion (notwithstanding what St. Jerom says) is embraced by the famous Mr. Launoy,[29] Mr. Basnage,[30] Dr. Beverege,[31] and Dr. Cave,[32] who think that patriarchal power was not confirmed by the Nicene canon, nor known in the church till about the time of the second general council of Constantinople, anno 381.

Sect. 8. The opinion of Spalatensis and St. Jerom preferred.

In a matter so obscure, and so variously controverted among learned men, it is not easy to determine where the right lies. Patriarchal power was not set up at one and the same time in all places. Alexandria and Antioch were as early as any, and the bishop of Alexandria before the council of Nice had all Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis under his jurisdiction, as appears from the Nicene canons. This was the *diœcesis Ægyptiaca*, which consisted of six large provinces, four in Egypt, viz. Thebais, Arcadia, Augustanica, and Ægyptus properly so called, Libya Inferior, and Libya Superior, which is Pentapolis. As all these were subject to the *præfectus Augustalis* of Egypt, so they were likewise under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Alexandria. So that he was not only a metropolitan of a single province, but of six provinces joined in one diocese. But now the question is, whether at this time he had any metropolitans under him? For if he had, then he was properly a patriarch at the time of the Nicene council. As to this, I can only say, that Epiphanius and Synesius do expressly mention archbishops and metropolitans under the archbishop of Alexandria, in the time of Athanasius, and Alexander his predecessor, who were both present in the council of Nice. But whether they mean metropolitans in the proper sense, or only coadjutors to the archbishop of Alexandria, I cannot yet determine. I will recite the passages, and leave the curious and the learned to make further inquiry. Synesius says, The great Athanasius seeing the church of Ptolemais had need of a bishop that was able to cherish and augment the small sparks of true religion, which was then in a dwindling condition there; and finding Siderius, bishop of Palæbisca, a man fit for great business; he commanded him to remove thence to Ptolemais,[33] to govern the metropolitical church there. And Epiphanius,[34] speaking of Meletius, the author of the Meletian schism before the council of Nice, says expressly, "He was an archbishop in Egypt, under Alexander, archbishop of Alexandria, to whom he gave the first information against Arius." This agrees with

[24] Spalat. de Repub. par. 1. l. 3. c. 12. n. 21. Brerewood of Patriar. Gov. q. 1.

[25] Balzam. in can. 6. Con. Nic.

[26] Hieron. Ep. 61. t. 2. p. 178. Ad Alexandrinum episcopum Palæstina quid pertinet? Ni fallor, hoc ibi decernitur, ut Palæstinæ metropolis Cæsarea sit, et totius Orientis Antiochia. Aut igitur ad Cæsariensem episcopum referre debueras;———Aut si procul expetendum judicium erat, Antiochiam potius literæ dirigendæ.

[27] Con. Nic. can. 6.

[28] So Du Pin, Bibliothec. vol. 2. p. 252 It. de Antiq. Eccl. Disciplin. Dissert. 1. sect. 11. p. 37.

[29] Launoy, de Rect. Interpr. Can. 6. Con. Nic.

[30] Basnag. Exercit. Histor. p. 307.

[31] Bevereg. Not. in Can. 2. Con. Constant.

[32] Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov. c. 2 et 4.

[33] Synes. Ep. 67. ad Theoph. p. 231. Πάμμεγαν Ἀθανάσιον,— τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὡς μείζοσι πράγμασιν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐκεῖ διαβῆναι κελεῦσαι, τὴν μητροπολῖτην ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροπεύσοντα.

[34] Epiphan. Hær. 69. n. 3. Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μελήτιος ὁ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὑπὸ δὲ χεῖρα Ἀλεξάνδρου.

what he says of him in another place,[35] "That he was chief of the Egyptian bishops, and next in order to Peter in the archbishopric, being his assistant, and administering ecclesiastical affairs under him. For there the custom is, for the archbishop of Alexandria to have the ordering of ecclesiastical matters throughout all Egypt, Thebais, Mareotes, Libya, Ammoniaca, Mareotis, and Pentapolis." So that as the bishop of Alexandria had six provinces under him, he seems also to have had subordinate metropolitans or archbishops under him likewise, as the archbishop of Lycopolis in Thebais, the metropolitan of Ptolemais in Pentapolis. And if these were properly metropolitans, he must be a patriarch, under the name of metropolitan of the whole Egyptian diocese, as they were metropolitans of their respective provinces: which is the thing that St. Jerom asserts in reference to Cæsarea and Antioch, that the one was the metropolis of Palestine, and the other the metropolis of the Oriental diocese; and this from ancient custom, ratified and confirmed by the council of Nice.

Sect. 9. Patriarchal power established in three general councils successively, viz. Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

But however this be, (for I determine nothing positively in this matter,) the next age affords us very pregnant proofs of the establishment and growth of patriarchal power. The general council of Constantinople,[36] anno 381, has a canon to fix the limits of the several dioceses: so that the bishop of Alexandria should only administer the affairs of the Egyptian diocese: the bishops of the East, the Eastern diocese, reserving the privileges granted by the council of Nice to the church of Antioch: the bishops of the Asiatic diocese, the Asiatic churches only: those of the Pontic diocese, the Pontic churches: and those of the Thracian diocese, the Thracian churches only.

Theodoret,[37] speaking of this council, says, they divided the dioceses, and assigned every diocese its proper limits and jurisdiction. And Socrates,[38] more expressly, "that they constituted patriarchs, and distributed the provinces, so that no bishops should meddle with the affairs of another diocese, as was used to be done in times of persecution. Nectarius was allotted Constantinople and Thrace; Helladius, St. Basil's successor, the Pontic diocese," &c.

About fifty years after this, anno 431, the third general council was held at Ephesus, where we find the bishop of Antioch laying claim to the power of ordinations in the province of Cyprus: but this proving to be an unjust claim, the council made a decree in favour of the Cyprian bishops, exempting them from the jurisdiction of Antioch, because by ancient custom they always were exempt: and it is added,[39] "that the same rule should be observed in all dioceses and provinces, that no bishop should seize upon any province, which did not anciently belong to his jurisdiction." This plainly implies, that the bishop of Antioch had then several provinces, or a whole diocese, under his power; which was confirmed to him by the council, and he was only denied jurisdiction over the province of Cyprus, because of ancient right it did not belong to him.

About eighteen years after this, Theodosius, junior, and Valentinian, called the second council of Ephesus, anno 449. And in the letter of summons to Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, they give him orders to bring ten metropolitans[40] of his diocese with him. This is noted by Liberatus in his Breviary, and the letter is still extant in the council of Chalcedon,[41] by which it appears, that at this time the archbishop of Alexandria had a great number of metropolitans within the Egyptian diocese, under his jurisdiction. So that though there be some dispute concerning the first rise and original of patriarchal power, yet there remains no manner of doubt, but that it was come to its full height and establishment in the time of the general councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

Sect. 10. The power of patriarchs not exactly the same in all churches. The patriarch of Constantinople had some peculiar privileges.

Therefore the next inquiry is into the rights and privileges of these patriarchs. And here it is to be nicely observed, that the power of patriarchs was not one and the same precisely in all churches, but differed according to the different customs of places and countries, or according as it was the pleasure of kings and councils to bestow greater privileges on them. The patriarch of Constantinople, when he was first advanced by the second general council, had only the single diocese of Thrace assigned him[42] for the exercise of his jurisdiction; but in the next age he was grown to be a sort of patriarch over the patriarchs of Ephesus and Cæsarea in the Asiatic and Pontic dioceses, by the voluntary consent of those two exarchs (no doubt) at first, paying a deference to the exarch of the royal city, which, advancing into a custom, was afterwards confirmed by canon in the council of Chalcedon. In the sixteenth session of that council, there is a long debate about this matter, the pope's legates warmly stickling against it; but all the metropolitans of the two dioceses of Asia

[35] Hær. 68. Meletian. n. 1. Ὁ Μελήτιος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προήκων, καὶ δευτερεύων τῷ Πέτρῳ, κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν, ὡς δι' ἀντιλήψεως αὐτοῦ χάριν, &c.

[36] Con. C. Pol. can. 2.

[37] Theod. Ep. 86. ad Flav. t. 3. p 963.

[38] Socrat. H. E. lib. 5. c. 8. πατριάρχας καθέστησαν, &c.

[39] Con. Ephes. 1. Act. 7. Decret. de Episc. Cypr.

[40] Liberat. Breviar. c. 12. Imperator dirigens sacram Dioscoro in Alexandriam, præcepit, ut cum decem metropolitanis episcopis, quos voluisset, ipse eligeret, et veniret Ephesum.

[41] Con. Chalced. Act. 1. C. t. 4. p. 100.

[42] Con. Const. 1. can. 2.

and Pontus then in council, together with Thalassius, bishop of Cæsarea, and exarch of the Pontic diocese, with one voice declaring, that the bishop of Constantinople had, by long custom and prescription, enjoyed the privilege of ordaining metropolitans in those two dioceses, as well as that of Thrace; it was decreed, that this privilege should be continued to him, notwithstanding the bishop of Rome's intercession against it.[43] Also by two canons of that council he is allowed to receive appeals[44] from the exarchs of those dioceses, because his throne was in the royal city. And in such parts of those dioceses, as were chiefly in the hands of barbarians, he is authorized by another canon[45] to ordain all the bishops, which in other parts was the sole privilege of the metropolitans. Theodoret[46] observes even of Chrysostom himself, before the council of Chalcedon, that he exercised this power over all the three dioceses. For he says, "His care extended not only over Constantinople and Thrace, which consisted of six provinces, but over Asia and Pontus, each of which had eleven civil prætors in them." We are not therefore to take an estimate of patriarchal power from the growing greatness of Constantinople, but to distinguish the peculiar privileges of some patriarchs above others, which is the only way to understand the power of each.

Sect. 11. The patriarch of Alexandria had also privileges peculiar to himself.

For the patriarch of Alexandria had also some prerogatives, which no other patriarch besides himself enjoyed. Such was the right of consecrating and approving every single bishop throughout all the provinces of his diocese. This privilege was not allowed even to the patriarch of Constantinople; for the council of Chalcedon, in the very same place where they give him power to consecrate the metropolitans of three whole dioceses, deny him the privilege of consecrating the suffragan bishops of those metropolitans; and reserve it as an ancient right of each metropolitan, with a synod of his provincial bishops, to consecrate all the bishops within his province, the archbishops of Constantinople neither being consulted, nor having[47] any hand in those ordinations. But it was otherwise at Alexandria. For the bishop of Alexandria, whilst he was only a metropolitan, had the ordination of all the bishops of the six provinces of the Egyptian diocese, being the sole and only metropolitan in all those provinces: and having but the same diocese when he came to be a patriarch, he continued his ancient custom of ordaining all the bishops throughout the six provinces, notwithstanding that new metropolitans were set up in them. And in this the patriarch of Alexandria differed from all others: for in all other dioceses the metropolitans had the right of ordaining their suffragan bishops, which here the patriarch retained to himself, as an ancient branch of his metropolitical power. I know indeed a very learned[48] person is of a different opinion: he says, "The bishop of Alexandria was rather a loser by being made a patriarch: for now, according to the constitution of church policy, the ordination of suffragan bishops, which before belonged entirely to him, was devolved upon the several metropolitans under him." But this assertion proceeds upon a supposition, that patriarchal rights were exactly the same in all places; which, from the instance I have given of Constantinople, appears to be otherwise; for the patriarchs of Ephesus and Cæsarea had not the ordination of their own metropolitans, but they were all subject to the bishop of Constantinople. And as to the case of Alexandria, it appears from Synesius, who was himself metropolitan of Ptolemais, that the ordination not only of the metropolitans, but of all the suffragan bishops throughout the whole district of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, belonged still to the patriarch of Alexandria. For in a letter to Theophilus, acquainting him how he and two other bishops had met at Olbiæ to make choice of a bishop, and that one Antonius was unanimously chosen by the people; he adds,[49] that yet there was one thing wanting, which was more necessary than all, viz. his sacred hand to consecrate him. Which shows, that the bishop of Alexandria still retained his ancient right of consecrating all the bishops of the Egyptian diocese.

Sect. 12. The 1st privilege of patriarchs was, to ordain all the metropolitans of the diocese, and receive his own ordination from a diocesan synod.

In other dioceses, the patriarch's power was chiefly seen in the ordination or confirmation of all the metropolitans that were under him. This appears from the forecited canons[50] of the council of Chalcedon, and several of Justinian's Novels; one of which[51] takes notice of the bishop of Constantinople's ordaining all the metropolitans under him; and another gives the same power to the patriarch of Justiniana Prima,[52] then newly advanced to patriarchal dignity by Justinian, because it was the place of his nativity.

[43] Con. Chalced. can. 28. et Act. 16. per tot.

[44] Ibid. can. 9 et 17. [45] Con. Chal. can. 28.

[46] Theod. Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 28.

[47] Con. Chalced. Act. 16. in fin. Etiam nihil communicante in illorum ordinationibus archiepiscopo regiæ Constantinopolis.

[48] Dr. Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov. c. 4. p. 159.

[49] Synes. Ep. 76. ad Theoph. ἑνὸς ἔτι δεῖ, τοῦ κυριωτάτου μέν τοι, τῆς ἱερᾶς σου χειρός.

[50] Con. Chalc. can. 28. et Act. 16.

[51] Justin. Novel. 7. c. 1.

[52] Justin. Nov. 131. c. 3. Per tempus beatissimum Justinianæ Primæ patriæ nostræ archiepiscopum habere semper sub sua jurisdictione episcopos provinciarum Daciæ Mediterraneæ, et Daciæ Ripensis, et Privalis, (al. Triballiæ,) et Dardaniæ, et Mysiæ superioris, et Pannoniæ: et ab eo hos ordinari, ipsum vero a proprio ordinari concilio.

And that this was a peculiar privilege of patriarchs, appears further from one of the Arabic canons published by Turrian, under the name of the Nicene Canons, which were invented after the name of patriarchs was well known in the church. The 36th of these canons, speaking of the catholic of Ethiopia,[53] who was no patriarch, but subject to the patriarch of Alexandria, says, He shall not have power to ordain archbishops, as patriarchs have; because he hath not the power or honour of a patriarch.

It was therefore the prerogative of patriarchs (those of Ephesus and Cæsarea only excepted) to ordain the metropolitans under them: but they themselves were to be ordained by a diocesan synod, as Justinian's forecited Novel[54] informs us. And this was called the canonical ordination of a patriarch. For so the council of Constantinople, in their synodical epistle to the western bishops, prove the ordination of Flavian, bishop of Antioch, (who presided over all the Eastern diocese,[55] as Theodoret says,) to be canonical, because he was ordained not only by the bishops of the province, but τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως, the bishops of the whole Eastern diocese[56] synodically met together.

Sect. 13. A 2nd privilege was, to call diocesan synods, and preside in them.

2. The next privilege of patriarchs was, the power of convening their metropolitans and all the provincial bishops to a diocesan synod; which privilege was founded upon the same canons that granted metropolitans authority to summon provincial synods, and preside in them. For by just analogy, the patriarch was to have the same power over the metropolitans, that they had over their provincial bishops. And therefore Theodoret,[57] speaking of his own attendance at the synods of his patriarch at Antioch, says, he did it in obedience to the ecclesiastical canons, which make him a criminal that is summoned to a synod, and refuses to pay his attendance at it.

Sect. 14. A 3rd privilege, to receive appeals from metropolitans and provincial synods.

3. Another privilege of patriarchs was, the power of receiving appeals from metropolitans and provincial synods, and reversing their decrees, if they were found faulty. If any bishop or clergyman have a controversy with the metropolitan of his province, let him have recourse to the exarch of the diocese, says the council of Chalcedon,[58] in one canon: and in another,[59] If any man is injured by his own bishop, or metropolitan, let him bring his cause before the exarch of the diocese, or the throne of Constantinople. These canons are adopted into the civil law, and confirmed by imperial edicts. For by one of Justinian's constitutions,[60] the patriarch is to receive appeals from a provincial synod, and give a final determination to all causes that are regularly brought before him: and the regular way of proceeding is there specified, which is, that no man shall bring his cause first before the patriarch, but first before his own bishop, then before the metropolitan, after that before a provincial synod, and last of all before the patriarch, from whose judgment there lay no appeal. The same is repeated and confirmed by other laws[61] of that emperor, which need not here be recited.

Sect. 15. A 4th privilege, to censure metropolitans, and also their suffragans, when metropolitans were remiss in censuring them.

4. As patriarchs might receive appeals from metropolitans, so they had power to inquire into their administration, and correct and censure them, in case of heresy, or misdemeanor, or any mal-administration, which made them liable by the canons to ecclesiastical censure. Justinian made an express law to this purpose,[62] That if any clergyman was accused in point of faith, or morals, or transgression of the sacred canons; if he was a bishop, he should be examined before his metropolitan; but if he was a metropolitan, then before the archbishop, that is, the patriarch to whom he was subject. By virtue of this power Chrysostom deposed Gerontius,[63] metropolitan of Nicomedia: and Atticus decided a controversy between Theodosius and Agapetus,[64] who contended about the throne of Synada, the metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana: and it were easy to add many other instances of the like nature out of the ancient councils, which concurred with the patriarchs in the exercise of this power.

Nor did this power extend only over metropolitans, but over their suffragan bishops also. For though every provincial bishop was to be tried by his own metropolitan and a provincial synod, yet in case they were negligent and remiss in executing the canons against delinquents, the patriarch had power to take the matter into his own cognizance, and censure any bishop within the limits of his jurisdiction. Thus Sozomen[65] observes of Chrysostom, that at one visitation at Ephesus he deposed thirteen bishops of Asia, Lycia, and Phrygia, for simony, and such other corrupt practices. This

[53] Con. Nicen. Arab. c. 36. Non tamen jus habeat constituendi archiepiscopos, ut habet patriarcha; siquidem non habet patriarchæ honorem et potestatem.

[54] Novel. 131. Ipsum vero (patriarcham) a proprio ordinari concilio.

[55] Theod. H. E. lib. 5. c. 23.

[56] Con. Constant. Ep. ad Occident. ap. Theod. H. E. lib. 5. c. 9.

[57] Theod. Ep. 81.

[58] Con. Chalced. can. 9.

[59] Ibid. can. 17.

[60] Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 4. c. 29.

[61] Just. Novel. 123. c. 22. Phot. Nomocan. tit. 9. c. 1.

[62] Novel. 37. c. 5. Quoties quidam sacerdotum accusabuntur vel de fide, aut turpi vita, aut ob aliquid aliud contra sacros canones admissum; si quidem episcopus est is qui accusatus est, ejus metropolitanus examinet ea quæ dicta sunt: si vero metropolitanus sit, ejus beatissimus archiepiscopus sub quo degit.

[63] Sozom. H. E. lib. 8. c. 6.

[64] Socrat. H. E. lib. 7. c. 3.

[65] Sozom. H. E. lib. 8. c. 6

was done in a synod of seventy bishops held at Ephesus, anno 401, as Valesius[66] and Du Pin observe out of Palladius, who mentions the same thing, though he speaks but of six bishops then deposed.

Sect. 16. A 5th privilege. Patriarchs might make metropolitans their commissioners, &c.

5. The patriarch had power to delegate or send a metropolitan into any part of his diocese, as his commissioner, to hear and determine ecclesiastical causes in his name. At least it was so in the diocese of Egypt, where Synesius was bishop. For in one of his epistles,[67] writing to Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, he tells him what a difficult task he had put upon him, when he sent him through an enemy's country, to Hydrax and Palæbisca, two villages in the confines of Libya, to determine a dispute that was risen there about erecting those places into bishops' sees: But, says he, there lies a necessity upon me, νόμον ἡγεῖσθαι, to take every thing for a law that is enjoined me by the throne of Alexandria.

Sect. 17. A 6th privilege. The patriarch to be consulted by his metropolitans in matters of any great moment.

6. And as the metropolitans did every thing that was canonically enjoined them by the patriarch, so they did nothing of any great moment without him; paying the same deference to him, that the canons obliged their suffragans to pay to them. This at least was the custom of Egypt, as appears from a noted passage related in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon,[68] where we find, that when Pope Leo's epistle against Eutyches was subscribed by all the bishops in council, the Egyptian bishops then present refused to do it, because they had then no patriarch, and it was not lawful for them to do it without the consent of a patriarch, by the rule of the council of Nice, which orders all the bishops of the Egyptian diocese to follow the archbishop of Alexandria, and do nothing without him. This they pleaded in council, and their plea was accepted, and a decree[69] passed in their favour upon it, That since this was the custom of the Egyptian diocese, to do nothing of this nature without the consent and authority of their archbishop, they should not be compelled to subscribe till a new archbishop was chosen.

Sect. 18. 7. Patriarchs to communicate to the metropolitans such imperial laws as concerned the church, &c.

7. It was the patriarch's office to publish both ecclesiastical and civil laws, which concerned the church, and to take care for the dispersion and publication of them in all churches of their diocese. The method is prescribed by Justinian in the Epilogue to the sixth Novel: "The patriarchs of every diocese shall publish these our laws in their respective churches, and notify them to the metropolitans under them. The metropolitans likewise shall publish them in their metropolitical churches, and make them known to the bishops under them; that so they may publish them in their respective churches, and no one be left ignorant in our whole empire of what we have enacted for the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." See also Novel 42, directed to Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, concluding in the same tenor.

Sect. 19. The 8th privilege. Great criminals reserved to the patriarch's absolution.

8. Synesius observes another privilege in the diocese of Alexandria, which was, that in the exercise of discipline upon great criminals and scandalous offenders, a peculiar deference was paid to the patriarch, by reserving their absolution to his wisdom and discretion. As he gives an instance in one Lamponianus a presbyter, whom he had excommunicated for abusing Jason his fellow presbyter. "Though," says he,[70] "he expressed his repentance with tears, and the people interceded for him, yet I refused to absolve him, but remitted him over for that to the sacred see: only assuming this to myself, that if the man should happen to be in manifest danger of death, any presbyter that was present should receive him into communion by my order. For no man shall go excommunicate out of the world by me. But in case he recovered, he should still be liable to the former penalty, and expect the ratification of his pardon from your divine and courteous soul." But whether this respect was paid by all metropolitans to their patriarch in every diocese, I have not yet observed.

Sect. 20. The greater patriarchs absolute and independent of one another.

9. The last privilege of patriarchs was, that they were originally all coordinate and independent of one another. I speak now of them as they were at their first institution: for after ages, and councils, and emperors, made great alteration in this matter. At first learned men[71] reckon there were about thirteen or fourteen patriarchs in the church, that is, one in every capital city of each diocese of the Roman empire; the patriarch of Alexandria over the Egyptian diocese, the patriarch of Antioch over the Eastern diocese, the patriarch of Ephesus over the Asiatic diocese, the patriarch of Cæsarea in Cappadocia over the Pontic diocese; Thessalonica in Macedon or Illyricum Orientale, Sirmium in Illyricum Occidentale, Rome in the Roman præfecture, Milan in the Italian diocese, Carthage in Africa, Lyons in France, Toledo in Spain, and York in the diocese of Britain. The greatest part of these, if not all, were real patriarchs, and independent of one another, till Rome by encroachment, and Constantinople by law, got them-

[66] Vales. Not. in loc. Du Pin, Biblioth. vol. 3. Vit. Chrys.
[67] Synes. Ep. 67. p. 208.
[68] Conc. Chalced. Act. 4. p. 512, 513.
[69] Conc. Chalced. can. 30. ex Act. 4.
[70] Synes. Ep. 67. p. 215.
[71] Brerewood, Patriarch. Gov. qu. 1.

selves made superior to some of their neighbours, who became subordinate and subject unto them. The ancient liberties of the Britannic churches, as also the African and Italian diocese, and their long contests with Rome, before they could be brought to yield obedience to her, are largely set forth by several of our learned writers[72] in particular discourses on this subject. I only here note, that the Eastern patriarchs, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Constantinople, were never subject to Rome, but maintained the ancient liberty which the canons gave them. For though Cæsarea and Ephesus were made subordinate to the patriarch of Constantinople, and any one might appeal from them to him: yet the appeal was to be carried no further,[73] unless it were to a general council. Which shows the independency of the greater patriarchs one of another.

Sect. 21. [illegible]

The patriarch of Constantinople had also the honourable title of œcumenical, or universal patriarch, given him; probably in regard of the great extent of his jurisdiction. Thus Justinian styles Menas, Epiphanius, and Anthemius, archbishops and œcumenical patriarchs, in several of his rescripts;[74] and Leo gives the same title to Stephen, archbishop and universal patriarch, in ten laws[75] one after another. So that it was no such new thing as Pope Gregory made it, for the patriarch of Constantinople to be styled œcumenical bishop: for that title was given him by law many years before, even from the time of Justinian; and it is a vulgar error in history to date the original of that title from the time of Gregory I. which was in use at least a whole century before. But Justinian in another rescript goes a little further, and[76] says expressly, that Constantinople was the head of all churches. Which is as much as ever any council allowed to Rome, that is, a supremacy in its own diocese, and a precedency of honour in regard that it was the capital city of the empire. Equal privileges are granted to Constantinople upon the same ground, because it was New Rome, and the royal seat, as the councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon,[77] with some others, word it. So that they had privileges of honour, and privileges of power; the first of which were peculiar to those two sees; the other, in a great measure common to them and all other patriarchal churches, except those of Ephesus and Cæsarea, which, as I have often observed, were legally made subordinate to that of Constantinople.

Sect. 22. Of subordinate patriarchs, what figure they made in the church, and that they were not mere titular patriarchs.

Some here may be desirous to know, what authority those patriarchs had in the church after their subordination to the other. There are who tell us that they were sunk down to the condition of metropolitans again by the council of Chalcedon: but that is a mistake: for, first, They retained the name of exarchs of the diocese still, and so subscribed themselves in all councils. As in the sixth general council, Theodoret subscribes himself metropolitan of Ephesus and exarch of the Asiatic diocese;[78] and Philalethes, metropolitan of Cæsarea and exarch of the Pontic diocese. Secondly, They always sat and voted in general councils next immediately after the five great patriarchs, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, who by the canons[79] had precedence of all the rest. Next to these, before all the metropolitans, the bishops of Ephesus and Cæsarea took place, as may be seen in the subscriptions of the fourth and sixth general councils.[80] Thirdly, They had power to receive appeals from metropolitans, which is evident from the same canons of Chalcedon, which give[81] the patriarch of Constantinople power to take appeals from them. So that they were not mere titular patriarchs, as some in after ages, but had the power as well as the name; the right of ordaining metropolitans and receiving ultimate appeals only excepted. But how long they or any others retained their power, is not my business here any further to inquire.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE 'ΑΥΤΟΚΕΦΑΛΟΙ.

Sect. 1. All metropolitans anciently styled αὐτοκέφαλοι.

Among other titles which were anciently given to some certain bishops, we frequently meet with the name αὐτοκέφαλοι, absolute and independent bishops; which was not the name of any one sort of bishops, but given to several upon different reasons. For first, before the setting up of patriarchs, all metropolitans were αὐτοκέφαλοι, ordering the affairs of their own province with their provincial bishops, and being accountable to no superior but a synod, and that in case of heresy, or some great crime committed against religion and the rules of the church.

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[72] Brerewood, Patr. Gov. qu. 2 et 3. Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov. c. 5.

[73] See the authorities cited before, sect. 14.

[74] See Justin. Novel. 7. 16. 42.

[75] Leo, Imp. Constit. Novel. 2, 3, &c.

[76] Just. Cod. l b. 1. tit. 2. c. 24. Constantinopolitana ecclesia omnium aliarum est caput.

[77] Con. Const. can. 3. Con. Chalced. can. 28. Con. Trull. can. 36. Justin. Novel. 131. c. 2.

[78] Con. 6. Gen. Act. 18.

[79] See Conc. Trull. can. 36. et Justin. Novel. 131. c. 2.

[80] Con. Chalced. Act. 1 et 3. Con. 6. Gen. Act. 18.

[81] Con. Chalc. can. 9 et 17.

Sect. 2. Some metropolitans independent after the setting up of patriarchal power, as those of Cyprus, Iberia, Armenia, and the church of Britain.

And even after the advancement of patriarchs, several metropolitans continued thus independent; receiving their ordination from their own provincial synod, and not from any patriarch; terminating all controversies in their own synods, from which there was no appeal to any superior, except a general council. Balsamon reckons among this sort of αὐτοκέφαλοι the metropolitans of Bulgaria,[1] Cyprus, and Iberia. And his observation is certainly true of the two last, who were only metropolitans, yet independent of any patriarchal or superior power. For though the bishop of Antioch laid claim to the ordination of the Cyprian bishops in the council of Ephesus, yet the council, upon hearing the case, determined against him, making a decree,[2] That whereas it never had been the custom for the bishop of Antioch to ordain bishops in Cyprus, the Cyprian bishops should retain their rights inviolable, and according to canon and ancient custom ordain bishops among themselves. And this was again repeated and confirmed by the council of Trullo,[3] even after the Cypriots were driven into another country by the incursions of the barbarians.

Others[4] observe the same privilege in the Iberian churches, now commonly called Georgians; that they never were subject either to the patriarch of Constantinople, or any other; but all their bishops, being eighteen in number, profess absolute obedience to their own metropolitan, without any other higher dependence or relation.

And this was the case of the Armenian churches in the time of Photius, as appears from an ancient Greek *notitia episcopatuum*, cited by Peter de Marca,[5] which says it was an αὐτοκέφαλος, and not subject to the throne of Constantinople, but honoured with independence in respect to St. Gregory of Armenia, their first apostle.

And this was also the ancient liberty of the Britannic church, before the coming of Austin the monk, when the seven British bishops, which were all that were then remaining, paid obedience to the archbishop of Caer-Leon, and acknowledged no superior in spirituals above him. As Dinothus, the learned abbot of Bangor, told Austin[6] in the name of all the Britannic churches, that they owed no other obedience to the pope of Rome, than they did to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity: other obedience than this they knew none due to him whom he named pope, &c. But they were under the government of the bishop of Caer-Leon upon Uske, who was their overseer under God.

Sect. 3. A third sort of αὐτοκέφαλοι, such bishops as were subject to no metropolitan, but only to the patriarch of the diocese.

Besides all these, there was yet a third sort of αὐτοκέφαλοι, which were such bishops as were subject to no metropolitan, but immediately under the patriarch of the diocese, who was to them instead of a metropolitan. Thus for instance, in the patriarchate or large diocese of Constantinople, the ancient *Notitia*, published by Leunclavius,[7] reckons thirty-nine such bishops throughout the several provinces: that published by Dr. Beverege[8] counts them forty-one, and the *Notitia* in Carolus à Sancto Paulo[9] augments the number to forty-six. The bishop of Jerusalem is said[10] to have had twenty-five such bishoprics in his patriarchate, and the bishop of Antioch sixteen, as Nilus Doxopatrius, a writer of the eleventh century, in his book of the patriarchal sees, informs us. But what time this sort of independent bishoprics were first set up in the church, is not certain: for the earliest account we have of them is in the *Notitia* of the emperor Leo Sapiens, written in the ninth century, where they are called archbishoprics, as in some other *Notitia's* they are called metropolitical sees; though both these names were but titular, for they had no suffragan bishops under them.

Sect. 4. A fourth sort of αὐτοκέφαλοι.

Valesius mentions another sort of αὐτοκέφαλοι, which were such bishops as were wholly independent of all others: as they had no suffragans under them, so neither did they acknowledge any superior above them, whether metropolitan, or patriarch, or any other whatsoever. Of this sort he reckons the bishops of Jerusalem[11] before they were advanced to patriarchal dignity: but in this instance he plainly mistakes, and contradicts St. Jerom, who says expressly, that the bishop of Jerusalem was subject to the bishop of Cæsarea, as the metropolitan of all Palestine, and to the bishop of Antioch, as metropolitan of the whole East, as has been noted in the last chapter. If there were any such bishops as he speaks of, they must be such as the bishop of Tomis in Scythia, who, as Sozomen[12] notes, was the only bishop of all the cities of that province: so that he could neither have any suffragans under him, nor metropolitan above him. But such instances are very rare, and we scarce meet with such another example in all the history of the church. I have now completed the account of primitive bishops, and showed the distinctions which were

[1] Balsam. in Con. Constan. l. can. 2.
[2] Con. Ephes. Act. 7. Decret. de Cypr. Epis.
[3] Con. Trull. can. 39.
[4] Brerewood, Enquir. c. 18. Chytræus de Statu Eccles. &c.
[5] Marca, de Primat. n. 27. p. 122.
[6] Spelman. Con. Brit. an. 601. t. 1. p. 108.
[7] Leunclav. Jus. Gr. Rom. t. 1. lib. 2. p. 88.
[8] Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. Not. in can. 36. Concil. Trull.
[9] Car. a S. Paulo, Append. ad Geogr. Sacr. p. 10.
[10] Nilus Doxopatr. ap. le Moyne Varia Sacra, t. 1.
[11] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 5. c. 23. See chap. 17. sect. 7
[12] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 21. lib. 7. c. 19.

among them in the external polity of the church: I proceed in the next place therefore to consider the second order of the clergy, which is that of presbyters.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF PRESBYTERS.

Sect. 1. The meaning of the name presbyter.

THE name, πρεσβύτεροι, presbyters or elders, is a word borrowed from the Greek translation of the Old Testament, where it commonly signifies rulers and governors, being (as St. Jerom[1] notes) a name of office and dignity, and not a mere indication of men's age: for elders were chosen, not by their age, but by their merits and wisdom. So that, as a senator among the Romans, and an alderman in our own language, signifies a person of such an order and station, without any regard to his age; in like manner, a presbyter or elder in the Christian church, is one who is ordained to a certain office, and authorized by his quality, not by his age, to discharge the several duties of that office and station wherein he is placed.

Sect. 2. Apostles and bishops sometimes called presbyters.

And in this large, extensive sense, it is readily granted by all, that bishops are sometimes called presbyters in the New Testament; for the apostles themselves do not refuse the title. On the other hand, it is the opinion of many learned men, both ancient[2] and modern,[3] that presbyters were sometimes called bishops, whilst the bishops that were properly such were distinguished by other titles, as that of chief priests and apostles, &c., of which I have given a particular account in one of the preceding chapters, and there evinced that they who maintained this identity of names, did not thence infer an identity of offices, but always esteemed bishops and presbyters to be distinct orders.

Sect. 3. The original of presbyters properly so called.

Here then, taking presbyters in the strictest sense, for those only of the second order, we must first inquire into their original. The learned Dr. Hammond[4] advances an opinion about this matter, which is something singular: he asserts, that in Scripture times the name of presbyters belonged principally, if not alone, to bishops; and that there is no evidence, that any of this second order were then instituted, though soon after, he thinks, before the writing of Ignatius's Epistles, there were such instituted in all churches. The authorities he builds upon are Clemens Romanus and Epiphanius, who say, that in some churches at first there were bishops and deacons, without any presbyters. But I conceive it will not hence follow, that it was so in all churches: nor does Epiphanius maintain that, but the contrary, that as in some churches[5] there were only bishops and deacons, so in others there were only presbyters and deacons; and that in large and populous churches the apostles settled both bishops, presbyters, and deacons; as at Ephesus, where Timothy was bishop, and had presbyters subject to him; which Epiphanius proves from Scripture: That a bishop and presbyter, says he, are not the same, the apostle informs us, when writing to Timothy, who was a bishop, he bids him not rebuke an elder, but entreat him as a father. How comes the bishop to be concerned not to rebuke an elder, if he had no power over an elder? In like manner the apostle says, Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses: but he never said to any presbyter, Receive not an accusation against a bishop; nor did he ever write to any presbyter, not to rebuke a bishop. This plainly implies, that in all such large and populous churches as that of Ephesus, according to Epiphanius, all the three orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons were settled by the apostles; though the smaller churches were differently supplied at first, some only with presbyters and deacons, before bishops were constituted in them, and others only with bishops and deacons without any presbyters. For all churches had not immediately all the same church officers upon their first foundation, but time was required to complete their constitution, as Bishop Pearson[6] has observed on this very passage of Epiphanius.

Sect. 4. The power and privileges of presbyters.

Admitting then that presbyters, as well as bishops, were originally settled in the church by the apostles, we are next to inquire into the power and privileges that were proper to their order. And here I shall have occasion to say the less, having already showed[7] what offices they might perform by virtue of their ordinary power, only acting in dependence on and subordination to their bishop, as the supreme minister of the church: they might baptize, preach, con-

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[1] Hieron. in Esai. iii. t. 5. p. 16. in Scripturis Sanctis presbyteros merito et sapientia eligi, non ætate.

[2] Chrysost. Hom. 1. in Phil. i. It. Hom. 11. in 1 Tim. iii. Theodoret, Com. in Phil. i. 1. It. in Phil. ii. 25. et in 1 Tim. iii. 1. Ambrosiaster, in Eph. iv. 11. Hieron. Com. in Tit. i. Ep. 83. ad Ocean. et 85. ad Evagr.

[3] Usser. Dissert. in Ignat. c. 18. p. 232. It. Orig. of Bish. et Metrop. p. 55. Cotcler. Not. in Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. 1.

[4] Ham. Annot. on Acts xi. 30.

[5] Epiph. Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 5.

[6] Pearson, Vind. Ignat. par. 2. c. 13. p. 412. In aliquibus ecclesiis ab origine fuisse presbyteros, nondum constitutis episcopis; in aliquibus episcopos, nondum constitutis presbyteris.

[7] See before, chap. 3.

secrate and administer the eucharist, &c. in the bishop's absence, or in his presence, if he authorized and deputed them, as has been noted before: they might also reconcile penitents, and grant them absolution in the bishop's absence: and some think they had power likewise to confirm in cases of necessity by special licence and delegation. But these two things will be considered and discussed more particularly hereafter, when we come to treat of discipline and confirmation. What is further to be noted in this place, is the honour and respect that was paid to them, acting in conjunction with their bishop, who scarce did any thing in the administration and government of the church, without the advice, consent, and amicable concurrence of his presbyters.

Sect. 5. Presbyters allowed to sit with the bishop on thrones in the church.

Hence it was that presbyters were allowed to sit together with the bishop in the church (which privilege was never allowed to deacons): and their seats were dignified with the name of thrones, as the bishop's was, only with this difference, that his was the high throne, and theirs the second thrones. In allusion to this, Gregory Nazianzen,[8] speaking of his own ordination to the degree of presbyter, says, his father who ordained him, brought him by violence to the second thrones. And in his vision concerning the church of Anastasia,[9] he thus represents the several orders of the church: Methought I saw myself (the bishop) sitting on the high throne, and the presbyters, that is, the guides of the Christian flock, sitting on both sides by me on lower thrones, and the deacons standing by them. By this we may understand what Constantine meant in his letter to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse,[10] when giving him a summons to the council of Arles, he bids him also bring with him two of the second throne, that is, two presbyters. And what Eusebius means by those words in his panegyric[11] upon the temple of Paulinus, where he says, he beautified and adorned the structure with thrones set up on high for the honour of the presidents or rulers. By which it is plain he means the thrones of the presbyters, as well as the bishop: for they were both exalted above the seats of the common people. Nay, both the name and thing was then so usual, that Aerius drew it into an argument,[12] to prove the identity and parity of bishops and presbyters: a bishop sits upon a throne, and so does a presbyter likewise. Which though it be but a very lame and foolish argument to prove what he intended, yet it is a plain intimation of what has here been noted to have been the then known custom and practice of the church. And little regard is to be had to those modern authors, who pretend to say, that presbyters had not power to sit in the presence of their bishops; which is confuted by the acts and canons[13] almost of every council, and the writings of every ancient author, in which nothing more commonly occurs than the phrases, *consessus presbyterorum*, and *sedere in presbyterio*, importing the custom and privilege whereof we are now speaking.

Sect. 6. The form of their sitting in a semicircle: whence they were called *corona presbyterii.*

There is one thing further to be noted concerning the manner of their sitting, which was on each hand of the bishop, in the form or figure of a semicircle; which is described by the author[14] of the Constitutions under the name of Clemens Romanus, and Gregory Nazianzen, and others. Whence, as the bishop's throne is called the middle throne, or the middle seat, by Theodoret[15] and the Constitutions; so for the same reason Ignatius[16] and the Constitutions[17] term the presbyters the spiritual crown or circle of the presbytery, and the crown of the church: unless we will take this for a metaphorical expression, to denote only that presbyters, united with their bishop, were the glory of the church.

Sect. 7. Presbyters the ecclesiastical senate, or council of the church, whom the bishop consulted and advised with upon all occasions.

This honour was done them in regard to their authority in the church, wherein they were considered as a sort of ecclesiastical senate, or council to the bishop, who scarce did any thing of great weight and moment without asking their advice, and taking their consent, to give the greater force and authority to all public acts done in the name of the church. Upon which account, St. Chrysostom[18] and Synesius[19] style them the court or sanhedrim of the presbyters; and Cyprian,[20] the sacred and venerable bench of the clergy; St. Jerom[21] and others,[22] the church's senate, and the

[8] Naz. Carm. de Vita, *κάμπτει βιαίως εἰς δευτέρους θρόνους.*

[9] Id. Somn. de Ecclesia Anastasiæ. Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil. p. 4. *δεύτερα τῆς καθέδρας.*

[10] Ap. Euseb. lib. 10. c. 5. *δύο γέ τινας των ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου.*

[11] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4.

[12] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian.

[13] Con. Carthag. 4. c. 35, 36. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 20. Origen. Hom. 2. in Cantic. Con. Laodic. c. 56. Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. Con. Ancyr. c. 18.

[14] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57 *Κείσθω δὲ μέσος ὁ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνος,* &c.

[15] Theod. Hist. lib. 5. c. 3. *'Ο μέσος θῶκος*

[16] Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. 13. *πνευματικὸν στέφανον τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου.*

[17] Constitut. lib. 2. c. 28. *στεφανὸν ἐκκλησίας.*

[18] Chrys. de Sacerdot. lib. 3. c. 15. *τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συνέδριον.*

[19] Synes. Ep. 67. ad Theoph.

[20] Cypr. Ep. 55. al. 59. ad Cornel. Cleri sacrum venerandumque consessum. Concil. Carth. 4. c. 35. Episcopus in consessu presbyterorum sublimior sedeat, &c.

[21] Hieron. in Esai. iii. tom. 5. p. 17. Et nos habemus in ecclesia senatum nostrum, cœtum presbyterorum.

[22] Pius, Ep. 2. ad Just. Vien. Salutat te senatus pauper Christi apud Romam constitutus.

senate of Christ; Origen[23] and the author of the Constitutions,[24] the bishop's counsellors, and the council of the church: because though the bishop was prince and head of this ecclesiastical senate, and nothing could regularly be done without him; yet neither did he ordinarily do any public act, relating to the government or discipline of the church, without their advice and assistance.

Sect. 8. Some evidences out of Ignatius and Cyprian, of the power and prerogatives of presbyters in conjunction with the bishop.

The first ages afford the most pregnant proofs of this Divine harmony between the bishop and his presbyters. For any one that ever looked into the writings of Cyprian, must acknowledge, that at Rome and Carthage, the two great churches of the West, all things were thus transacted by joint consent: the bishop with his clergy did *communi consilio ponderare*,[25] weigh things by common advice and deliberation; whether it was in the ordinations of the clergy, (for Cyprian would not so much as ordain a subdeacon or a reader without their consent,) or whether it was in the exercise of discipline and reconciliation of penitents, Cyprian declares[26] his resolution to do all by common consent. And so Cornelius at the same time acted at Rome: for when Maximus and the rest of the confessors, who had sided with Novatian, came afterward and made confession of their error, and desired to be admitted again into the communion of the church, Cornelius would do nothing in it, till he had first called a presbytery, and taken both their advice and consent[27] in the affair, that he might proceed according to their unanimous resolution. Cyprian, in several other of his epistles,[28] speaks of the same deference paid to his presbytery, and in one place he more particularly tells them, that it was a law and a rule[29] that he had laid down to himself, from the first entrance on his bishopric, that he would do nothing without their advice, and the consent of the people. Epiphanius observes the same practice at Ephesus in the condemnation of Noëtus: for first, he says, he was convened before the presbytery,[30] and then again upon a relapse by them expelled the church. Which at least must mean, that the bishop and his presbyters joined together in this ecclesiastical censure. In like manner, speaking of the first condemnation of Arius, he says, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria,[31] called a presbytery against him, before whom, and some bishops then present, he examined him, and expelled him. Cotelerius, in his Notes upon the Constitutions, has published, from an ancient manuscript, one of the forms of Arius's deposition,[32] which may give some light to this matter. For thereby it appears, that when Alexander sent forth his circular letters to all other bishops against Arius, he first summoned all the presbyters and deacons of Alexandria, and region of Mareotes, not only to hear what he had written, but also to testify their consent to it, and declare that they agreed with him in the condemnation of Arius. From whence we learn, that though the deposition was properly the bishop's act, yet, to have it done with the greater solemnity, the consent both of the presbyters and deacons was required to it. And thus it was also in the condemnation of Origen: the council of Alexandria, which expelled him the city, was composed both of bishops and presbyters, who decreed that he should remove from Alexandria, and neither teach nor inhabit there, as Pamphilus[33] relates in the second book of his Apology for Origen, some fragments of which are preserved in Photius. The council of Rome, that was gathered against Novatian, consisted of sixty bishops, and many more[34] presbyters and deacons. The first council of Antioch, that was held against Paulus Samosatensis, had also[35] presbyters and deacons in it; the name of one of them, Malchion, a presbyter of Antioch, is still remaining in the synodical epistle among the bishops in the inscription.

From all which it appears, that this was an ancient privilege of presbyters, to sit and deliberate with bishops both in their consistorial and provincial councils. And if we ascend yet higher, we shall find matters always thus transacted in the church *ab origine;* as appears from Ignatius, whose writings (as a learned man observes,[36]) speak as much for the honour of the presbytery, as they do for the superi-

[23] Orig. Com. in Mat. *βουλὴ ἐκκλησίας.* Pearson, Vind. Ignat. par. 1. c. 11. p. 321. Hi autem *βουλευταὶ* Christiani sane fuerunt presbyteri.

[24] Const. Apost. lib. 2. c. 28. *σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, συνέδριον καὶ βουλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*

[25] Cypr. Ep. 33. al 38. ad Cler. In ordinationibus clericis solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare.

[26] Id. Ep. 6. al. 14. ad Cler. Ut ea quæ circa ecclesiæ gubernaculum utilitas communis exposcit, tractare simul, et plurimorum consilio examinata limare possemus.

[27] Cornel. Ep. 46. al. 49. ad Cypr. p. 92. Omni actu ad me perlato, placuit contrahi presbyterium—ut firmato consilio, quid circa personam eorum observari deberet, consensu omnium statueretur.

[28] Cypr. Ep. 24. al. 29. ad Cler. Ep. 32. ad Cler.

[29] Cypr. Ep. 6. al. 14. Quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consilio vestro, et sine consensu plebis, mea privata sententia gerere: sed cum ad vos per Dei gratiam venero—in commune tractabimus.

[30] Epiph. Hær. 57. n. 1. *ἐπὶ πρεσβυτερίου ἀγόμενος.* Ibid. *οἱ αὐτοὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐξέωσαν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*

[31] Epiph. Hær. 69. Arian. n. 3. *συγκαλεῖται τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπισκόπους παρόντας,* &c.

[32] Depositio Arii ap. Coteler. Not. in Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 28. *Ἵνα καὶ τὰ νῦν γραφόμενα γνῶτε, τήν τε ἐν τούτοις συμφωνίαν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδείξησθε, καὶ τῇ καθαιρέσει τῶν περὶ Ἄρειον σύμψηφοι γένησθε.*

[33] Pamphil. Apol. ap. Phot. Cod. 118. p. 298. *Σύνοδος ἀθροίζεται ἐπισκόπων καὶ τινῶν πρεσβυτέρων κατ' Ὠριγένους.*

[34] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[35] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 28.

[36] Pearson, Vind. Ignat. par. 2. c. 16. p. 428. Si quid ego in hac re intelligo, quicunque presbyterali dignitati

ority of episcopacy; no ancient author having given so many great and noble characters of the presbytery, as he does. For which reason it concerns those, who are most zealous for the honour and authority of presbyters, to look upon Ignatius as one of the best asserters and defenders of their power and reputation. For he always joins the bishops and presbyters together, as presiding over the church, the one in the place of God and Jesus Christ, and the other as the great council of God in the room of the apostles. Thus in his epistle[37] to the Ephesians, he bids them be subject to the bishop and the presbytery: and in his epistle to the Magnesians,[38] he commends Sotion the deacon, because he was subject to the bishop, as the gift of God, and to the presbytery, as the law of Christ. And a little after in the same epistle, he speaks of the bishop as presiding[39] in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the council of apostles. So in his epistle to the Trallians,[40] he bids them be subject to the presbytery, as to the apostles of Jesus Christ. And again, Reverence the presbyters,[41] as the council of God, and the united company of apostles. Without which no church is called a church. Several other passages of the same importance may be seen in his epistles to Polycarp and the church of Smyrna.[42]

Sect. 9. The power of presbyters thought by some to be a little diminished in the fourth century.

And indeed all his epistles are so full of great eulogiums of the presbytery, as acting in the nature of an ecclesiastical senate together with the bishop, that our late learned defender of those epistles thence concludes, that the power and privileges of presbyteries was greater in the second century, when Ignatius lived, than in the fourth age of the church, when he thinks the power and authority of presbyteries was a little sunk and diminished over all the world, and even at Alexandria itself, where it had most of all flourished. And this he makes an argument of the antiquity of those epistles, that they were the genuine product of Ignatius, because no one of the fourth age would have given such encomiums of the presbytery, or armed[43] them with so great authority and power. I shall not dispute this matter, nor enter upon any nice comparison of the different powers of presbyters in these two ages, but only represent to the reader what privileges still remained to them in the fourth century.

Sect. 10. Yet still they were admitted to join with the bishop in the imposition of hands in the ordination of presbyters.

And here it cannot be denied, but that in this age, in the ordination of a presbyter, all the presbyters that were present were allowed, nay, even required, to join with the bishop in imposition of hands upon the party to be ordained. That it was so in the African churches is beyond all dispute; for in the fourth council of Carthage,[44] there is a canon expressly enjoining it: When a presbyter is ordained, while the bishop pronounces the benediction, and lays his hand upon his head, all the presbyters that are present shall lay their hands by the bishop's hand upon his head also. And this in all likelihood was the universal practice of the church. For in the Constitutions of the Church of Alexandria,[45] there is a rule to the same purpose. In the Latin church the decree of the council of Carthage seems also to have prevailed, because it is inserted into their canon law by Gratian[46] and other collectors, from whence it became the common practice of our own church, which is continued to this day. Some ancient canons[47] indeed say, that one bishop alone shall ordain a presbyter; but that is not said to exclude presbyters from assisting, but only to put a difference between the ordination of a bishop and a presbyter; for the ordination of a bishop could not regularly be performed without the concurrence of three bishops with the metropolitan; but a presbyter might be ordained by a single bishop, without any other assistance, save that of his presbyters joining with him. And this plainly appears to have been the practice of the fourth century.

Sect. 11. And allowed to sit in consistory with their bishops.

It is further evident from the records of the same age, that presbyters had still the privilege of sitting in consistory with their bishops. For Pope Siricius, in the latter end of this century, acted as Cornelius had done before him. When he went about to condemn the errors of Jovinian, he first called[48] a presbytery, and with their advice censured his doctrines,

auctoritatique maxime student, non habent suæ existimationis firmius aut solidius fundamentum, quàm epistolas sancti Ignatii nostri: neque enim in ullo vere antiquo Scriptore extra has epistolas tot ac tanta presbyteratus præconia invenient, neque illius ordinis honorem sine episcopatus prærogativa ullibi constitutum reperient.

[37] Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. n. 2. ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ πρεσβυτερίῳ.

[38] Ep. ad. Magnes. n. 2.

[39] Ep. ad Magnes. n. 6. Προκαθημένου ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων.

[40] Ep. ad Trall. n. 2. Ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις.

[41] Ibid. n. 3. Ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων. Χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.

[42] Ep. ad Polycarp. n. 6. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8.

[43] Pearson, Vindic. Ignat. par. 2. c. 16. p. 428. Nemo tam seris ecclesiæ temporibus—Presbyterium tot laudibus cumulasset, tanta auctoritate armasset, cujus potestas ea tempestate, etiam Alexandriæ, ubi maxime floruerat, tantopere imminuta est.

[44] Con. Carth. 4. c. 3. Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri, qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.

[45] Eccl. Alex. Constit. c. 6. ap. Bevereg. Not. in Canon. Apost. c. 2. Cum vult episcopus ordinare presbyterum, manum suam capiti ejus imponat, simulque omnes presbyteri istud tangant.

[46] Grat. Dist. 23. c. 8. Ivo Part. 6. c. 12.

[47] Can. Apost. c. 2. Con. Carthag. 3. c. 45.

[48] Siric. Ep. 2. ad Eccles. Mediolan. Facto presbyterio, constitit doctrinæ nostræ, id est, Christianæ, legi esse con-

and then, with the consent of the deacons also and the rest of the clergy, expelled him the church. And so likewise Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, proceeded against Andronicus, the impious and blaspheming prefect of Pentapolis; he first laid open his horrible crimes before the consistory of his church, and then, with their consent, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against him; which he therefore calls the act of the consistory,[49] or sanhedrim of Ptolemais, in the circular letters which he wrote to give notice of his excommunication to other churches. Baronius indeed, and the common editors of the councils, reckon this by mistake among the provincial synods; but it appears evidently from Synesius, that it was only the private consistory of the church of Ptolemais; for he says expressly,[50] The church of Ptolemais gave notice of this excommunication to all her sister churches throughout the world, requiring them to hold Andronicus excommunicated, and not to despise her act, as being only a poor church in a small city. Which agrees very well with the state of a private consistory, but is not spoken in the style of a provincial council.

Sect. 12. As also in provincial councils.

Yet this is not said with any design to deny that presbyters were allowed to sit in provincial synods; for there are undeniable evidences of their enjoying this privilege within the compass of the fourth century, and after ages also. In the council of Eliberis, which was held in the beginning of the fourth age, there were no less than thirty-six presbyters[51] sitting together with the bishops, as is expressly said in the acts of the council. The first council of Arles, called by Constantine, had also several presbyters in it, the names of many of which are lost, as are also the names of most of the bishops, who were two hundred, yet the names of fifteen presbyters[52] are still remaining. And it is observable, that in Constantine's *tractoriæ*, or letters of summons, the presbyters, as well as bishops, were called by imperial edict to attend at that council; if we may judge of all the rest by that one example, which remains upon record in Eusebius; for there, in the letter sent to summon Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, orders are given him[53] to bring along with him two of the second throne; which phrase, as has been observed before, denotes two presbyters. So that from hence it is clear, that presbyters were then privileged to sit in council with their bishops, and that by imperial edict. In Justellus's Bibliotheca Juris Canonici, there are three or four Roman councils, where the presbyters are particularly mentioned as sitting, and sometimes voting with the bishops. In the council under Hilarius, anno 461, the presbyters of Rome all sat[54] together with the bishops, and the deacons stood by them. So again in the council under Felix, anno 487,[55] the names of seventy-six presbyters are mentioned that sat together with the bishops in council, the deacons as before standing by them. And in the council under Symmachus, anno 499, sixty-seven presbyters and six deacons subscribed in the very same form of words[56] as the bishops did. In another council under the same Symmachus, anno 502, thirty-six presbyters are named,[57] who sat therein. And in the council under Gregory II., anno 715, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons all subscribe in the same form[58] to the decrees then published by them all together.

The like instances may be seen in the first councils of Toledo,[59] and Bracara,[60] where we may also observe the difference made between presbyters and deacons; that the presbyters are always represented as sitting together with their bishops, but the deacons only standing by to attend them. All which notwithstanding, Cellotius the Jesuit, and some others of that strain, have the confidence to assert, that presbyters were never allowed to sit with bishops in their councils. Bellarmin[61] does not go so far, but only denies them a decisive voice there: in which assertion he is opposed, not only by the generality of protestant writers,[62] but also by Habertus[63] and other learned defenders[64] of the Gallican liberties in his own communion. So that it is agreed on all hands by unprejudiced writers, and

traria——Unde omnium nostrorum tam presbyterorum et diaconorum, quam totius cleri unam scitote fuisse sententiam, ut Jovinianus, Auxentius, &c., in perpetuum damnati, extra ecclesiam remanerent.

[49] Synes. Ep. 57. p. 190. Νυνὶ δὲ οἷς τὸ συνέδριον μετῆλθε τὴν Ἀνδρονίκου μανίαν, ἀκούσατε.

[50] Id. Ep. 58. p. 199.

[51] Con. Eliber. Procem. Residentibus etiam 36 [al. 26] presbyteris, astantibus diaconibus et omni plebe.

[52] Con. Arelat. 1. in Catalogo eorum qui Concilio interfuerunt. In Edit. Crab. male vocatur Secundum.

[53] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 5. Συζεύξας σεαυτῷ καὶ δύο γέ τινας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου.

[54] Con. Rom. ap. Justel. t. 1. p. 250. Residentibus etiam universis presbyteris, adstantibus quoque diaconis, &c.

[55] Ibid. p. 255.

[56] Ibid. p. 259. Subscripserunt presbyteri numero 67. Cælius Laurentius archipresbyter tituli Praxedis hic subscripsi et consensi synodalibus constitutis, atque in hac me profiteor manere sententia, &c.

[57] Ibid. p. 261. Residentibus etiam presbyteris, Projectitio, Martino, &c. Adstantibus quoque diaconis.

[58] Ibid. p. 234. Sisinnius presbyter huic constituto, a nobis promulgato, subscripsi. Petrus archidiaconus huic constituto, a nobis promulgato subscripsi.

[59] Con. Tolet. 1. Convenientibus episcopis in ecclesia—considentibus presbyteris, astantibus diaconis, &c.

[60] Con. Bracar. 2. Considentibus simul episcopis, præsentibus quoque presbyteris, astantibusque ministris, vel universo clero.

[61] Bellarm. de Concil. lib. 1. c. 15.

[62] Morton, Apol. Cathol. part 2. lib. 4. c. 8. Whitaker, de Concil. Quæst. 3.

[63] Habertus, Not. in lib. Pontiff. Græcor. p. 175.

[64] Ranchin, Review of the Council of Trent, lib. 1. c. 8.

curious searchers of antiquity, that presbyters had liberty to sit and deliberate with bishops in provincial councils.

Sect. 13. And in general councils likewise.

But to general or universal councils, there are some protestant writers, who seem to make it a dispute, whether presbyters anciently were allowed to sit in them. A learned person[65] of our own church says, It was never before heard of, that priests did sit in œcumenical councils, meaning, before the council of Lateran under Callistus the Second, anno 1123, where six hundred abbots were present. But I see no reason why we may not reckon the first council of Arles a general council, if a multitude of bishops from all quarters can make it so: for there were two hundred bishops present; and, as I noted before, several presbyters were ordered to come along with them. However, the council of Constantinople, anno 381, is reckoned by all a general council (though there were but one hundred and fifty bishops in it); and there we find three presbyters together[66] subscribing among the bishops also. The learned Habertus[67] gives several other instances out of the council of Chalcedon, the second council of Nice, the eighth council called against Photius, and others. From all which, and what has here been alleged, it must be concluded, that presbyters had anciently the privilege of sitting and voting also in general councils.

Sect. 14. Of the titles of honour given to presbyters, as well as bishops, and what difference there was between them, as applied to both.

These prerogatives of presbyters, being thus allowed in so many cases to act in conjunction with their bishops, advanced their character and reputation very high, and made them of great esteem in the church: insomuch that many of the same titles of honour, which were given to bishops, were with a little variation given to presbyters also. Hence they are called πρόεδροι, by Synesius and Eusebius;[68] προεστῶτες, by Nazianzen and Basil;[69] προστάται, by Chrysostom and Nazianzen[70] likewise: which names answer to the titles of *præpositi* and *antistites* in Latin, and signify presidents, or rulers and governors of the people. I know indeed some learned persons[71] are of opinion, that the name *antistes* is never given to any presbyter by any ancient writer. But this assertion must be understood with a little qualification; otherwise it will not be exactly true: for Hilarius Sardus,[72] speaking of presbyters, against whom a bishop is not to receive an accusation, but before two or three witnesses, gives them expressly the title of *antistites Dei*. So does also the author[73] of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament under the name of St. Austin. And though *præpositi* in Cyprian's epistles commonly signifies bishops, yet it does not always so: for the presbyters of Rome, writing[74] to the clergy of Carthage, style themselves *præpositi;* and Celerinus,[75] in his epistle to Lucian, gives them the same title. But Sidonius Apollinaris[76] sets this matter right, when he teacheth us to distinguish between an *antistes* of the first order, and an *antistes* of the second; which distinction, whenever presbyters are called *antistites*, if it be not expressed, is always to be understood. Therefore Blondel argues very loosely, when he would infer from this community of names and titles, that bishops and presbyters were but one and the same order. Which might as well be inferred from the name, *sacerdotes*, priests, which so frequently occurs in the ancient writers; and, as Cyprian observes,[77] denotes an honour common both to bishops and presbyters: though when there was occasion to speak more accurately and distinctly of bishops, their appropriate title was that of *summi sacerdotes*, chief priests, to distinguish them from those of the inferior order, as I have showed before in speaking of the titles of bishops; to which I shall only add here the testimony of Optatus, who[78] gives both bishops, priests, and deacons the name of priests, and their office the name of priesthood; but with this difference, that the deacons were only in the third degree of priesthood, and the presbyters in the second, but the bishops were the heads and chief of all. From whence it is plain, that if a bare community of names argued an identity of offices, one might as well infer, that bishops and deacons,

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65 Bishop Burnet's Vindication of the Ordination, &c. Pref. p. 32.

66 Con. Constantin. t. 2. p. 957. Tyrannus presbyter Amorii: Auxanon presbyter Apameæ: Helladius presbyter Commanensis.

67 Habert. Not. in Pontif. p. 175.

68 Synes. Ep. 12. Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4.

69 Naz. Orat. 1. Basil. Reg. Moral. 70.

70 Chrys. Hom. 11. in 1 Tim. iv. 1. Naz. Orat. 1. p. 37.

71 Bevereg. Not. in Concil. Ancyr. c. 13. Neque enim presbyter unquam antistes dicitur.

72 Ambros. al. Hilar. Com. in 1 Tim. v. Hujus ordinis sublimis honor est; hujusmodi enim vicarii sunt Christi: idcirco non facile de hac persona accusatio debet admitti. Incredibile enim debet videri, istum qui Dei antistes est, criminose versatum.

73 Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. c. 101. Propter quod antistites Dei sunt, in domo Dei et in honore Christi cum dignitate consistunt.

74 Ep. 3. al. 8. ap. Cyprian. Cum incumbat nobis qui videmur præpositi esse, et vice pastoris custodire gregem.

75 Celerin. Ep. 21. ap. Cypr. Præceperunt eos præpositi tantisper sic esse, donec episcopus constituatur.

76 Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 11. Antistes fuit ordine in secundo, fratrem fasce levans episcopali.

77 Cypr. Ep. 58. al. 61. ad Lucium, p. 145. Presbyteri cum episcopo sacerdotali honore conjuncti.

78 Optat. lib. 1. p. 35. Quid commemorem diaconos in tertio? Quid presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio constitutos? Ipsi apices et principes omnium, aliqui episcopi illis temporibus—Instrumenta divinæ legis impie tradiderunt. Confer Hieron. Epist. 27, where he calls presbyters, secundi ordinis sacerdotes.

or presbyters and deacons, were but one and the same order, because they share in the same common titles of priest and priesthood.

Sect. 15. In what sense bishops, presbyters, and deacons called priests by Optatus.

If here it be inquired, as it is very natural to ask the question, Why Optatus gives all the three orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, the title of priesthood? the answer is plain and obvious: Because according to him every order had its share, though in different degrees, in the Christian priesthood. Which is not, as some imagine, a power to offer Christ's body and blood really upon the altar, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead; (which is such a notion of the Christian priesthood, as no ancient author or ritual ever mentions;) but it consists in a power and authority to minister publicly according to God's appointment in holy things, or things pertaining to God. And there are several parts of this power, according to the different participation of which, in the opinion of Optatus, bishops, presbyters, and deacons had each their respective share in the priesthood. Thus it was one act of the priest's office to offer up the sacrifice of the people's prayers, praises, and thanksgivings to God, as their mouth and orator, and to make intercession to God for them; another part of the office was, in God's name to bless the people, particularly by admitting them to the benefit and privilege of remission of sins by spiritual regeneration or baptism. And thus far deacons were anciently allowed to minister in holy things, as mediators between God and the people. Upon which account a late learned writer[79] joins entirely with Optatus, in declaring deacons to be sharers in this lowest degree of the Christian priesthood. Above this, was the power of offering up to God the people's sacrifices at the altar; that is, as Mr. Mede[80] and others explain them, first the eucharistical oblations of bread and wine, to agnize or acknowledge God to be the Lord of the creatures; then the sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving in commemoration of Christ's bloody sacrifice upon the cross, mystically represented in the creatures of bread and wine; which whole sacred action was commonly called the Christian's reasonable and unbloody sacrifice, or the sacrifice of the altar. Now, the deacons (as we shall see in the next chapter) were never allowed to offer these oblations at the altar, but it was always a peculiar act of the presbyter's office, which was therefore reckoned a superior degree of the priesthood. Another act of the priestly office was, to interpret the mind and will of God to the people; as also to bless them solemnly in his name, and upon confession and repentance, grant them ministerial absolution. And these being also the ordinary offices of presbyters, they gave them a further title to the priesthood. All these offices, and some more the bishops[81] could perform, such as the solemn consecration or benediction of persons set apart for the ministry, &c., which, together with their spiritual jurisdiction, or power of ruling and governing the church, as vicars of Christ, gave them a title to a yet higher degree of the Christian priesthood; whence, as I noted before, they were called chief priests, *primi sacerdotes*, *summi sacerdotes*, *principes sacerdotum*, and *pontifices maximi*. I know indeed, Albaspiny and several others of the Roman[82] communion make a distinction between the prelatical and sacerdotal office in a bishop, which is invented to serve some peculiar hypotheses of their own; as, 1. That a bishop differs nothing from a presbyter as he is a priest; 2. That bishop and presbyter are but one sacerdotal order; and, 3. That the proper notion and specific character of the sacerdotal order, is a power to offer Christ's body and blood, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead. All which are contrary to the plain sense of antiquity, which knew no such specific character of the sacerdotal order, nor ever dreamt of bishops and presbyters being but one order in reference to the priesthood; but always spake of them as distinct orders, and placed their distinction in their enjoying different powers of the priesthood; making presbyters only the second order, and second priesthood, *secundus ordo et secundum sacerdotium*, and bishops the first; and asserting that the juridical acts of a bishop were also sacerdotal, or acts of a superior degree of the Christian priesthood peculiar to his order. St. Cyprian[83] scruples not to call such acts, *sacerdotii vigor*, the vigour and power of the episcopal priesthood, speaking of the power and jurisdiction which he had as the priest of God, to punish presbyters and deacons that were under him; which he had improperly called the power of his priesthood, had his jurisdiction and priesthood been two different powers in him. This may serve at once to caution the reader against that subtle distinction of the Romanists, and give him a short account both of the nature and different degrees of the Christian priesthood.

Sect. 16. Why priests called mediators between God and men.

There is another name frequently occurring in the Greek writers, when they speak of Christian priests, which will deserve to be explained: that is, the name, *μεσῖται*, mediators between God and men; a title given them by the author of the Constitutions,[84]

[79] Dr. Hicks' Discourse of the Christian Priesthood, c. 2. § 5. p. 33.

[80] Mede, Christ. Sacrif. c. 2. p. 356. Hicks, ibid. p. 49. with many others cited by him.

[81] Epiphanius calls it, Ἱερουργεῖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, Hær. 79. n. 3. See before, chap. 2. sect. 6.

[82] Bellarm. de Cleric. lib. 1. c. 11. Canisius Catech. de Sacram. Ord. § 4.

[83] Cypr. Ep. 15. al. 20.

[84] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 25.

as also by Origen, Chrysostom, Basil, Isidore of Pelusium, and many others, whose authorities are collected by Cotelerius.[85] The Latin writers are more sparing in the use of this term; for except St. Jerom, Cotelerius could find none that used it. St. Austin is so far from using it, that he condemns it[86] as intolerable in Parmenian the Donatist, who had said, that the bishop was mediator between God and the people. And, indeed, there is a sense in which it is intolerable to say, there is any other mediator besides one, the man Christ Jesus. But the Greek fathers used the word in a qualified sense, not for an authentic mediator, or mediator of redemption, who pleads his own merits before God in the behalf of others; but only for a mediator of ministerial intercession, in which sense some[87] of the ancients think Moses is called a mediator by St. Paul, Gal. iii. 19, because he was the *internuncius* to relate the mind of God to the people, and the people's requests and resolutions to God again. And in this qualified sense it is generally owned[88] that Christian priests may be called mediators also, as those that are appointed to convey the people's devotions to God, and the will and blessing of God to the people.

Sect. 17. The ancient form and manner of ordaining presbyters.

Having thus far spoken of the several offices and titles of presbyters, it remains that I give a short account of the form and manner of their ordination, by which they were invested with their power, and authorized to perform the several duties of their function. Now, as to this, it is plain, the ancient form was only imposition of hands and a consecration prayer. Thus it is described in the canon[89] of the council of Carthage, which has been cited before, and in the author under the name of Dionysius,[90] who represents it in this manner: he says, The person to be ordained kneeled before the bishop at the altar, and he, laying his hand upon his head, did consecrate him with a holy prayer, and then signed him with the sign of the cross; after which the bishop and the rest of the clergy that were present gave him the kiss of peace. The author of the Constitutions[91] speaks also of imposition of hands and prayer, but no more. From which we may reasonably conclude, that the words which the Roman church makes to be the most necessary and essential part of the priest's ordination, viz. "Receive thou power to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate mass both for the living and the dead," were not in any of the ancient forms of consecration. One of their own writers,[92] Morinus, after the most diligent search he could make into these matters, could find no form for nine hundred years together, that made any mention of them. And for their other ceremonies superadded to the old ones, other learned writers of that church do as ingenuously confess the novelty of them. Habertus[93] proves against Catumsiritus, that material unction is a new thing, and not to be met with in any ancient ordination; as neither is it in use in the Greek church at this day. So that when Gregory Nazianzen[94] and others speak of an unction, they are to be understood as speaking mystically of the spiritual unction of the Holy Ghost. Cabassutius[95] observes the same of the custom of delivering the sacred vessels into the hands of the person that was ordained, that however some plead very stiffly for its antiquity, yet it is really but a modern custom; and he cites Morinus for the same opinion. So that I need not stand to show the novelty of these things, which is so evidently proved, as well by the confession of these learned men, as by the silence of all ancient rituals. But there is one thing the reader may be desirous to know further, viz. what form of words the consecration prayer was conceived in. To which I must answer, as I have done before about bishops, that there was no such general form then extant; but every bishop having liberty to frame his own liturgy, he used such a form as he thought convenient in his own church: it being a thing indifferent, as a learned person[96] observes, so the substance of the blessing were preserved. The only form now remaining is that which is extant in the Constitutions, which, because it will show the reader what was then the substance of the benediction, I will here insert the words of it, which are these: "Look, O Lord, upon this thy servant, who is chosen into the presbytery by the suffrage and judgment of all the clergy, and fill him with the spirit of grace and counsel, that he may help and govern thy people with a pure heart: in like manner as thou hadst respect to thy chosen people, commanding Moses to make choice of elders, whom thou didst replenish with thy Spirit. And now, Lord, do the same thing, preserving in us the never-failing Spirit of thy grace: that he being full of healing powers and instructive discourse, may with meekness

[85] Coteler. Not. ibid.

[86] Aug. Cont. Parmen. lib. 2. c. 8. Si Johannes diceret—mediatorem me habetis apud Patrem, et ego exoro pro peccatis vestris, (sicut Parmenianus quodam loco posuit episcopum mediatorem inter populum et Deum,) quis eum ferret bonorum atque fidelium Christianorum?

[87] Basil. de Spir. S^to. c. 14. Theodor. Com. in Gal. iii. 19.

[88] See Dr. Potter, Ch. Gov. c. 5. p. 251. Coteler. Not. in Constit. lib. 2. c. 25.

[89] Con. Carth. 4. c. 3. cited before, sect. 10.

[90] Dionys. de Eccles. Hierarch. c. 5. part 2. p. 364.

[91] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 16.

[92] See Bishop Burnet of Ordination, p. 24, who cites Morinus.

[93] Habert. Observ. in Pontif. Græc. p. 386

[94] Naz. Orat. 5. p. 136.

[95] Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. 43.

[96] Bishop Burn. Vindication of the Ordination, &c. p. 25.

teach thy people, and serve thee sincerely with a pure mind, and willing soul, and unblamably perform the sacred[97] services for thy people, through Christ," &c. Where we may observe, that it was not then thought necessary to express all or any of the offices of a presbyter in particular, but only in general to pray for grace to be given to the priest then ordained, whereby he might be enabled to perform them. And this, with a solemn imposition of hands, was reckoned a sufficient form of consecration. Which I note for the instruction of those, who may be apt to think that modern forms of ordination are in every circumstance like the primitive ones; whereas if Morinus say true, the words which are now most in use, viz. "Receive the Holy Ghost," were not in the Roman Pontifical above four hundred years ago. Which makes good the observation of a learned person,[98] that the church catholic did never agree on one uniform ritual, or book of ordination, but that was still left to the freedom of particular churches; and so the church of England had as much power to make or alter rituals, as any other had.

Sect. 18. Of the *archipresbyteri.*

I should here have ended this chapter about presbyters, but that it is necessary to give some account of the *archipresbyteri*, and *seniores ecclesiæ*, which are sometimes mentioned in ancient writers. The archpresbyters are spoken of by St. Jerom, who seems[99] to say there was one, and but one, in every church: and perhaps he is the first author that mentions them. After him Socrates[100] speaks of one Peter, protopresbyter of Alexandria, whom Sozomen[101] calls archpresbyter. And Liberatus[102] mentions one Proterius, archpresbyter in the same church. From whom we also learn in some measure what was the office and quality of the archpresbyter. He was not always the senior presbyter of the church, as some are apt to imagine, but one chosen out of the college of presbyters at the pleasure of the bishop. For Liberatus says expressly, that Dioscorus the bishop made Proterius archpresbyter of the church: which implies that he did not come to the office by virtue of his seniority, but by the bishop's appointment. As to his office, it is plain from Liberatus, that it was to preside over the church next under the bishop, as chief of the college of presbyters, and to take care of all things relating to the church in the bishop's absence; as Proterius is said to have done, while Dioscorus went to the council of Chalcedon. And therefore some,[103] not without reason, think these *archipresbyteri* were much of the same nature with our deans in cathedral churches, as the college of presbyters were the chapter. But they wholly mistake the matter, who[104] confound these *archipresbyteri* with the *cardinales presbyteri.* For that is a name of much later date, not to be found in any genuine writer till the time of Gregory the Great: for the council of Rome, which is the only authority that Bellarmin[105] alleges to prove it more ancient, is a mere fiction. Besides that the cardinal presbyters were many in the same church or city, but the archpresbyter was but one. So that, whatever was the first original of cardinal presbyters; (whether they were so called from their being fixed in some principal churches, where baptism might be administered, which were therefore called *ecclesiæ vel tituli cardinales*, as Bellarmin thinks; or whether, as others[106] imagine, when the number of presbyters was grown so great in large and populous cities, that they could not conveniently meet, and join with the bishop, for ordering the government of the church, there were some as the chief of them chosen out from the rest, to be as the bishop's council, who were therefore called *cardinales presbyteri;* a dispute that does not concern me any further to inquire into or determine;) I say, whatever was their rise, or the reason of their name, it is certain they were not the same with the *archipresbyteri* of the primitive church.

Sect. 19. Of the *seniores ecclesiastici.* That these were not lay-elders in the modern acceptation.

As to the *seniores ecclesiæ*, they were a sort of elders, who were not of the clergy, yet had some concern in the care of the church. The name often occurs in Optatus and St. Austin, from whom we may easily learn the nature of their office. Optatus says,[107] when Mensurius bishop of Carthage was forced to leave his church in the time of the Dioclesian persecution, he committed the ornaments and utensils of the church to such of the elders as he could trust, *fidelibus senioribus commendavit.* Upon which Albaspiny[108] notes, that, besides the clergy, there were then some lay-elders, who were intrusted to take care of the goods of the church. At the end of Optatus there is a tract, called, The Purgation of Felix and Cæcilian, wherein there are several epistles that make mention of the same name, as that of Fortis[109] and Purpurius, and another nameless

[97] Constitut. Apostol. lib. 8. c. 16. *τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱερ-ουργίας ἀμώμους ἐκτελῇ.*

[98] Bishop Burnet, Vind. of the Ordin. p. 35.

[99] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi.

[100] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 9. *Πέτρος τὶς πρωτοπρεσβύτερος.*

[101] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 12.

[102] Liberat. Breviar. c. 14. Proterio Dioscorus commendavit ecclesiam, qui et eum archipresbyterum fecerat. In edit. Crab. male legitur *archiepiscopum.*

[103] Stillingfl. Irenic. part. 2. c. 7. p. 358.

[104] Onuphr. Interpret. Vocum Ecclesiast. Salmas. de Primat. c. 1. p. 10.

[105] Bellar. de Cleric. lib. 1. c. 16.

[106] Stillingfl. ibid.

[107] Optat. lib. 1. p. 41.

[108] Albaspin. Not. in. Optat. p. 123. Præter ecclesiasticos et clericos quidam ex plebe seniores et probatæ vitæ res ecclesiæ curabant.

[109] Gesta, Purgat. Cæcil. et Fel. p. 268. ex Epist. Fortis:

author. St. Austin inscribes one of his epistles[110] to his own church of Hippo in this manner, *Clero, senioribus, et universæ plebi,* To the clergy, the elders, and all the people: and in several other places has occasion to mention these *seniores* in other churches.[111]

From whence some have concluded,[112] that these were ruling lay-elders, according to the new model and modern acceptation. Whereas, as the ingenious author[113] of the Humble Remonstrance rightly observes in his reply, those *seniores* of the primitive church were quite another thing. Some of them were the *optimates,* the chief men or magistrates of the place, such as we still call aldermen, from the ancient appellation of *seniores.* These are those which the Cabarsiessitan council of Donatists in St. Austin calls *seniores nobilissimi;*[114] and one of the councils[115] of Carthage more expressly, *magistratus vel seniores locorum,* the magistrates or elders of every city; whom the bishops were to take with them to give the Donatists a meeting. In this sense Dr. Hammond[116] observes, from Sir Henry Spelman, and some of our Saxon writings, that anciently our Saxon kings had the same title of elders, *aldermanni, presbyteri,* and *seniores.* As in the Saxon translation of the Bible, the word, princes, is commonly rendered, aldermen. And of this sort were some of those *seniores ecclesiæ* that have been mentioned, whose advice and assistance also, no doubt, the bishops took in many weighty affairs of the church. The other sort, which were more properly called *seniores ecclesiastici,* were such as were sometimes trusted with the utensils, treasure, and outward affairs of the church; and may be compared to our churchwardens, vestrymen, stewards, who have some care of the affairs of the church, but are not concerned as ruling elders in the government or discipline thereof. Now, lay-elders are a degree above the deacons; but the *seniores ecclesiæ* were below them: which is a further evidence, that they were not lay-elders in the modern acceptation. But of this enough. I now proceed to consider the third order of the clergy in the primitive church, which is that of deacons.

CHAPTER XX.

OF DEACONS.

Sect. 1. Deacons always reckoned one of the three sacred orders of the church.

THE name διάκονοι, which is the original word for deacons, is sometimes used in the New Testament for any one that ministers in the service of God: in which large sense we sometimes find bishops and presbyters styled deacons, not only in the New Testament,[1] but in ecclesiastical writers also.[2] But here we take it in a more strict sense for the name of the third order of the clergy of the primitive church. In treating of which it will be necessary, in the first place, to show the sense of antiquity concerning their original. The council of Trullo advances a very singular notion about this matter, asserting, that the seven deacons spoken of in the Acts, are not to be understood of such as ministered in Divine service or the sacred mysteries,[3] but only of such as served tables and attended the poor. But the whole current of antiquity runs against this: Ignatius[4] styles them expressly, ministers of the mysteries of Christ, adding, that they are not ministers of meats and drinks, but of the church of God. In another place,[5] he speaks of them as ministers of Jesus Christ, and gives them a sort of presidency over the people, together with the bishop and presbyters: Study to do all things, says he, in divine concord, under your bishop presiding in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the apostolical senate, and the deacons most dear to me, as those to whom is committed the ministry of Jesus Christ. And in many other places,[6] he requires the people to be subject to them, and reverence them as Jesus Christ, that is, as his ministers attending on his service. Cyprian speaks of them in the same style, calling them[7] ministers of episcopacy and the church; withal referring their original to that place in the Acts of the Apostles, which the council of Trullo disputes about, at the same time that he asserts[8] they were called *ad altaris ministerium,* to the ministry and service of the altar. Tertullian[9] was so far from thinking them only minis-

Omnes vos episcopi, presbyteri, diacones, seniores, scitis, &c. Ibid. ex Epist. Purpurii: Adhibete conclericos, et seniores plebis, ecclesiasticos viros, et inquirant diligenter, quæ sunt istæ dissensiones. Ibid. Clericis et senioribus Cirthensium in Domino æternam salutem.

[110] Aug. Ep. 137.

[111] Id. cont. Crescon. lib. 3. c. 29 et 56. Concio 2. in Psal. xxxvi. p. 120.

[112] Smectymn. Answer to the Remonstrance, p. 74.

[113] Hamon l'Estrange, Defence of the Remonstrance.

[114] Aug. Conc. 2. in Psal. xxxvi. p. 120.

[115] Con. Carthag. an. 403. in Con. African. c. 58. et in Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr. c. 91. Debere unumquemque nostrum in civitate sua per se convenire Donatistarum præpositos, aut adjungere sibi vicinum collegam, ut pariter eos in singulis quibusque civitatibus vel locis, per magistratus vel seniores locorum conveniant.

[116] Ham. Dissert. 4. cont. Blondel, c. 19. n. 1.

[1] Acts i. 25; 2 Cor. vi. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 5; 1 Cor. iii. 5; Ephes. iii. 7.

[2] Athan. cont. Gent. Chrysost. Hom. 1. in Phil. i. 1.

[3] Conc. Trull. c. 16. Ἑπτὰ διακόνους μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῖς μυστηρίοις διακονουμένων λαμβάνεσθαι.

[4] Ignat. Ep. ad Trall. n. 2. [5] Epist. ad Magnes. n. 6.

[6] Epist. ad Polycarp. n. 6. Ep. ad Trall. n. 3.

[7] Cypr. Ep. 65. al. 3. ad Rogatian. Diaconos post ascensum Domini in cœlos apostoli sibi constituerunt episcopatus sui et ecclesiæ ministros.

[8] Id. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Pleb. Legion. et Astur. p. 172.

[9] Tertul. de Fuga, c. 11. Quum ipsi auctores, id est, ipsi

ters of meats and drinks, that he joins them with bishops and presbyters in the honourable titles of guides and leaders to the laity, and makes them in their degree pastors and overseers of the flock of Christ. And so St. Jerom, though he sometimes in an angry humour speaks a little contemptuously of them, styling them [10] ministers of widows and tables; yet in other places [11] he treats them with greater respect, giving them the same honourable title as Tertullian does, and ranking them among the guides of the people. I showed before, in the last chapter, that Optatus [12] had so great an opinion of them, as to reckon their office a lower degree of the priesthood. And St. Austin seems to have had the same sentiments; for in one of his epistles [13] he gives Præsidius the title of *consacerdos*, his fellow priest, whom yet St. Jerom in the next epistle [14] calls a deacon.

Sect. 2. Yet not generally called priests, but ministers and Levites.

Yet here, that I may not seem to impose upon my readers, I must observe, that the name of priests was not generally given to the deacons, by those that esteemed them a sacred order; but they are commonly distinguished from priests by the names of ministers and Levites. Thus St. Jerom [15] distinguishes them from the priests of the second order, that is, from the presbyters, by the title of Levites. The author of the Questions [16] upon the Old and New Testament under the name of St. Austin, and Hilarius Sardus [17] under the name of St. Ambrose, are more positive and express in denying them the name of priests. And Salvian,[18] though he acknowledges their ministration and function to be about holy things, yet he gives them but the same title of Levites, and that in contradistinction to the priests. And so frequently in the councils,[19] the names *sacerdos* and *Levita*, are used as the peculiar distinguishing titles of presbyters and deacons. The fourth council of Carthage [20] speaks more expressly, that deacons are not ordained to the priesthood, but only to the ministering office, or inferior service. And hence the canons sometimes give them the name of *ὑπηρέται* and *ministri*, the ministers and servants, not only of the church, but of the bishops and presbyters, as may be seen in the councils of Nice,[21] and Carthage,[22] and many others. Whence some learned men [23] conclude against Optatus and St. Austin, that deacons were in no sense allowed to be priests: whilst others [24] with Optatus distinguish the several degrees of the priesthood, and reckon that though deacons were not absolutely called priests, because that was the appropriate title of bishops and presbyters, whose ministers and attendants they were; yet deacons sometimes performed such offices, as did entitle them to a lower degree of the priesthood. Having thus fairly stated and represented the matter on both sides, I must leave the judicious reader to determine for himself which opinion has the strongest reasons, whilst I proceed to give an account of the ordination of deacons, and their several offices, and such laws and rules as concerned their order.

Sect. 2. For this reason the bishop was not tied to have the assistance of any presbyters to ordain them.

The ordination of a deacon differed from that of a presbyter, both in the form and manner of it, and also in the gifts and powers that were conferred thereby. For in the ordination of a presbyter, as has been noted before, the presbyters who were present, were required to join in the imposition of hands with the bishop. But the ordination of a deacon might be performed by the bishop alone, because, as the council of Carthage [25] words it, he was ordained not to the priesthood, but to the inferior services of the church. These services are not particularly mentioned in the form of ordination now remaining in the Constitutions; but there the bishop only prays in general, that God would [26] make his face to shine upon that his servant, who was then chosen to the office of a deacon, and fill him with his Holy Spirit and power, as he did Stephen the martyr; that he, behaving himself acceptably, and uniformly, and unblamably in his office, might be thought worthy of a higher degree, &c. What therefore were the particular offices of the deacons, we are to learn not from the forms of the church, but from other writers.

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diaconi, presbyteri, et episcopi fugiunt, quomodo laicus intelligere poterit, &c. Cum duces fugiunt, quis de gregario numero sustinebit?

[10] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. et Com. in Ezek. xlviii. Mensarum et viduarum ministri.

[11] Id. Com. in Mich. vii. Nolite credere in ducibus, non in episcopo, non in presbytero, non in diacono.

[12] Optat. lib. 1.

[13] Aug. Ep. 16.

[14] Hieron. Ep. 17. inter Epist. Aug.

[15] Hieron. Ep. 27. Episcopi, et sacerdotum inferioris gradus, ac Levitarum innumerabilis multitudo.

[16] Aug Quæst. Vet. et N. Test. t. 4. qu. 46. Nunquid diaconus potest vicem gerere sacerdotis.——Sacerdotis vicem agere non potest, qui non est sacerdos.

[17] Hilar. Com. in Ephes. iv. Evangelistæ diaconi sunt, sicut fuit Philippus, quamvis non sint sacerdotes.

[18] Salvian. ad Eccles. Cathol. lib. 2. p. 391. Levitis ac sacerdotibus tanta divinarum rerum administratione fungentibus.

[19] Con. Turon. 1. can. 1.

[20] Con. Carth. 4. c. 4. Diaconus non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur.

[21] Con. Nic. c. 18. Τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρέται εἰσίν.

[22] Con. Carth. 4. c. 37. Diaconus ita se presbyteri, ut episcopi, ministrum esse cognoscat. Vid. Con. Eliber. in titulis can. 18 et 33. Con. Turon. 1. c. 1.

[23] Bp. Fell, Not. in Cypr. Ep. 18. Habert. Not. in Pontific. p. 125.

[24] Rigalt. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 12. Dr. Hicks, Disc. of Priesthood, p. 33.

[25] Con. Carth. 4. c. 4. Diaconus quum ordinatur, solus episcopus qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat: quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur.

[26] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 18.

Sect. 4. The deacon's office to take care of the utensils of the altar.

Where we find, first, that the most ordinary and common office of the deacons, was to be subservient and assistant to the bishop and presbyters in the service of the altar. It belonged to them to take care of the holy table, and all the ornaments and utensils appertaining thereto. The author under the name of St. Austin[27] takes notice of this as the common office of deacons in all churches, except in such great churches as the church of Rome, where there being a multitude of inferior clergy, this office was devolved on some of them. But in other churches it was the deacon's office, where the inferior clergy, subdeacons, &c. were prohibited by canon to come into the sanctuary, or touch any of the sacred vessels in the time of Divine service, as may be seen in several canons[28] of the ancient councils.

Sect. 5. 2ndly, To receive the oblations of the people, and present them to the priest, and recite the names of those that offered.

Another part of the deacon's office was, to receive the people's offerings, and present them to the priest, who presented them to God at the altar: after which the deacon repeated the names of those that offered, publicly; and this rehearsal was commonly called, *offerre nomina*, as may be seen in Cyprian, who[29] speaks of it as part of the communion service of those times; which is also noted by Rigaltius[30] and others; of which custom I shall say more hereafter, when we come to treat of the ancient service of the church. At present I only observe, that this recital of the names of such as made their oblations, was part of the deacon's office, as is evident from St. Jerom, who tells us,[31] that extortioners and oppressors made their oblations out of their ill-gotten goods, that they might glory in their wickedness, while the deacon in the church publicly recites the names of those that offered: Such a one offers so much, such a one hath promised so much: and so they please themselves with the applause of the people, while their conscience secretly lashes and torments them. Some indeed deny that there was any such custom as this public and particular rehearsal of men's names that offered in the church, and by consequence, that this was any part of the deacon's office: but I think St. Jerom's testimony is undeniable proof, and cannot otherwise be expounded, to make any tolerable sense of his words; for which reason I have made this one part of the deacon's office, though contrary to the judgment of some learned men.

Sect. 6. 3rdly, To read the Gospel in some churches.

Thirdly, In some churches, but not in all, the deacons read the Gospel both in the communion service, and before it also. The author of the Constitutions assigns all other parts of Scripture to the readers, but the Gospel is to be read[32] only by a presbyter or a deacon. St. Jerom intimates[33] that it was part of the deacon's function; and so it is said by the council of Vaison, which authorizes deacons to read the homilies of the ancient fathers in the absence of a presbyter, assigning this reason for it: If the deacons be worthy to read[34] the discourses of Christ in the Gospel, why should they not be thought worthy to read the expositions of the holy fathers? This implies, that in the Western churches it was the ordinary office of the deacons to read the Gospels. But in other churches the custom varied: for, as Sozomen observes, it was customary at Alexandria for the archdeacon only to read the Gospels, in other churches the deacons, in others the priests only, and in some churches on high festivals the bishop himself read, as at Constantinople on Easter-day. In the African churches, in the time of Cyprian, the readers were allowed to read the Gospels as well as other parts of Scripture, as appears from one of Cyprian's epistles, where, speaking of Celerinus the confessor, whom he had ordained a reader, he says, It was fitting he should be advanced to the pulpit[35] or tribunal of the church, (as they then called the reading desk,) that he might thence read the precepts and Gospels of his Lord, which he himself, like a courageous confessor, had followed and observed. So that we are not to look upon this to have been the deacon's peculiar office, but only in some churches and some ages.

Sect. 7. 4thly, To minister the consecrated elements of bread and wine to the people in the eucharist.

But it was something more appropriate to them to assist the bishop or presbyters in the administration of the eucharist: where their business was

[27] Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Testament. t. 4. c. 101. Ut autem non omnia ministeria obsequiorum per ordinem agant, multitudo facit clericorum. Nam utique et altare portarent, et vasa ejus, et aquam in manus funderent sacerdoti, sicut videmus per omnes ecclesias.

[28] Con. Agathens. c. 66. Non oportet in sacratos ministros licentiam habere, in secretarium (quod Græci diaconicon appellant) ingredi et contingere vasa Dominica. Con. Laodic. c. 21. cum Notis Balsamon. et Zonar. in loc.

[29] Cypr. Ep. 10. al. 16. p. 37. Ad communicationem admittuntur, et offertur nomen eorum, &c.

[30] Rigalt. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 60. Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. c. 8. n. 7.

[31] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. xviii. p. 537. Multos conspicimus qui opprimunt per potentiam, vel furta committunt, ut de multis parva pauperibus tribuant, et in suis sceleribus glorientur, publiceque diaconus in ecclesia recitet offerentium nomina: Tantum offert ille, tantum ille pollicitus est, placentque sibi ad plausum populi, torquente conscientia.

[32] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57.

[33] Hieron. Ep. 57. ad Sabin. Evangelium Christi quasi diaconus lectitabas.

[34] Con. Vasens. 2. c. 2. Si digni sunt diaconi, quæ Christus in evangelio locutus est legere, quare indigni judicentur sanctorum patrum expositiones publice recitare?

[35] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. Quid aliud quam super pulpitum, id est, super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus—legat præcepta et evangelia Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur.

to distribute the elements to the people that were present, and carry them to those that were absent also, as Justin Martyr[36] acquaints us in his second Apology. The author of the Constitutions[37] likewise, describing the manner of the ancient service, divides the whole action between the bishop and the deacon; appointing the bishop to deliver the bread to every communicant singly, saying, The body of Christ: and the deacon in like manner to deliver the cup, saying, The blood of Christ, the cup of life. This the author under the name of St. Austin[38] calls the proper office of the deacon's order. Yet it was not so proper to their order, but that they were to depend upon the will and licence of the bishop and the presbyters, if they were present, as is expressly provided in some of the ancient[39] councils, which forbid the deacon to give the eucharist in the presence of a presbyter, except necessity require, and he have his leave to do it. And therefore it was looked upon as a great absurdity for a presbyter to sit by and receive the sacrament from the hands of a deacon, as was sometimes practised, but the council of Nice[40] made a severe canon against it. So that what was allowed to deacons, was not to consecrate the eucharist, but only to distribute it, and that not to the bishop or presbyters, but only to the people. Yet this action of theirs is sometimes called oblation or offering, as in Cyprian,[41] and the council of Ancyra,[42] which forbids some deacons that were under censure, *ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν*, to offer either the bread or wine, as deacons otherwise were allowed to do.

Sect. 8. But not allowed to consecrate them at the altar.

Some learned persons,[43] I know, put a different sense upon the words of this council: they understand by offering, consecration, and thence conclude, that deacons anciently were invested with the ordinary power of consecrating the eucharist in the absence of the presbyters. But this is more than can fairly be deduced from the words, which are capable of two more reasonable constructions: either they may signify the deacon's offering the people's oblations to the priest, which was a part of their office, as I showed before: and so Petavius[44] and Habertus understand them: or else they may be interpreted by Cyprian's words, who expresses himself more fully, calling it offering the consecrated bread and wine to the people; which seems to be the most natural sense, and is preferred to all others by some late learned writers.[45] Whatever it be, there is no reason to believe it means that deacons were allowed the ordinary power of consecration. For the council of Nice, which was not long after the council of Ancyra, says expressly,[46] that deacons had not power to offer; that is, in the sense in which offering signifies consecration; for in that sense it was the proper office of presbyters. Some deacons, indeed, did, about this time, take upon them thus to offer, but the council of Arles, which was held in the same year with that of Ancyra, reckons it a presumption and transgression of their rule, and therefore made a new canon to restrain them.[47] St. Hilary is a good witness of the practice of the church in his own time, and he assures us there could be no sacrifice, or consecration of the eucharist, without a presbyter.[48] And St. Jerom says the same,[49] that presbyters were the only persons whose prayers consecrated bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. For which reason, speaking of one Hilary, a deacon, he says, he could not consecrate the eucharist,[50] because he was only a deacon. The reason of this was, because the holy eucharist was looked upon as the prime Christian sacrifice, and one of the highest offices of the Christian priesthood: and deacons being generally reckoned no priests, or but in the lowest degree, they were therefore forbidden to offer or consecrate this sacrifice at the altar. This reason is assigned by the author of the Constitutions,[51] and the author under the name of St. Austin, and several others.

But there is a passage in St. Ambrose, which seems to intimate, that in the third century the deacons at Rome had power to consecrate the eucharist; for speaking of Laurentius the deacon, he brings him in thus addressing himself to Sixtus, his bishop, as he was going to his martyrdom: Whither go you, holy priest, without your deacon? You did not use to offer sacrifice without your minister. Why are you then now displeased with me? Why may I not be partner with you in shed-

36 Just. M. Apol. 2. p. 97.

37 Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 13.

38 Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. c. 101. Diaconi ordo est accipere a sacerdote, et sic dare plebi.

39 Con. Carth. 4. c. 38. Diaconus, præsente presbytero, eucharistiam corporis Christi populo, si necessitas cogat, jussus eroget. Vid. Con. Arelat. 2. c. 15.

40 Con. Nic. can. 18.

41 Cypr. de Lapsis, p. 132. Solemnibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre præsentibus cœpit.

42 Con. Ancyr. c. 2.

43 Hospin. Hist. Sacram. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 23.

44 Petav. Diatrib. de Potest. Consecr. c. 3. t. 4. p. 211. Habert. in Pontifical. Par. 9. Observ. 2. p. 190.

45 Suicer. Thesaur. t. 1. p. 871.

46 Con. Nic. c. 18. Τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, &c.

47 Con. Arelat. 1. c. 15. De diaconibus, quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit minime fieri debere.

48 Hilar. Fragm. p. 129. Sacrificii opus sine presbytero esse non potuit.

49 Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Quid patitur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos tumidus se efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus et sanguis conficitur?

50 Id. Dial. cont. Lucif. p. 145. Hilarius cum diaconus de ecclesia recesserit, solusque ut putat turba sit mundi: neque eucharistiam conficere potest, episcopos et presbyteros non habens, &c.

51 Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 28. Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. qu. 46.

ding my blood, who was used to consecrate[52] the blood of Christ by your commission, and be your partner in consummating the holy mysteries? Baronius was so perplexed with this difficulty, that he resolves it to be a corruption of the text, and that instead of *consecrationem*, it should be read[53] *dispensationem:* and some shameless editors have, without any grounds, made bold to foist this correction into the text; which Bona[54] and Habertus ingenuously condemn, as done against the authority of all the MSS., as well as former editions, and that without any reason for it from the difficulty of the expression. For the word, consecration, in this place, does not signify the sacramental consecration of the elements by prayer at the altar, which was performed by the bishop himself, as appears evidently from the context, where it is said, the bishop was never used to offer sacrifice without his minister or deacon: therefore the consecration, which was committed to the deacon, must be of another sort; for he could not offer, or consecrate the elements on the altar, in the bishop's presence, and at the same time that the bishop himself consecrated, but he might assist him, or bear a part with him, as it is there worded, in consummating the holy mysteries, that is, in giving the cup with the usual form of words to the people; which, in the language of those times, was called a ministerial consecration, or consummation of the sacrament, forasmuch as the receivers were hereby consecrated with the blood of Christ, and also consummated or made perfect partakers of the sacrament in both kinds, having received the bread from the hands of the bishop, and the cup from the hands of the deacon. This is plainly the consecration here spoken of, which refers only to the deacon's ministering of the cup to the people, which was their usual office, and so cannot be made an argument, as Hospinian and Grotius[55] would have it, that deacons were allowed to consecrate the eucharist at the altar.

Sect. 9. 5. Deacons allowed to baptize in some places.

But for the other sacrament of baptism, it is more evident, that they were permitted in some cases to administer it solely. For though the author[56] of the Constitutions says, that the deacons did neither baptize, nor offer; and Epiphanius[57] affirms universally, that the deacons were not intrusted with the sole administration of any sacrament; yet it appears from other writers that they had this power, at least in some places, ordinarily conferred upon them. Tertullian[58] invests them with the same right as presbyters, that is, to baptize by the bishop's leave. And St. Jerom[59] entitles them to the very same privilege. The council of Eliberis[60] as plainly asserts this right, when it says, If a deacon, that takes care of a people without either bishop or presbyter, baptizes any, the bishop shall consummate them by his benediction. This plainly supposes, that deacons had the ordinary right of baptizing in such churches over which they presided. So when Cyril[61] directs his catechumens, how they should behave themselves at the time of baptism, when they came either before a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, in city or in village; this may be presumed a fair intimation, that then deacons were ordinarily allowed to minister baptism in country places. I speak only now of their ordinary power. For as to extraordinary cases, not only deacons, but the inferior clergy, and laymen also, were admitted to baptize in the primitive church, as will be showed in its proper place.

Sect. 10. 6. Deacons to bid prayer in the congregation.

Another office of the deacons was, to be a sort of monitors and directors to the people in the exercise of their public devotions in the church. To which purpose they were wont to use certain known forms of words, to give notice when each part of the service began, and to excite the people to join attentively therein; also to give notice to the catechumens, penitents, energumens, when to come up and make their prayers, and when to depart; and in several prayers they repeated the words before them, to teach them what they were to pray for. All this was called by the general name of *κηρύττειν*, among the Greeks, and *prædicare*, among the Latins which does not ordinarily signify preaching, as some mistake it, but performing the office of a *κῆρυξ*, or *præco*, in the assembly: whence Synesius[62] and some others call the deacons, *ἱεροκήρυκες*, the holy criers of the church, as those that gave notice to the congregation how all things were re-

[52] Ambros. de Offic. lib. 1. c. 41. Quo sacerdos sancte sine diacono properas? Nunquam sacrificium sine ministro offerre consueveras. Quid in me ergo displicuit pater?—Cui commisisti Dominici sanguinis consecrationem, cui consummandorum consortium sacramentorum, huic consortium tui sanguinis negas.

[53] Baron. an. 261. n. 7.

[54] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 4. Habert. Not. in Pontifical. Græc. p. 191.

[55] Vid. Grot. de Cœnæ Administratione ubi Pastores non sunt. Cited and confuted by Petavius.

[56] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 38.

[57] Epiphan. Hær. 79. Collyrid. n. 4.

[58] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 17. Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus; dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, &c.

[59] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucif. c. 4. p. 139. Inde venit, ut sine jussione episcopi, neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi.

[60] Concil. Eliber. c. 77. Si quis diaconus, regens plebem sine episcopo vel presbytero, aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit.

[61] Cyril. Catech. 17. n. 17.

[62] Synes. Ep. 67. p. 224. Chrysost. Hom. 17. in Heb. ix. Κῆρυξ ὅταν εἴπῃ, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

gularly to be performed. Thus the word κηρύξαι frequently occurs in the ancient rituals and canons; as in the Apostolical Constitutions, as soon as the bishop has ended his sermon, the deacon is to cry, Let the hearers and unbelievers depart.[63] Then he is to bid the catechumens pray, and to call upon the faithful also to pray for them, repeating a form of bidding prayer, to instruct the people after what manner they were to pray for them. Which form may be seen both in the Constitutions,[64] and in St. Chrysostom.[65] After this the deacon was to call in like manner upon the energumens, the *competentes*, and the penitents in their several orders, using the solemn words of exhortation both to them and the people to pray for them, ἐκτενῶς δεηθῶμεν, Let us ardently pray for them. Then again, when the deacon had dismissed all these by a solemn cry, ἀπολύεσθε, προέλθετε, or, *Ite, Missa est;* he called upon the faithful to pray again for themselves, and the whole state of Christ's church, repeating[66] another form of bidding prayer before them. And this is there called the deacon's προσφώνησις, or exhortation to pray, to distinguish it from the bishop's ἐπίκλησις, which was a direct form of address to God, whereas the deacon's address was to the people: for which reason it was called προσφώνησις, and κηρύξαι, bidding the people pray; or a call and exhortation to pray, with directions what they should pray for in particular. This the Latins called both *oratio* and *prædicatio*, as may be seen in one of the councils of Toledo,[67] which explains the word *orare*, by *prædicare*, making them both to signify this office of the deacon. And hence one of the deacon's ornaments (that I may note this by the way) is called by the same council his *orarium*, because he used it sometimes as a private signal to give notice of the prayers to his brethren of the clergy. By all this we may understand what Socrates means, when he says Athanasius[68] commanded his deacon κηρύξαι εὐχὴν, to bid prayer; and how we are to interpret that controverted canon of the council of Ancyra, which, speaking of some deacons that had lapsed into idolatry, and degrading them, says, They should no longer κηρύσσειν:[69] which some interpret preaching, but others[70] more truly understand it of this part of the deacon's office, which was to be the κήρυξ or *præco*, the sacred crier of the congregation.

Sect. 11. 7. Deacons allowed to preach by the bishop's authority.

If it be inquired, whether deacons had any power to preach publicly in the congregation? the answer must be the same as in the case of baptism: they had power to preach by licence and authority from the bishop, but not without it. The author under the name of St. Ambrose[71] says positively, that deacons did not preach in his time; though he thinks originally all deacons were evangelists, as Philip and Stephen were. I have showed before, that presbyters themselves in many places were not allowed to preach in the bishop's presence, but by his special leave; and therefore it is much more reasonable to conclude the same of deacons. Blondel[72] and Baronius think that St. Chrysostom preached those elegant discourses, *de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, de Anathemate, &c.* while he was but a deacon. But others think[73] more probably, that those were not sermons which he preached in the church, but only discourses that he composed upon other occasions; and that his first sermon was that which he preached when he was ordained presbyter, now extant in his 4th vol. p. 953. But if he ever preached while he was deacon, there is no question to be made but that he had the authority of his bishop Meletius for doing it: as Philostorgius[74] says, Leontius the Arian bishop of Antioch permitted Aetius his deacon to preach publicly in the church. Ephrem Syrus perhaps was another such instance: for he was never more than a deacon of the church of Edessa; yet Photius[75] says he composed several homilies or sermons, which were so excellent in their kind, that after his death they were translated into other languages, and allowed to be read in many churches immediately after the reading of the Scriptures, as St. Jerom[76] acquaints us. In some places, as in the French churches, the deacons were authorized by canon to read some such homilies in the church instead of ι sermon, when the presbyter happened to be sick, and could not preach, as appears from the order made in the council of Vaison[77] upon this occasion. But here was necessity and permission too: so that the case of deacons preaching in those ages of the church seems to have been (according to the resolution, which Vigilius[78] afterward gave of it) allowable, if authorized by the bishop; but a presumption both against custom and canon, if done without his permission.

[63] Const. Apost. lib. 8. c. 5. κηρυττέτω, μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων.

[64] Ibid. c. 6. [65] Chrys. Hom. 2. in 1 Cor.

[66] Const. Apost. lib. 8. c. 10.

[67] Con. Tolet. 4. c. 40. Unum orarium oportet Levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est, prædicat.

[68] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 11. [69] Con. Ancyr. c. 2.

[70] Habert. Pontifical. p. 203. Bevereg. Not. in Con. Ancyr. c. 2. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. t. 2. p. 99.

[71] Ambros. Com. in Eph. iv. Nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.

[72] Blondel, Apol. p. 57. Baron. an. 386. p. 542.

[73] Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. 1. p. 253.

[74] Philostorg. lib. 3. c. 17. διδάσκειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιτρέπει.

[75] Phot. Cod. 196. Λόγοι ἐννέα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

[76] Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 115.

[77] Con. Vasens. 3. c. 2. Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit prædicare, Sanctorum Patrum homiliæ a diaconibus recitentur.

[78] Vigil. Ep. ad Rustic. et Sebastian. Concil. t. 5. p. 554. Adjecistis etiam execranda superbia, quæ nec legun-

Sect. 12. 8. Also to reconcile penitents in cases of extreme necessity.

And so the case stood likewise with deacons in reference to the power of reconciling penitents, and granting them absolution. This was ordinarily the bishop's sole prerogative, as the supreme minister of the church; and therefore rarely committed to presbyters, but never to deacons, except in cases of extreme necessity, when neither bishop nor presbyter were ready at hand to do it: in this case deacons were sometimes authorized, as the bishop's special delegates, to give men the solemn imposition of hands, which was the sign of reconciliation. Thus we find it in Cyprian, in the case of those penitents, whom the martyrs by their letters recommended to the favour of the church: If, says he,[79] they are seized by any dangerous distemper, they need not expect my return, but may have recourse to any presbyter that is present; or if a presbyter cannot be found, they may make their confession before a deacon; that so they may receive imposition of hands, and go to the Lord in peace. Here it is observable, that none below a deacon are commissioned to perform this office; nor were the deacons authorized to do it, but as the bishop's delegates, and that in cases of extreme necessity, when no presbyter could be found to reconcile the penitent at the point of death.

And to suspend the inferior clergy in some extraordinary cases.

In the like case, that is, in the case of absolute necessity, it seems very probable, that in some of the Greek churches they had power to suspend the inferior clergy, when need so required, and neither bishop nor presbyter was present to do it. Which may be collected from those words of the author of the Constitutions,[80] where he says, a deacon excommunicates a subdeacon, a reader, a singer, a deaconness, if there be occasion, and the presbyter be not at hand to do it. But a subdeacon shall have no power to excommunicate any, either clergy or laity; for subdeacons are only ministers of the deacons. This was a power then committed to deacons in extraordinary cases, and a peculiar privilege which none of the inferior clergy might enjoy.

Sect. 13. 9. Deacons to attend upon their bishops, and sometimes represent them in general councils.

It may be reckoned also among their extraordinary offices, that they were sometimes deputed by their bishops to be their representatives and proxies in general councils. Their ordinary office there was only to attend upon their bishops, and perform the duties of scribes, and disputants, &c. according as they were directed by them; in which station we commonly find them employed in the ancient councils: but then there were two things in which they were treated as inferior to presbyters: 1. In that presbyters are usually represented as sitting together with their bishops, while the deacons stood with all the people. 2. Presbyters were sometimes allowed to vote, as has been showed before; but there are no instances that I know of, to evidence the same privilege to belong to deacons. Only when bishops could not attend in person, they many times sent their deacons to represent them; and then they sat and voted, not as deacons, but as proxies, in the room and place of those that sent them. Of which there are so many instances in the acts of the councils, that it is needless to refer the reader to any of them. Yet they that desire to see examples, may consult Christianus Lupus in his notes upon the seventh canon of the council of Trullo, where he observes some difference in the sitting and voting of deacons in the Eastern and Western councils: in the Eastern councils, if a deacon represented a metropolitan or a patriarch, he sat and subscribed in the place that the metropolitan or patriarch himself would have done, had he been present; but in the Western councils it was otherwise; there the deacons voted after all the bishops, and not in the place of those whose proxies they were.

Thus it was in general councils. But in provincial and consistorial synods, the deacons were sometimes allowed to give their voice, as well as the presbyters, in their own name. Of which the reader may see several instances in the Roman councils under Symmachus and Gregory II., published by Justellus[81] in his Bibliotheca Juris Canonici, and in the fourth tome of the councils, where first the bishops, then the presbyters, and then the deacons, subscribe every one in their own name in particular. And those that are curious about this matter, may furnish themselves with many other such examples.

Sect. 14. 10. Deacons empowered to rebuke and correct men that behaved themselves irregularly in the church.

There are two things more to be observed concerning the office of deacons in church assemblies. 1. That as they were the regulators and directors of men's behaviour in Divine service; so they had power to rebuke the irregular, and chastise them for any indecent and unseemly deportment. The Constitutions often mention such acts as these belonging to the deacon's office. If any one be found sitting out of his place,[82] let the

tur, nec sine sui pontificis jussione aliquando ordinis vestri homines præsumpserunt, auctoritatem vobis prædicationis contra omnem consuetudinem vel canones vindicare.

[79] Cypr. Ep. 13. al. 18. ad. Cler. Si incommodo aliquo et infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint, non expectata præsentia nostra, apud presbyterum quemcunque præsentem, vel si presbyter repertus non fuerit, et urgere exitus cœperit, apud diaconum quoque exomologesin facere delicti sui possint; ut manu eis in pœnitentia imposita veniant ad Dominum cum pace.

[80] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 28. *Διάκονος ἀφορίζει τὸν ὑποδιάκονον*, &c.

[81] See before, chap. 19. sect. 12.

[82] Const. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. *ἐπιπλησσέσθω ὑπὸ τοῦ διακόνου, ὡς πρώρεως*, &c.

deacon rebuke him, and transfer him to his proper station, as the pilot or steersman of the church. And again a little after, Let the deacon[83] overlook and superintend the people, that no one talk, or sleep, or laugh, but give ear to the word of God. This is evident also from St. Chrysostom, who, speaking of the irreverent behaviour of some in the church, bids their neighbours first rebuke them, and if they would not bear it, to call the deacon[84] to do his office toward them. Agreeable to this, Optatus tells us a very remarkable story of Cæcilian, archdeacon of Carthage, that observing one Lucilla, a rich woman, commit an indecent act in the time of receiving the holy communion, (for before she received the bread and wine, she was used to kiss the relics of some pretended martyr,) he rebuked her[85] for it by virtue of his office: which she so highly resented, that afterward, when he was chosen bishop, she factiously withdrew herself, with some others, from his communion, and pretending his ordination to be illegal, she, by her power, got Majorinus ordained against him: and this was one of the principal causes of the schism of the Donatists, as Optatus there observes: It had its rise from the implacable malice of a proud and angry woman, who could never forgive the deacon that rebuked her in the church. Some may perhaps imagine, that what Cæcilian did was by virtue of a superior office, and that as archdeacon he was of a higher order, as now commonly archdeacons are. But I shall show in the next chapter, that anciently archdeacons were always of the order of deacons, and of no other degree: and it appears from what has here been already discoursed, that this act of Cæcilian was not from any peculiar power that he enjoyed as archdeacon, but from that ordinary power to rebuke offenders, which he had in common with all the other deacons of the church.

Sect. 15. 11. Deacons anciently performed the offices of all the inferior orders of the church.

The other thing I would further remark concerning the office of deacons is this, that before the institution of the inferior orders of the church, (which were not set up in all churches at once, nor perhaps in any church for the two first ages, as shall be showed hereafter,) the deacons were employed to perform all such offices as were in after ages committed to those orders; such as the offices of readers, subdeacons, exorcists or catechists, door-keepers, and the like. Thus Epiphanius[86] observes, that originally all offices of the church were performed by bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and therefore no church was without a deacon. This was certainly the practice in the time of Ignatius, who never speaks of any order below that of deacons; but without them, he says, no church was[87] called a church. So that all the inferior offices must then be performed by deacons. And even in after ages we find that several of the inferior offices were many times put upon the same man, perhaps to avoid the charge of maintaining an over-numerous clergy in lesser churches. Thus Eusebius tells us, that Romanus the martyr[88] was both deacon and exorcist in the church of Cæsarea. And Procopius the martyr had three offices in the church of Scythopolis; he was at once reader, interpreter, and exorcist; as we learn from the Acts of his Martyrdom[89] published by Valesius. Now both these were martyred in the beginning of the fourth century, in the time of the Diocletian persecution. And we find, a whole age after this, if the author under the name of St. Austin[90] may be credited, that except in such great and rich churches as the church of Rome, where there was a numerous clergy, all the inferior services were still performed by the deacons. In the Greek church they were always the *πυλωροὶ*, or door-keepers, in the time of the oblation and celebration of the eucharist, as may be seen in the Apostolical Constitutions,[91] where the deacons are commanded to stand at the men's gate, and the subdeacons at the women's, to see that no one should go out or come in during the time of the oblation. These were anciently the deacons' principal employments in the assemblies of the church.

Sect. 16. 12. Deacons the bishop's sub-almoners.

But besides these, we are to take notice of two or three other offices, in which they were commonly employed by the bishop out of the church. One of these was to be his sub-almoner, to take care of the necessitous, such as orphans, widows, virgins, martyrs in prison, and all the poor and sick who had any title to be maintained out of the public revenues of the church. The deacons were particularly to inquire into the necessities and wants of all these, and make relation thereof to the bishop, and then distribute to them such charities as they received from him towards their relief and assistance. The archdeacon indeed was as it were the bishop's treasurer, but all the deacons were his dispensers, or ministers of the church's charity to the indigent.

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83 Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. p. 264. Ὁ διάκονος ἐπισκοπείτω τὸν λαὸν, &c. Confer lib. 8. c. 11.

84 Chrys. Hom. 24. in Act.

85 Optat. lib. 1. p. 40. Cum correptionem archidiaconi Cæciliani ferre non posset, quæ ante spiritalem cibum et potum, os nescio cujus martyris, si tamen martyris, libare dicebatur, &c.

86 Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian.

87 Ignat. Ep. ad Tral. n. 3.

88 Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. 2.

89 Acta Procop. ap. Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Martyr. Palæst. c. 1. Ibi ecclesiæ tria ministeria præbebat: unum in legendi officio, alterum in Syri interpretatione sermonis, et tertium adversus dæmones manus impositione consummans.

90 Aug. Quæst. Vet. et N. Test. c. 101. cited before, sect. 4.

91 Const. Apost. lib. 8. c. 11.

Which appears from several passages in Cyprian,[92] Dionysius[93] of Alexandria, and the author[94] of the Constitutions, who speak indifferently of this office as common to all the deacons. Particularly in the Constitutions, the duty of the deacon is thus described, that he should inform his bishop, when he knows any one to be in distress, and then distribute to their necessities by the directions of the bishop; but to do nothing clancularly without his consent, lest that might seem to accuse him of neglecting the distressed, and so turn to his reproach, and raise a murmuring against him.

Sect. 17. 13. Deacons to inform the bishop of the misdemeanors of the people.

Another office of the deacons in this respect was, to make inquiry into the morals and conversation of the people; and such evils as he could not redress himself, by the ordinary power which was intrusted in his hands, of those he was to give information to the bishop, that he by his supreme authority might redress them. Let the deacon, says the book[95] of Constitutions, refer all things to the bishop, as Christ did to the Father: such things as he is able, let him rectify, by the power which he has from the bishop; but the weightier causes let the bishop judge.

Sect. 18. Hence deacons commonly called the bishop's eyes, his mouth, angels, prophets, &c.

Upon this account the deacons were usually styled the bishop's eyes and his ears, his mouth, his right hand, and his heart: because by their ministry he overlooked his charge, and by them took cognizance of men's actions, as much as if he himself had seen them with his own eyes, or heard them with his own ears: by them he sent directions and orders to his flock, in which respect they were his mouth and his heart; by them he distributed to the necessities of the indigent, and so they were his right hand. These titles are frequently to be met with in the Constitutions,[96] and the author of the Epistle[97] to St. James. And Isidore of Pelusium, in allusion to them, writing to Lucius,[98] an archdeacon, he tells him in the phrase of the church, that he ought to be all eye, forasmuch as deacons were the eyes of the bishop. The author of the Constitutions[99] terms them likewise the bishop's angels and prophets, because they were the persons whom he chiefly employed in messages, either to his own people, or foreign churches. For then bishops did nothing but by the mouth or hands of one of their clergy.

Sect. 19. Deacons to be multiplied according to the necessities of the church.

For this reason, there being such a multitude and variety of business commonly attending the deacon's office, it was usual to have several deacons in the same church. In some churches they were very precise to the number seven, in imitation of the first church of Jerusalem. The council of Neocæsarea[100] enacted it into a canon, that there ought to be but seven deacons in any city, though it was never so great, because this was according to the rule suggested in the Acts of the Apostles. And the church of Rome, both before and after this council, seems to have looked upon that as a binding rule also. For it is evident from the epistle of Cornelius,[101] written in the middle of the third century, that there were then but seven deacons in the church of Rome, though there were forty-six presbyters at the same time. And Prudentius intimates that it was so in the time of Sixtus also, anno 261. For speaking of Laurentius the deacon, he terms him,[102] the chief of those seven men, who had their station near the altar; meaning the seven deacons of the church. Nay, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the custom there continued the same, as we learn both from Sozomen,[103] and Hilarius Sardus,[104] the Roman deacon who wrote under the name of St. Ambrose. But Sozomen says, this rule was not observed in other churches, but the number of deacons was indifferent, as the business of every church required. And it is certain it was so at Alexandria and Constantinople. For though one of the writers of the Life of St. Mark, cited by Bishop Pearson,[105] says St. Mark ordained but seven deacons at Alexandria, yet in after ages there were more: for Alexander, in one of his circular letters,[106] names nine deacons, whom he deposed with Arius for their heretical opinions; and it is probable there were several others who continued orthodox: for in the form of Arius his condemnation, published[107] by Cotelerius, the catholic deacons of Alexandria and Mareotes are mentioned, as joining with their bishop in condemning him. And for the church of Constantinople, the number of deacons was there so great, that in one of Justinian's Novels,[108] we find them limited to a hundred for the service of the great church and three others only. So that it is evident the number of deacons usually increased with the necessities of the church, and

92 Cypr. Ep. 49. al. 52. ad Cornel.
93 Dionys. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11.
94 Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 31 et 32. lib. 3. c. 19.
95 Const. Apost. lib. 2. c. 44.
96 Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 44. lib. 3. c. 19.
97 Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. c. 12.
98 Isidor. lib. 1. Ep. 29.
99 Const. Apost. lib. 2. c. 30.
100 Conc. Neocæsar. c. 15.
101 Cornel. Ep. ad Fabi. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.
102 Prudent. Hymn. de S. Laurent. Hic primus e septem viris qui stant ad aram proximi.
103 Sozom. lib. 7. c. 19. Διάκονοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εἰσέτι νῦν οὐ πλείους εἰσὶν ἑπτά.
104 Ambros. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. p. 995. Nunc autem septem diaconos esse oportet, aliquantos presbyteros, ut bini sint per ecclesias, et unus in civitate episcopus.
105 Vit. S. Marci ap. Pearson. Vind. Ignat. par. 1. c. 11. p. 329. B. Marcus Anizanum Alexandriæ ordinavit episcopum, et tres presbyteros, et septem diaconos.
106 Alex. Ep. Encycl. ap. Theodor. lib. 1. c. 4.
107 Coteler. Not. in Const. Apost. lib. 8. c. 28.
108 Justin. Novel. 3. c. 1.

the church of Rome was singular in the contrary practice.

Sect. 20. Of the age at which deacons might be ordained.

I speak nothing here of the qualifications required in deacons, because they were generally the same that were required in bishops and presbyters, and will be spoken of hereafter: only in their age there was some difference, which is here to be observed. Bishops and presbyters, as has been noted above, might not ordinarily be ordained before thirty, but deacons were allowed to be ordained at twenty-five, and not before. This is the term fixed both by the civil and canon law, as may be seen in Justinian's Novels,[109] the councils of Agde,[110] Carthage, Trullo, and many others. And it was a rule very nicely observed: for though we meet with some bishops that were ordained before this age, yet those (as I have showed before) were never deacons, but ordained immediately bishops from laymen: but among those that were ordained deacons, we scarce meet with an instance of any one that was ordained before the age of twenty-five in all the history of the church.

Sect. 21. Of the respect which deacons paid to presbyters, and received from the inferior orders.

The last thing which I shall observe of deacons, is the great deference and respect they were obliged to pay to presbyters, as well as to the bishop. It has been proved before, that the presbyters had their thrones in the church, whereon they sat together with their bishop: but the deacons had no such privilege, but are always represented as standing by them. So the author[111] of the Constitutions and Gregory Nazianzen[112] place them in this order, viz. the bishop sitting on the middle throne, the presbyters sitting on each hand of him, and the deacons standing by. The council of Nice expressly[113] forbids deacons to sit among the presbyters in the church. And it is evident from St. Jerom[114] and the author under the name of St. Austin,[115] that though the Roman deacons were grown the most elated of any others, yet they did not presume to sit in the church. Nay, some canons go further, and forbid[116] deacons to sit any where in the presence of a presbyter, except by his permission.

The like respect they were to pay to presbyters in several other instances, being obliged to minister to them, as well as to the bishop, in the performance of all divine offices; none of which might be performed by a deacon in the presence of a presbyter, without some special reason for it, as has been noted before. Nay, a deacon was not allowed so much as to bless a common feast, if a presbyter was present at it: as we may see in St. Jerom's epistle[117] to Evagrius, where he censures the Roman deacons somewhat sharply for presuming to do so.

But then, as the canons obliged deacons to pay this respect to presbyters; so, to distinguish them from the lesser clergy, all the inferior orders were required to pay the same respect to them. The council of Laodicea, in the same canon that says, a deacon shall not sit in the presence of a presbyter without his leave, adds immediately after, that in like manner the deacon shall be honoured by the subdeacons and all the other clergy. And the council of Agde[118] repeats the canon in the same words. I shall here also remind the reader of what I have observed before, that deacons in some churches had power to censure the inferior clergy in the absence of the presbyters. St. Jerom[119] seems also to say, that their revenues were rather greater than those of the presbyters, which made them sometimes troublesome and assuming. Beside all this, the order of deacons was of great repute, because the archdeacon was always then one of this order, and he was commonly a man of great interest and authority in the church; of whose powers and privileges, because it is necessary to discourse a little more particularly, I shall treat distinctly of them in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF ARCHDEACONS.

Sect. 1. Archdeacons anciently of the same order with deacons.

Though archdeacons in these last ages of the church have usually been of the order of presbyters, yet anciently they were no more than deacons; which appears evidently from those writers, who give us the first

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[109] Just. Novel. 123. c. 13. Presbyterum minorem triginta quinque annorum fieri non permittimus. Sed neque diaconum aut subdiaconum viginti quinque.

[110] Conc. Agathens. c. 16. Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 4. Conc. Trull. c. 14. Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 20.

[111] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57.

[112] Greg. Naz. Somn. de Eccles. Anastas.

[113] Conc. Nic. c. 18.

[114] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. In ecclesia Romæ presbyteri sedent, et stant diaconi.

[115] Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. c. 101. Quanquam Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconi modice inverecundiores videantur, sedendi tamen dignitatem in ecclesia non præsumunt.

[116] Concil. Laodic. c. 20. Carthag. 4. c. 39.

[117] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Licet increbrescentibus vitiis, inter presbyteros absente episcopo sedere diaconum viderim: et in domesticis conviviis, benedictiones presbyteris dare, al. benedictiones coram presbyteris dare.

[118] Conc. Agathens. c. 65. Non oportet diaconum sedere præsente presbytero, sed ex jussione presbyteri sedeat. Similiter autem honorificetur diaconus a ministris inferioribus et omnibus clericis.

[119] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Presbyter noverit se lucris minorem, sacerdotio esse majorem. Id. Com. in Ezek. c. xlviii. Ultra sacerdotes, hoc est, presbyteros intumescunt: et dignitatem non merito sed divitiis æstimant.

account of them. St. Jerom[1] says the archdeacon was chosen out of the deacons, and was the principal deacon in every church, as the archpresbyter was the principal presbyter; and that there was but one of each in every church. Optatus calls Cæcilian[2] archdeacon of Carthage, yet he was never more than a deacon, till he was ordained bishop, as has been showed before: and that made Cæcilian himself say, that if he was not rightly ordained bishop, as the Donatists pretended, he was to be treated only as a deacon.[3] It is certain also St. Laurence, archdeacon of Rome, was no more than the chief of the deacons, or the principal man of the seven,[4] who stood and waited at the altar, as Prudentius words it. From these testimonies it is very plain, that in those times the archdeacon was always one of the order of deacons.

Sect. 2. Elected by the bishop, and not made by seniority.

But how the archdeacon came by his honour, and after what manner he was invested with his office, is a matter of some dispute among learned men. Salmasius[5] and some others are of opinion, that originally he was no more than the senior deacon, though they own that in process of time the office became elective. Habertus[6] thinks it was always elective, and that it was at the bishop's liberty and discretion to nominate which of the deacons he thought fit to the office. That it was so in the case of Athanasius, seems pretty evident from what Theodoret says of him,[7] that though he was very young, yet he was made chief of the order of deacons. For this implies, as Valesius there observes, that he was chosen by the bishop, and preferred before his seniors. St. Jerom, in the forecited passage, as plainly asserts that the office went not by seniority, but election: only he seems to put the power of electing in the deacons: but if they had any hand in it, it must be understood to be under the direction of the bishop, who is required by some canons to choose his own archdeacon, and ordinarily to give preference to the senior, if he was duly qualified; but if not, to make choice of any other, whom he thought most fit to discharge the offices of the church,[8] and the trust that was reposed in him.

Sect. 3. Commonly persons of such interest in the church, that they were chosen the bishops' successors.

The office of the archdeacon was always a place of great honour and reputation. For he was the bishop's constant attendant and assistant; and next to the bishop, the eyes of the whole church were fixed upon him. By which means he commonly gained such an interest, as to get himself chosen the bishop's successor before the presbyters. Of which it were easy to give several instances, as Athanasius, Cæcilian, and many others. And this, I presume, was the reason why St. Jerom says, that an archdeacon thought himself injured,[9] if he was ordained a presbyter: probably because he thereby lost his interest in the church, and was disappointed of his preferment. We might certainly conclude it was thus in the church of Rome, if what Eulogius, a Greek writer in Photius, says, might be depended on as true: that it was a law at Rome to choose the archdeacon the bishop's successor,[10] and that therefore Cornelius ordained Novatian presbyter, to deprive him of the privilege and hopes of succeeding. But I confess there is no small reason to question the truth of this relation, both because we read of no such law in any writer of the Latin church, and because this author palpably mistakes, in saying, that Cornelius ordained Novatian presbyter, who was presbyter long before; and probably never was archdeacon, nor deacon, but ordained presbyter immediately from a layman, as may be collected from the letters of Cyprian[11] and Cornelius,[12] which tacitly reflect upon him for it. Yet if by law Eulogius meant no more than custom, perhaps it might be customary at Rome, as at some other places, to make the archdeacons the bishops' successors; their power and privileges, as I observed, commonly gaining them a considerable interest both among the clergy and the people.

Sect. 4. The offices of the archdeacon. 1. To attend the bishop at the altar, &c.

As to the archdeacon's office, he was always the bishop's immediate minister and attendant: *a latere pontificis non recessit*, to use St. Jerom's phrase, he was always by his side, ready to assist him. Particularly at the altar, when the bishop ministered, he performed the usual offices of a deacon, that have been mentioned in the last chapter.

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[1] Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagr. Aut diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent. Id. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi.

[2] Optat. lib. 1. p. 40. Cum correptionem archidiaconi Cæciliani ferre non posset, &c.

[3] Optat. ibid. p. 41. Iterum a Cæciliano mandatum est, ut si felix in se, sicut illi arbitrabantur, nihil contulisset, ipsi tanquam adhuc diaconum ordinarent Cæcilianum.

[4] Prudent. Hymn. de S. Steph. Hic primus e septem viris, qui stant ad aram proximi.

[5] Salmas. de Primat. p. 8. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccl. t. 1. p. 531.

[6] Habert. Pontifical. Obs. 6. p. 206.

[7] Theod. lib. 1. c. 26. *Νέος μὲν ὢν τὴν ἡλικίαν, τοῦ χοροῦ δὲ τῶν διακόνων ἡγούμενος.*

[8] Conc. Agathens. c. 23. Si officium archidiaconatus, propter simpliciorem naturam implere aut expedire nequiverit, ille loci sui nomen teneat, et ordinationi ecclesiæ, quem episcopus elegerit, præponatur.

[9] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. xlviii. Certe qui primus fuerit ministrorum, quia per singula concionatur in populos, et a pontificis latere non recedit, injuriam putat, si presbyter ordinetur.

[10] Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 182. *Τὸν ἀρχιδιάκονον ἐνενόμιστο διάδοχον τοῦ ἀρχιερατεύοντος καθίστασθαι.*

[11] Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian, p. 103.

[12] Cornel. Ep. ad Fabian. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

The author of the Constitutions calls him the ὁ παρεςὼς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, the deacon that stood by the bishop, and proclaimed, when the communion service began, Let no[13] one approach in wrath against his brother, let no one come in hypocrisy. To him it belonged to minister the cup to the people, when the bishop celebrated the eucharist, and had administered the bread before him, as we learn from the account which St. Ambrose[14] gives of Laurentius, archdeacon of Rome. It was his business also, as the bishop's substitute, to order all things relating to the inferior clergy, and their ministrations and services in the church: as what deacon should read the Gospel, who should bid the prayers, which of them should keep the doors, which walk about the church to observe the behaviour of the people; which of the readers, acolythists, subdeacons, should perform their service at such a time, or in what post and station: for these things were not precisely determined, but at the bishop's liberty to ordain and appoint them; which he commonly did by his archdeacon; whose orders and directions therefore are sometimes called *ordinationes*, and *ordinatio ecclesiæ*,[15] in some of the ancient councils. Whence, I presume, came the name, ordinary, which is a title given to archdeacons in after ages.

Sect. 5. 2. To assist him in managing the church's revenues.

2. He assisted the bishop in managing and dispensing the church's revenues, having the chief care of the poor, orphans, widows, &c. under the bishop, whose portions were assigned by him, and sent by the hands of the other deacons that were under him. The fourth council[16] of Carthage makes mention of this part of his office, when it requires the bishop not to concern himself personally in the care and government of the widows, orphans, strangers, but to commit this to his archpresbyter or archdeacon. Upon this account Prudentius, describing[17] the offices of St. Laurence, whom he makes to be archdeacon of Rome, among other things, assigns him the keys of the church's treasure, and the care of dispensing the oblations of the people. And for the same reason both he and St. Ambrose,[18] and all other writers of his passion, bring in the heathen persecutor demanding of him those treasures, which he had in his keeping: which he promising to do, in a short time after brought before him the poor, the lame, the blind, the infirm, telling him, those were the riches which he had in his custody; for on them he had expended the church's treasure. St. Austin says this was his office, as he was archdeacon of the church. Paulinus[19] therefore calls the archdeacon, *arcæ custodem*, the keeper of the chest; because, though the other deacons were the dispensers and conveyors, yet he was the chief manager and director of them, and from him they took their orders, as from the guardian of the church's treasure. It was upon this account that the Donatists charged Cæcilian, among other things, that he had prohibited the deacons from carrying any provision[20] to the martyrs in prison. Which objection must be grounded upon this, that he was obliged by his office, as he was archdeacon, to see that the martyrs were provided of sustenance; which they pretended he had not only neglected, but abused his authority, in forbidding those that were under his command to minister unto them.

Sect. 6. 3. In preaching.

3. Another part of his office was to assist the bishop in preaching. For as any deacon was authorized to preach by the bishop's leave, so the archdeacon, being the most eminent of the deacons, was more frequently pitched upon to discharge this office, if we may so understand those words of St. Jerom, which have been cited before in the 3rd section, *Primus ministrorum per singula concionatur in populos*, The chief minister, or archdeacon, is many times, and in many places, employed in preaching to the people. For the word, *singula*, may relate both to times and places. But if any one thinks, that *concionari* here signifies no more than *prædicare* and κηρύσσειν, doing the office of a holy crier in the assembly, I shall not contend about it; but only say, that St. Jerom, speaking of something that then made the archdeacons popular, seems rather to mean the office of preaching, than any other.

Sect. 7. 4. In ordaining the inferior clergy.

4. The archdeacon usually bore a part with the bishop in the ordinations of the inferior clergy, subdeacons, acolythists, &c. His office in this matter is particularly described in several canons of the fourth council of Carthage,[21] which relate the manner how the inferior clergy were to be ordained; viz. not by imposition of hands, which belonged only to the superior orders, but by receiving some vessels or utensils of the church, partly from the hands of the

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[13] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57.

[14] Ambros. de Offic. lib. 1. c. 41.

[15] Vid. Concil. Agathens. c. 23. Isidor. Hispal. Ep. ad Ludifred. ap. Gratian. Dist. 25. c. 1.

[16] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 17. Ut episcopus gubernationem viduarum, pupillorum, ac peregrinorum, non per seipsum, sed per archipresbyterum, aut per archidiaconum agat.

[17] Prudent. Hymn. de S. Laur. Levita sublimis gradu, et cæteris præstantior, claustris sacrorum præerat, cœlestis arcanum domus fidis gubernans clavibus, votasque dispensans opes.

[18] Ambros. de Offic. lib. 2. c. 28. Aug. Serm. 111. de Diversis. Sanctus Laurentius archidiaconus fuit: opes ecclesiæ ab illo persecutore quærebantur. Id. de divers. Ser. 123.

[19] Paulin. de Mirac. S. Martin. lib. 4. Bibl. Patr. t. 8. p. 865.

Protinus adstanti diacono, quem more priorum
Antistes sanctæ custodem legerat arcæ,
Imperat, &c.

[20] Aug. Brevic. Collat. 3. c. 14.

[21] Concil. Carth. 4. c. 5, 6, 9.

bishop, and partly from the hands of the archdeacon. As, to give only one instance in the ordination of an acolythist, the canon says, The bishop was to inform him what his duty was, and then the archdeacon was to give him a taper into his hand, that he might know that he was appointed to light the candles of the church.

Sect. 8. 5. The archdeacon had power to censure deacons and the inferior clergy, but not presbyters.

5. The archdeacon was invested also with a power of censuring the other deacons, and all the inferior clergy of the church. That it was so, at least in some churches, is very evident from a passage in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, where Ibas, bishop of Edessa, speaking of Maras, one of the deacons of his church, says, he was not excommunicated by himself, but by his archdeacon, who,[22] for a crime committed against a presbyter, suspended him from the communion.

But whether the archdeacon had any power over presbyters, is a matter of dispute among learned men. Salmasius,[23] and the learned Suicerus[24] after him, scruple not to assert, that even the archpresbyter himself, in the Roman church, was subject to him. Cujacius, and some others, who are cited by Baluzius,[25] go one step further, and say it was so in all churches. Yet there is not the least footstep of any such power to be met with in any ancient writer or council: but the original of all the mistake is owing to a corruption in Gratian's Decree, and Gregory the Ninth's Decretals, who cite the words alleged in the margin,[26] the one as from Isidore of Seville, and the other from the council of Toledo, pretending that the archpresbyter is to be subject to the archdeacon: when yet, as both Baluzius and the Roman correctors confess, there are no such words to be found in Isidore's Epistle; nor will Garsias Loaisa own them to be the genuine decree of any council of Toledo. So that the whole credit of this matter rests upon Gratian and the compilers of the Decretals, whose authority is of little esteem in things relating to antiquity, when there is no better proof than their bare assertion. Yet I shall not deny, but that in Gratian's time it might be as he represents it: for, probably, by this time the archdeacons were chosen out of the order of presbyters; though when first they began to be so, is not very easy to determine. Only we are certain, that some centuries before the time of Gratian the custom was altered. For archdeacons, in the ninth century, were some of them, at least, of the order of presbyters: as appears from Hincmar's Capitula,[27] directed to Guntharius and Odelhardus, two of his archdeacons, whom he styles presbyter-archdeacons. And there is reason enough to think it was so in the time of Gratian; the archdeacons were then generally of the order of presbyters, as they have been ever since: which makes it no wonder that in Gratian's time they should have power over the *archipresbyteri*, which, in the language of that age, often signifies no more than rural deans, over which the archdeacons have usually power at this day. But by this the reader may judge how little such writers are to be depended on, who take their estimate of former ages from the practice of their own, and reckon every thing ancient that is agreeable to the rules and customs of the times they live in.

Sect. 9. Of the name ἀπαντιτής, circumlustrator, and whether archdeacons had any power over the whole diocese.

But to return to the archdeacons of the primitive church: there is one thing more may admit of some dispute, whether the archdeacon's power anciently extended over the whole diocese, or was confined to the city or mother church. In the middle ages of the church there is no question but they had power over the whole diocese. For Isidorus Hispalensis, who lived in the beginning of the seventh century, in the account which he gives of the archdeacon's office, says, the parochial clergy were under his care, that is, the deacons and inferior clergy; and that it belonged to him to order matters,[28] and end controversies among them; to give the bishop an account what churches stood in need of repairing, to make inquiry by the bishop's order into the state of every parish, and to see what condition the ornaments and goods of the church were in, and whether the ecclesiastical liberties were maintained. Habertus thinks[29] the archdeacons were invested with the same power some ages before, and for proof cites a passage out of the council of Chalcedon, where, in an instrument[30] presented by the presbyters of Edessa against Ibas their bishop, one Abramius, a deacon of that church, in all the Latin translations, is called *diaconus apantita*, which Habertus takes to be a general inspector of the church. But there are two evident reasons against this, which it is a wonder so observing a person as Habertus should not see:

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[22] Con. Chalced. Act. 10. p. 653. *Ἀκοινώνητος ἐστὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀρχιδιακόνῳ*, &c.

[23] Salmas. de Primat. c. 1. p. 9.

[24] Suicer. Thesaur. t. 1. p. 533.

[25] Baluz. Not. ad Gratian. Dist. 25. c. 1. p. 455.

[26] Grat. Dist. 25. c. 1. ex Epist. Isidor. Hispal. ad Ludifred. Archipresbyter vero se esse sub archidiacono, ejusque præceptis, sicut episcopi sui, sciat obedire. In Gregory's Decretal, lib. 1. Tit. 24. de Officio Archipresb. c. 1. the same words are cited ex Concilio Toletano.

[27] Hincmar. Capitula Archidiaconibus Presbyteris data. Concil. t. 8. p. 591.

[28] Isidor. Ep. ad Ludifred. et ap. Gratian. Dist. 25. c. 1. Sollicitudo quoque parochitanorum (al. parochiarum) et ordinatio, et jurgia ad ejus pertinent curam: pro reparandis diœcesanis basilicis ipse suggerit sacerdoti: ipse inquirit parochias cum jussione episcopi, et ornamenta, vel res basilicarum parochitanorum (al. parochiarum) et libertatum ecclesiasticarum episcopo idem refert.

[29] Habert. in Pontifical. par. 9. Obser. 6.

[30] Concil. Chalced. Act. 10. p. 650.

1. That Abramius was not an archdeacon, but only a private deacon of the church; for in the same place there is mention made of another archdeacon, who, when Ibas was about to have had Abramius ordained bishop of Batena, interposed and hindered him from doing it, because he had been censured for the practice of magic, and never given any satisfaction to the church. And though it is said, that Ibas took occasion to remove that archdeacon from his office, yet it is not once intimated that he put Abramius in his room; which, if he had done, it would doubtless have been made another article of accusation against him before the council. 2. The original Greek in Labbé's edition is not διάκονος ἀπαντιτὴς, as Habertus reads it, but only διάκονος ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐκκλησίας, a deacon of that our church of Edessa: and though ἀπαντιτὴς be put into the margin, yet it is not owned to be any various reading, but only the editor's conjecture, which I think is not sufficient to build such an assertion upon, when no other proof or authority is pretended. Therefore I determine nothing concerning this power of the archdeacons in ancient times, but leave it to further inquiry, and the determination of every judicious reader.

Sect. 10. Of the name *cor-episcopi*, why given to archdeacons.

Valesius takes notice of another name, which he thinks was sometimes given to the archdeacons, that is, the name *cor-episcopi;* for which he cites the words of one Joannes Abbas,[31] in a book written about the translation of the relics of St. Glodesindis. This at first may look like a corruption only of the name *chorepiscopus,* because in latter ages the power of the ancient *chorepiscopi* dwindled into that of the archdeacons; but when it is considered, that all the deacons anciently were called the bishop's eyes, and his ears, his mouth, and his heart, as has been noted in the last chapter, sect. 18, it will appear very probable that the archdeacon should be peculiarly dignified with those titles; and therefore be called *cor-episcopi,* the bishop's heart, because he was used to signify his mind and will to the people: as he is called *oculus episcopi,* not only in ancient authors,[32] but in the Decretals,[33] and the council of Trent,[34] because he was the bishop's eye to inspect the diocese under him.

Sect. 11. The opinions of learned men concerning the first original of the name and office of archdeacon.

Some may perhaps be desirous to know further the first rise and original of the name and office of archdeacons in the church; but this is a matter involved in so great obscurity that it cannot easily be determined. Habertus and some others[35] of the Roman communion, reckon this office as ancient as that of deacons themselves, deriving both from apostolical constitution, and making Stephen the first archdeacon of the church. But others, with greater reason,[36] deduce it only from the third century, and leave it as a matter under debate and inquiry, whether there were any such thing as the archdeacon's office in the time of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, which was in the middle of the third century. This is certain, that Cornelius, in his epistle to Fabius, where he gives a catalogue[37] of the Roman clergy, though he speaks of deacons, and subdeacons, acolythists, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers, makes no particular mention of the archdeacon; nor does Cyprian ever so much as once use the name: yet before the end of this century Cæcilian is supposed to have had the title as well as the office of archdeacon of Carthage, because Optatus calls him so, and the name often occurs in St. Jerom and other writers of the fourth age, in which St. Jerom lived. Baronius indeed urges St. Austin's authority, to prove that Stephen was properly an archdeacon; for he says St. Austin calls him *primicerius diaconorum:* but he that will look into St. Austin, will quickly find his mistake; for his words are not *primicerius diaconorum,* but *primicerius martyrum,*[38] the protomartyr, as we commonly call him, because he was the first that suffered for the name of Christ. And hence the reader may observe by the way, that the words *primicerius* and *primus* do not always denote principality, or priority of power and jurisdiction, but only priority of time, or precedency of honour and dignity in respect of place or outward order. In which sense the same St. Austin[39] says in another place, that Stephen is named first among the deacons, as Peter was among the apostles. Which is a primacy that may be allowed to them both without any pretence of jurisdiction. Habertus urges further the authority of the Greek Menologion, which gives Stephen the title of archdeacon; but such books are not sufficient evidence, being they are of a modern date, and speak of ancient things in the language and phrase of their own times; for which reason they are not much to be depended on, except when they are backed with the concurrent testimony of some ancient authors, of which there are none in this case to yield any collateral evidence to this assertion. Yet on the other hand, the opinion of Salmasius is equally to be discarded, who[40] asserts that the office

[31] Joh. Abbas ap. Vales. Not. in Theodoret. lib. 1. c. 26. Ad hoc inspiciendum sacrorum ministros cum archidiacono majore, quem cor-episcopi dicunt, pontifex direxit.

[32] Isidor. Pelus. lib. 1. Ep. 29.

[33] Decretal. lib. 1. Tit. 23. c. 7.

[34] Con. Trid. Sess. 24. cap. 12. de Reform.

[35] Habert. Not. in Pontifical. p. 207. Baron. an. 34. n. 285.

[36] Bp. Fell, Not. in Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 49. ad Cornel.

[37] Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[38] Aug. Ser. 1. de Sanctis, t. 10. Hodie celebramus natalem, quo primicerius martyrum migravit ex mundo.

[39] Aug. Ser. 94. de Diversis. Inter diaconos illos nominatus primus, sicut inter apostolos Petrus.

[40] Salmas. de Primat. c. 1. p. 8.

of archdeacon was not in the church in the time of St. Jerom, though St. Jerom[41] himself says in most express words, that the custom then was to have one bishop, one archpresbyter, one archdeacon in every church. But this is the usual way of that author in his book de Primatu, to advance paradoxes of his own fancy for ancient history, and lay down positive assertions upon the most slender conjectures; yea, many times against the plainest evidence of primitive records, as in the case before us, and many others which I have had occasion to take notice of in this discourse. It were to be wished, that that author, who wrote upon a useful design, had been a little more accurate in his accounts of the state of the clergy of the primitive church; and whilst he was demolishing the pope's supremacy, had not confusedly treated of some other orders and offices, which were of greater antiquity in the church.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF DEACONESSES.

Sect. 1. The ancient name of deaconesses, διάκονοι, πρεσβύτιδες, *viduæ*, *ministræ*.

HAVING spoken of deacons and archdeacons, it remains that I say something in this place of deaconesses, because their office and service was of great use in the primitive church. There is some mention made of them in Scripture, by which it appears that their office was as ancient as the apostolical age. St. Paul calls Phœbe a servant of the church of Cenchrea, Rom. xvi. 1. The original word is *διάκονος*, a deaconess, answerable to the Latin word *ministra*, which is the name that is given them in Pliny's Epistle,[1] which speaks about the Christians. Tertullian[2] and some others call them *viduæ*, widows, and their office *viduatus*, because they were commonly chosen out of the widows of the church. For the same reason Epiphanius[3] and the council of Laodicea[4] call them *πρεσβύτιδας*, elderly widows, because none but such were ordinarily taken into this office.

Sect. 2. Deaconesses to be widows by some laws.

For indeed by some ancient laws these four qualifications were required in every one, that was to be taken into this order. 1. That she should be a widow. 2. That she should be a widow that had borne children. 3. A widow that was but once married. 4. One of a considerable age, forty, fifty, or sixty years old. Though all these rules admitted of exceptions. In Tertullian's time the deaconesses were so commonly chosen out of the widows, that when a certain young virgin was made a deaconess, he speaks of it[5] as a miracle or monstrous thing in the church. Yet some learned men are of opinion, that virgins were sometimes made deaconesses even in the time of Ignatius; because Ignatius, in his epistle to the church of Smyrna,[6] salutes the virgins that were called widows, that is, deaconesses, as Cotelerius and Vossius truly expound it; for virgins could not be called widows congruously in any other sense. Some suspect that the word, virgins, is a corruption crept into the text: but there is no reason for this conjecture, for Ignatius is not the only author that speaks of virgin-deaconesses. Epiphanius[7] says, in his time there were some virgins, and some widows that had been but once married. The author of the Constitutions[8] says the same, that the deaconess was either to be a chaste virgin, or a widow that had been the wife of one man. And one of Justinian's Novels[9] enacted it into a law, that the deaconesses should be chosen out of one of these orders. Accordingly we find in the practice of the church, virgins as well as widows admitted to this office. Gregory Nyssen[10] says his own sister Macrina, who was a virgin, was a deaconess, and so was Lampadia, another virgin. And Sozomen[11] relates, how that Chrysostom would have ordained Nicarete, a famous virgin, to this office, but she refused it for the love she had to a private and philosophic life.

Sect. 3. And such widows as had children.

Yet by some laws they were required not only to be widows, but such widows as had children also. Tertullian[12] seems to intimate that this was the custom of the age he lived in, to put none into this office but such as were mothers, and had had the edu-

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[41] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. cited before, sect. 1.

[1] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. Quò magis necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere.

[2] Tertul. lib. 1. ad Uxor. c. 7. Id. de veland. Virg. c. 9. Epiph. Hær. 79. n. 4. Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 13.

[3] Epiphan. Hær. 79. Collyrid. n. 4.

[4] Con. Laodic. c. 11.

[5] Tertul. de veland. Virgin. c. 9. Scio alicubi virginem in viduatu ab annis nondum viginti collocatam. Cui si quid refrigerii debuerat episcopus, aliter utique salvo respectu disciplinæ, præstare potuisset, ne tale nunc miraculum, ne dixerim monstrum, in ecclesia denotaretur.

[6] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 13. Ἀσπάζομαι τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας. Coteler. in loc. Viduæ vocabantur, quia in gradu viduali seu diaconico erant constitutæ.

[7] Epiph. Expos. Fid. n. 21. ἢ χηρεύσασαι ἀπὸ μονογαμίας, ἢ ἀει πάρθενοι οὖσαι.

[8] Const. Apost. lib. 6. c. 17.

[9] Just. Novel. 6. c. 6. Aut virgines constitutas, aut unius viri quæ fuerant uxores.

[10] Nyssen. Vit. Macrin. t. 2. p. 181 et 197.

[11] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 23.

[12] Tertul. de vel. Virg. c. 9. Ad quam sedem præter annos sexaginta non tantum univiræ, id est nuptæ, aliquando eliguntur, sed et matres et quidem educatrices filiorum: scilicet ut experimentis omnium affectuum structæ, facile norint cæteras et consilio et solatio juvare.

cation of children, in the training up of whom they had learnt to be tender and compassionate in their affections, and so were qualified to assist others both by their counsel and comfort. Sozomen also mentions a law[13] made by Theodosius to this purpose, that no women should be admitted to the office, except they had children, and were above sixty years old, according to the express rule of St. Paul. The law is still extant in the Theodosian Code,[14] in the same words as Sozomen cites it: but he speaks of it as a new law, that was then made upon a particular occasion, by reason of some scandal that had happened in the church; which is a plain intimation, that from the time of Tertullian, to the making of this law, the church had varied in her practice.

Sect. 4. Not to be ordained under sixty years of age, by the most ancient canons.

And so she had likewise with respect to the age of deaconesses. For though the forementioned law of Theodosius require them to be sixty years of age complete; and Tertullian[15] and St. Basil[16] speak of the same age; yet Justinian in one of his Novels[17] requires but fifty, and in another[18] but forty; which is all that was insisted on before by the great[19] council of Chalcedon, whose words are, No woman shall be ordained a deaconess before she is forty years old. And it is probable in some cases that term was not strictly required: for Sozomen[20] says, Nectarius bishop of Constantinople ordained Olympias a deaconess, though she was but a young widow, because she was a person of extraordinary virtue. By which we may judge, that as the church varied in her rule about this matter, so bishops took a liberty to ordain deaconesses at what age they thought fit, provided they could be assured of their probity and virtue.

Sect. 5. To be such as had been only the wives of one man.

But there was another qualification, which they were more strict in exacting, which was, that the deaconesses should be such widows as had been only the wives of one man, according to the apostle's prescription, 1 Tim. v. 9. Which rule they generally understood as a prohibition of electing any to be deaconesses who had been twice married, though lawfully and successively to two husbands one after another. In this sense Tertullian[21] says, the apostle requires them to be *univiræ*, the wives of one man; which Epiphanius[22] calls χηρεύσασαι ἀπὸ μονογαμίας, widows that have been but once married. So the author of the Constitutions, and Justinian's Novels,[23] which have been cited before.

But Theodoret gives a different sense of the apostle's words: for he supposes the apostle not to forbid the choosing of widows that had been twice married, but only such[24] as had married again after they had divorced themselves from a former husband; which was such a scandalous act, as justly excluded them from the church's service. And this sense is embraced as the most probable and rational, by the learned Justellus,[25] Dr. Hammond,[26] Suicerus,[27] and several others, of which I shall have occasion to give a further account, when I come to speak of that apostolical rule, as it concerned all the clergy. Thus much will suffice to be spoken at present concerning the qualifications of deaconesses before they were ordained.

Sect. 6. Whether deaconesses were anciently ordained by imposition of hands.

The next inquiry is concerning their ordination itself, whether it was always performed by imposition of hands? And here learned men are very much divided in their sentiments. Baronius[28] thinks they had no imposition of hands at the time of the council of Nice, and he grounds his assertion upon one of the canons of that council, which, as he expounds it, denies that deaconesses were ordained by imposition of hands, and therefore makes no other account of them than as mere lay-persons. Valesius[29] gives the same exposition of the canon; though he owns that Balsamon and Zonaras, the ancient expositors, were of a contrary judgment, viz. that the canon speaks not of the deaconesses of the church, but of such as returned to the catholic church from the Paulianists, or Samosatenian heretics, among whom they had received no imposition of hands, and therefore were to be treated as mere laics. And in this sense Suicerus[30] and Albaspiny,[31] Christianus Lupus, Fabrotus, and other modern critics and expositors of the canon, explain it also. To make the reader himself judge in the matter, I

[13] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 16. Εἰ μὴ παῖδας ἔχοιεν, &c.

[14] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 27. Nulla nisi emensis sexaginta annis, cui votiva domi proles sit, secundum præceptum apostoli ad diaconissarum consortium transferatur.

[15] Tertul. ibid.

[16] Basil. Ep. Canonic. c. 24.

[17] Just. Novel. 6. c. 6. Super mediam constitutas ætatem, et circa quinquaginta annos.

[18] Novel. 123. c. 13. Diaconissa in sancta ecclesia non ordinatur, quæ minor quadraginta annis sit.

[19] Con. Chalced. c. 14. al. 15. Διάκονον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα. Vid. Concil. Trullan. c. 14 et 40.

[20] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 9. Καίπερ νέαν χήραν γενομένην—διάκονον ἐχειροτόνησε.

[21] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 1. c. 7. Viduam allegi in ordinationem nisi univiram non concedit. It. de Virg. veland. c. 9.

[22] Epiph. Exp. Fid. n. 21.

[23] Justin. Novel. 6. c. 6. Constit. Apost. lib. 6. c. 17.

[24] Theod. Com. in 1 Tim. v. 9.

[25] Justel. Not. ad can. 1. Concil. Laodic.

[26] Ham. Annot. on 1 Tim. iii. 2.

[27] Suicer. Thesaur. t. 1. p. 899.

[28] Baron. an. 34. n. 283. It. Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. 56. p. 342.

[29] Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 8. c. 9.

[30] Suicer. Thesaur. t. 1. p. 867.

[31] Albasp. Not. in can. 19. Concil. Nicen. Lupus, t. 1. Schol. in eund. can. Fabrot. Not. ad Balsamon. Collect. Constitut. p. 1417.

must here recite the words of the canon, which are these: Concerning the Paulianists which return to the catholic church, it is decreed, that they shall be by all means re-baptized. And if any of them were heretofore reckoned among the clergy, if they appear to be blameless, and without rebuke, let them be first baptized, and then ordained by the bishop of the catholic church: but if upon examination they be found unfit, let them be deposed. The same rule shall be observed concerning deaconesses, and all others who are reckoned among their clergy. And we particularly take notice[32] of deaconesses, which appear in that habit or dignity, that having never had any imposition of hands, they are to be reckoned only among the laity. These last words about deaconesses seem to refer to what goes before; and then they must be interpreted of deaconesses among the Paulianists, who took upon them the habit of deaconesses without any consecration. Or if we understand them as spoken of deaconesses already in the church, they may mean that there were some deaconesses which had crept into the office without imposition of hands, and such the council accounts no more than lay-persons. That which will incline a man to interpret this canon to some such sense as this is, that all other councils and writers speak of ordaining deaconesses by imposition of hands. Valesius himself owns that it was so in the time of the council of Chalcedon; for in one of the canons of that council,[33] their ordination is expressly called both *χειροτονία* and *χειροθεσία*, ordination by imposition of hands. And the author of the Constitutions,[34] speaking of their ordination, requires the bishop to use imposition of hands, with a form of prayer, which is there recited. And thus it was both in the Greek and Latin church, so long as the order itself continued to be in use. The council of Trullo, anno 692, speaks of their ordination in two canons,[35] under the name of *χειροτονία*. And Sozomen[36] uses the same word in speaking of the ordination of Olympias. And though there be not so many examples of this practice to be met with in the Latin church, because the order was there much sooner laid aside; yet Cotelerius[37] has furnished us with some out of Fortunatus and the council of Worms, both which expressly say, the ordination of deaconesses was performed by imposition of hands. In the council of Worms, the 15th canon of the council of Chalcedon is repeated. And Fortunatus his words are, *manu superposita*[38] *consecravit diaconam*, speaking of one whom Medardus the bishop consecrated a deaconess by laying his hands upon her. All which shows, that it was the constant practice of the church to ordain deaconesses by imposition of hands: and that makes it very probable, that the Nicene canon is to be understood in that sense, which is most agreeable to the church's practice.

But the learned Justellus[39] still raises another scruple about their ordination: he thinks this imposition of hands was not properly an ordination, but only a benediction: for he distinguishes betwixt those two things, and says, every solemn imposition of hands is not an ordination; which is very true; for then the imposition of hands upon the catechumens, or upon the baptized in confirmation, or upon the penitents in order to reconcile them, or upon the sick in order to their cure, or upon any persons whatsoever to give them a common benediction, would be an ordination: but then that learned person seems not to have considered, that the imposition of hands upon the deaconesses was something more than all these; for it was a consecration of them to a certain office in the church, which sort of imposition of hands, joined with a prayer of benediction for grace to discharge that office aright, is what the church has always meant and called particularly by the name of ordination.

Sect. 7. Not consecrated to any office of the priesthood.

Yet we are not to imagine, that this consecration gave them any power to execute any part of the sacerdotal office, or do the duties of the sacred function. Women were always forbidden to perform any such offices as those. Therefore the author of the Constitutions calls it a heathenish practice to ordain women-priests, *ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν*; for the Christian law allowed no such custom.[40] Some heretics indeed, as Tertullian observes,[41] allowed women to teach, and exorcise, and administer baptism; but all this, he says, was against the rule of the apostle.[42] Epiphanius brings the charge particularly against the Pepuzians, which were a branch of the Montanists, that they made women-bishops,[43] and women-presbyters, abusing that passage of the apostle, "In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female," to put some colour upon their practice. He charges it also upon the Collyridians,[44] that they did *ἱερουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν*, use women to sacrifice to the Vir-

[32] Con. Nic. c. 19. *Ἐμνήσθημεν δὲ τῶν διακονισσῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἐξετασθεισῶν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινὰ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἐξάπαντος ἐν τοῖς λαϊκοῖς αὐτὰς ἐξετάζεσθαι.*

[33] Con. Chalced. c. 15.

[34] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 19. *ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, ἐπιθήσεις αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας*, &c.

[35] Con. Trull. c. 14 et 40. [36] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 9.

[37] Coteler. Not. in Const. Apost. lib. 8. c. 19. Con. Wormatiens. c. 73. ex Concil. Chalced. c. 15.

[38] Fortun. Vit. Radegundis ap. Surium. Aug. 13.

[39] Justel. Bibl. Jur. Canon. t. 1. p. 75. Not. in Con. Nic. c. 19.

[40] Constitut. Apost. lib. 3. c. 9.

[41] Tertul. de Præscript. c. 41. Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ quam procaces, quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tinguere.

[42] Id. c. 17. de Baptismo.

[43] Epiph. Hær. 69. Pepuzian. n. 2. *ἐπίσκοποι παρ αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες.*

[44] Id. Hær. 78. Antidicomarianit. n. 23.

gin Mary. Where it is observed, that the charge is double; 1. That they gave divine worship to the holy Virgin, and, 2. That they used women-priests in their service. Against these he has a particular dissertation, wherein he shows at large that no woman from the foundation of the world was ever ordained to offer sacrifice, or perform any solemn service of the church:[45] which, if it had been allowed to any, would certainly have been granted to the Virgin Mary herself, who was so highly favoured of God. But neither she nor any other woman had ever the priest's office committed to them. There is indeed, says he, an order of deaconesses in the church, but their business[46] is not to sacrifice, or perform any part of the sacerdotal office, or any of the sacred mysteries, but to be a decent help to the female sex in the time of their baptism, sickness, affliction, or the like: and therefore he denies, that the church made them either presbyteresses of priestesses, *ἢ πρεσβυτερίδας, ἢ ἱερίσσας*. Where the reader is to observe, that Epiphanius puts a distinction betwixt the names *πρεσβύτιδας* and *πρεσβυτερίδας*, because the former only denotes elderly women, such as the deaconesses commonly were; but the latter he uses to signify persons ordained to the office of presbyters or priests, which he absolutely denies any women in the Christian church to be.

Sect. 8. 1. Their offices: To assist at the baptism of women.

And from hence it is plain, the offices of the deaconesses were only to perform some inferior services of the church, and those chiefly relating to the women, for whose sake they were ordained. One part of their office was, to assist the minister at the baptizing of women, where for decency's sake they were employed to divest them, (the custom then being to baptize all adult persons by immersion,) and so to order the matter, that the whole ceremony might be performed with all the decency becoming so sacred an action. This is evident from Epiphanius, both in the forecited passage, and other places.[47] And it is taken notice of also by Justinian,[48] and the author of the Constitutions,[49] who adds, that the deaconesses were used to anoint the women in baptism with the holy oil, as the custom of the Greek church then was, not only for the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but also for the deaconesses, to use this ceremony of unction before baptism; of which Cotelerius, in his Notes,[50] gives several instances out of the ancient writers, but these belong to another place.

Sect. 9. 2. To be a sort of private catechists to the women-catechumens.

2. Another part of their office was, to be a sort of private catechists to the women-catechumens, who were preparing for baptism. For though they were not allowed to teach publicly in the church, yet they might privately instruct and teach those, how to make the proper answers that were required of all persons at their baptism. The author of the Short Notes on the Epistles[51] under the name of St. Jerom, calls this, private ministry of the word, which the deaconesses performed in the Eastern churches in his time. And it was so usual and ordinary a part of their office in the African churches, that the fathers of the fourth council of Carthage[52] require it as a necessary qualification in deaconesses when they are ordained, that they shall be persons of such good understanding, as to be able to instruct the ignorant and rustic women, how to make responses to the interrogatories, which the minister puts to them in baptism, and how they were to order their conversation afterward.

Sect. 10. 3. To visit and attend women that were sick and in distress.

3. Another part of their employment was, to visit and attend women that were sick, which is noted by Epiphanius[53] and the author of the Constitutions, who[54] says they were employed likewise in delivering the bishop's messages and directions to women that were in health, whom the deacons could not visit because of unbelievers; that is, because of the scandal and reproach which the heathens were ready to cast upon them.

Sect. 11. 4. To minister to the martyrs and confessors in prison.

4. In times of danger and persecution they were employed in ministering to the martyrs in prison; because they could more easily gain access to them, and go with less suspicion, and less danger and hazard of their lives from the heathen, than the deacons or any other ministers of the church could do. Cotelerius[55] and Gothofred collect this from some passages in Lucian and Libanius, which seem plainly to refer to this part of the deaconesses' ministry. For Lucian, in one of his Dialogues, speaking of Peregrine the philosopher, how he was ca-

45 Epiph. Hær. 79. Collyrid. n. 3. *Εἰ ἱερατεύειν γυναῖκες Θεῷ προσετάσσοντο, ἢ κανονικὸν τὶ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τὴν Μαρίαν ἱερατείαν, ἐπιτελέσαι*, &c.

46 Ibid. *Διακονισσῶν τάγμα ἔστιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερατεύειν, οὐδὲ τὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν.*

47 Epiph. Expos. Fid. n. 21.

48 Justin. Novel. 6. c. 6.

49 Const. Apost. lib. 3. c. 15.

50 Coteler. in loc.

51 Hieron. Com. in Rom. xvi. 1. Sicut etiam nunc in Orientalibus diaconissæ mulieres in suo sexu ministrare videntur in baptismo, sive in ministerio verbi, quia privatim docuisse fœminas invenimus, &c.

52 Con. Carthag. 4. c. 12. Viduæ vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant, et qualiter, accepto baptismate, vivant.

53 Epiph. Hær. 79. n. 3. Expos. Fid. n. 21.

54 Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 15 et 19. Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Multas anus alit ecclesia quæ officium ægrotanti præstant, &c.

55 Coteler. Not. in Const. lib. 3. c. 15. Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Theodos. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 27

ressed by the Christians, whilst he was in prison for the profession of their religion, says, In the morning one might observe the old women the widows waiting at the prison gate[56] with some of the orphan children; where by the widows he doubtless means the deaconesses of the Christians. And there is little question but Libanius[57] means the same, when he says, that the mother or mistress of the old women, when she finds any one bound in prison, runs about, and begs and makes a collection for him. This plainly refers to the great charity and liberality of the Christians toward their martyrs, which was collected and sent to them by the hand of these deaconesses.

Sect. 12. 5. To attend the women's gate in the church.

5. In the Greek churches the deaconesses had also the charge of the doors of the church, which part of their office is mentioned by the author[58] of the Constitutions, and the author under the name of Ignatius, who[59] styles them *φρουροὺς τῶν ἁγίων πυλώνων*, the keepers of the holy gates. But probably this was only in such churches as made a distinction betwixt the men's gate and the women's gate: for Bishop Usher observes,[60] that no ancient writer beside these two make any mention of this, as part of the office of deaconesses: and in another place of the Constitutions[61] this distinction is plainly expressed: Let the door-keepers stand at the gate of the men, and the deaconesses at the gate of the women.

Sect. 13. 6. To preside over the widows, &c.

Lastly, they were to assign all women their places, and regulate[62] their behaviour in the church; to preside over the rest of the widows;[63] whence in some canons they are styled *προκαθημέναι*, governesses; as Balsamon and Zonaras note upon the council[64] of Laodicea: and if any woman had any suit to prefer to a deacon or a bishop, a deaconess[65] was to introduce her. These were the offices of the deaconesses in the primitive church, which I have been a little more particular in describing, because they are not now so commonly known; the order itself having been for some ages wholly laid aside.

Sect. 14. How long this order continued in the church.

If it be inquired, how long this order continued in the church, and what time it was totally abolished? I answer, it was not laid aside every where at once, but continued in the Greek church longer than in the Latin, and in some of the Latin churches longer than in others. In the Greek church they continued to the time of Balsamon, that is, to the latter end of the twelfth century; for he speaks of them[66] as then ministering in the church of Constantinople; though it appears from some other passages of the same author, that in other churches they were generally laid aside.[67] In the Latin church there were some decrees made against their ordination long before. For the first council of Orange, anno 441, forbids[68] any more deaconesses to be ordained. And the council of Epone,[69] anno 517, has a canon to the same purpose, wholly abrogating their consecration. Not long after which, the second council of Orleans, anno 533, renewed the decree[70] against them. And before any of these, the council of Laodicea in the Eastern church had forbidden them under the name of ancient widows or governesses, decreeing[71] that no such for the future should be constituted in the church. But these decrees had no effect at all in the East, nor did they universally take effect in the West till many ages after. The author, indeed, under the name of St. Ambrose, would lead an unwary reader into a great mistake: for he makes as if the order of deaconesses was no where used[72] but among the Montanists; ignorantly confounding the presbyteresses of the Montanists with the deaconesses of the church. And the author under the name of St. Jerom is not much more to be regarded, when he seems to intimate that in his time the order of deaconesses was wholly laid aside in the West, and only retained in the Oriental churches.[73] For I have already showed, (sect. 6,) from Venantius Fortunatus, who lived anno 560, and the council of Worms, which was held in the ninth century, that deaconesses were still retained in some parts of the Western church: which may be evinced also from the *Ordo Romanus*,[74] and other rituals in use about that time, where among other forms we meet with an *Ordo ad Diaconam faciendam*, an order or form to consecrate a deaconess. But in an age or two after, that is, in the tenth or ele-

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[56] Lucian. Peregrin. *Παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γραΐδια, χήρας τινὰς*, &c.

[57] Liban. Orat. 16. in Tisamen. It. Orat. de Vinctis, cited by Gothofred.

[58] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 28.

[59] Pseudo-Ignat. Ep. ad Antioch. n. 12.

[60] Usser. Dissert. 16. in Ignat. p. 224.

[61] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57.

[62] Constit. lib. 2. c. 58. [63] Ibid. lib. 3. c. 7.

[64] Con. Laodic. c. 11.

[65] Constit. lib. 2. c. 25.

[66] Balsam. Resp. ad Interrog. Marci, c. 35. ap. Leunclav. Jus Gr. Rom. t. 1. p. 381.

[67] Id. Com. in Concil. Chalced. c. 15.

[68] Conc. Arausic. 1. c. 26. Diaconissæ omnimodæ non ordinandæ, &c.

[69] Conc. Epaunens. c. 21. Viduarum consecrationem, quas diaconissas vocant, ab omni religione nostra penitus abrogamus.

[70] Conc. Aurel. 2. c. 18. Placuit ut nulli postmodum fœminæ diaconalis benedictio pro conditionis hujus fragilitate credatur.

[71] Conc. Laodic. c. 11. *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν πρεσβύτιδας ἤτοι προκαθημένας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθίστασθαι.*

[72] Ambros. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. 11.

[73] Hieron. Com. in Rom. xvi. 1, and in 1 Tim. iii. 11.

[74] Ordo Roman. p. 161. in Bibl. Patr. t. 9. par. 1624.

venth century, Bona[75] thinks the whole order was quite extinct.

Sect. 15. Another notion of the name *diaconissa*, as it signifies a deacon's wife.

Before I make an end of this subject, I cannot but acquaint the reader, that there is another notion of the name *diaconissa*, sometimes to be met with in the writers of the middle ages of the church, who use it to signify not a deaconess, but a deacon's wife, in the same sense as *presbytera* signifies the wife of a presbyter, and *episcopa*, the wife of a bishop. The word *episcopa* is thus used in the second council of Tours, where it is said, that if a bishop hath not a wife,[76] there shall no train of women follow him. So also the words *presbytera*, *diaconissa*, and *subdiaconissa*,[77] for the wives of a presbyter, a deacon, and a subdeacon, occur a little after in the same council. And so in the council of Auxerre[78] and some other places. From which a learned and ingenious examiner[79] of the council of Trent concludes, that bishops in those times were not as yet obliged by the law of celibacy, not to cohabit with their wives, in the Gallican church. But I shall freely own, I take this to be a mistake: for from the time of Pope Siricius the celibacy of the clergy began to be pressed in the Western church, and these very canons do enforce it: therefore I lay no greater stress upon them than they will bear: for as for the cause of the married clergy, it needs not be defended by such arguments, having the rule and practice of the whole catholic church, for some of the purest ages, to abet and support it; of which I shall give a just account hereafter, when I come to consider the general qualifications that were necessarily required of the clergy of the primitive church, among which the vow of celibacy will be found to have no place. What therefore these canons mean by *episcopa* and *presbytera*, is no more than the wife of a bishop or presbyter, which they had before they were ordained, but in those declining ages of the church were not allowed to cohabit with them after ordination. This explication agrees both with the scope of those canons, and the practice of the times they were made in; and we have no dispute with Antonius Augustinus,[80] or any candid writer of the Romish communion, who carry this notion no higher than the ages in which it was broached: but when Baronius[81] and others transfer it to the primitive ages, and make the practice of the Western church in the sixth age to be the practice of the universal church in all ages, they manifestly prevaricate, and put a fallacy upon their readers, which it may be sufficient to have hinted here, and shall be more fully made out in its proper place.

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75 Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 15.

76 Con. Turon. 2. c. 13. Episcopum episcopam non habentem, nulla sequatur turba mulierum.

77 Ibid. c. 19. Si inventus fuerit presbyter cum sua presbytera, aut diaconus cum sua diaconissa, aut subdiaconus cum sua subdiaconissa, annum integrum excommunicatus habeatur.

78 Con. Antissiodor. c. 21.

79 Gentillet. Exam. Concil. Trid. lib. 4. p. 259.

80 Anton. Aug. de Emend. Gratiani, lib. 1. Dial. 20. p. 226

81 Baron. an. 58. n. 18

BOOK III.

OF THE INFERIOR ORDERS OF THE CLERGY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE FIRST ORIGINAL OF THE INFERIOR ORDERS, AND THE NUMBER AND USE OF THEM: AND HOW THEY DIFFERED FROM THE SUPERIOR ORDERS OF BISHOPS, PRESBYTERS, AND DEACONS.

Sect. 1. The inferior orders not of apostolical, but only ecclesiastical institution, proved against Baronius and the council of Trent.

HAVING in the last book discoursed of the superior orders of the clergy in the primitive church, I come now to treat of those which are commonly called the inferior orders. And here our first inquiry must be concerning the original and number of them. The two great oracles of the Romish church, Baronius [1] and the council of Trent,[2] are very dogmatical and positive in their assertions both about their rise and number; that they are precisely five, viz. subdeacons, acolythists, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers; and that they are all of apostolical institution. And herein they are followed not only by Bellarmine,[3] and the common writers of that side, but also by Schelstrate,[4] a person who lived in greater light, and might have seen through the mists that were cast before the eyes of others. Cardinal Bona [5] distinguishes between subdeacons and the rest. He fairly owns, that acolythists, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers are not of apostolical institution, as the modern school-men pretend; but as to subdeacons, he joins with them entirely, and says,[6] that though the Scripture makes no express mention of them, yet their institution must be referred either to Christ, or at least to his apostles. The French writers are not generally so tenacious of this opinion, as having never sworn to receive the decrees of the Tridentine fathers with an implicit faith; but many of them ingenuously confess the rise of the inferior orders to be owing only to ecclesiastical institution. Morinus [7] undertakes to prove that there was no such order as that of acolythists, or exorcists, or door-keepers among the Greeks in the age next to the apostles; nor does Schelstrate disprove his arguments, though he makes a show of refuting him. Duarenus [8] says there were no such orders originally in the first and primitive church. Cotelerius [9] confesses their original is involved wholly in obscurity; that there is no mention made of any of them in Ignatius, or any other ancient writer before Cyprian and Tertullian. And therefore Habertus [10] is clearly of opinion, that it would be more advisable for their church to expunge all the inferior orders out of the number and catalogue of sacraments, and refer them only to ecclesiastical institution, as the ancient divines were used to do. By the ancient divines, he means the school-men, who were generally of this opinion heretofore. For Peter Lombard, who is set at the head of them,[11] declares that the primitive church had no orders below those of presbyters and deacons; nor did the apostle give command about any other, but the church in succeeding ages instituted subdeacons and acolythists herself. And this is the opinion of Aquinas,[12] and Amalarius

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[1] Baron. an. 44. n. 78.

[2] Conc. Trid. Sess. 23. c. 2. It. Catechism. ad Parochos tit. de Sacramento Ordinis, p. 222.

[3] Bellarm. de Clericis, lib. 1. c. 11.

[4] Schelstrat. Concil. Antiochen. Restitut. Dissert. 4. c. 17. art. 2. p. 520.

[5] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 17. Acolythos, exorcistas, lectores, et ostiarios, ab apostolis, vel ab immediatis eorum successoribus institutos, doctores scholastici asserunt, sed non probant.

[6] Bona, ibid. n. 16. Subdiaconorum licet expressa mentio in sacris literis non reperiatur, eorum tamen institutio vel ad Christum, ut recentiores scholastici existimant, vel ad apostolos referenda est.

[7] Morin. de Ordinat. Exercit. 14. cap. 1.

[8] Duaren. de Minister. et Beneficiis Eccl. lib. 1. c. 14.

[9] Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apost. lib. 2. c. 25.

[10] Habert. Archieratic. par. 5. observ. 1. p. 48. Consultius meo quidem judicio, ordines hierarchicis inferiores, ipsumque adeo hypodiaconi, et a sacramentorum censu expungere, et ad institutionem duntaxat ecclesiasticam cum antiquis theologis referre.

[11] Lombard. Sent. lib. 4. Dist. 24. p. 348. Hos solos primitiva ecclesia legitur habuisse, et de his solis præceptum apostoli habemus. Subdiaconos vero et acolythos procedente tempore ecclesia sibi constituit.

[12] Aquin. Supplement. par. 3. qu. 37. Art. 2. Resp. ad secundum.

Fortunatus,[13] and many others. Schelstrate himself[14] owns, that it was the opinion of two popes, Urban II. and Innocent III., that the order of subdeacons was not reckoned among the sacred orders of the primitive church: it was indeed an inferior order in the third century, but not dignified with the title of a sacred or superior order till the twelfth age of the church; when, as Menardus informs us out of a MS. book of Petrus Cantor,[15] a writer of that age, it was then but just newly dignified with that character: that is, in an age when bishops and presbyters began to be reckoned but one order, in compliance with an hypothesis peculiar to the Romish church, then the order of subdeacons stepped up to be a superior order; and whereas the primitive church was used to reckon the three superior orders to be those of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, the Romish church now began to speak in a different style, and count the three superior orders, those of priests, deacons, and subdeacons: so that this last became a superior order, which for some ages before had been only an inferior order, and at first was no order at all. For the testimonies alleged by Schelstrate after Bellarmine and Baronius, to prove the inferior orders of apostolical institution, are of no authority or weight in this case. The Epistle under the name of Ignatius ad Antiochenos, and the Constitutions under the name of Clemens Romanus, which are the only authorities pretended in this matter, are now vulgarly known to be none of their genuine writings, but the works of some authors of much later date. So that till some better proofs be given, there will be reason to conclude, that these inferior orders were not of apostolical, but only of ecclesiastical constitution.

Sect. 2. No certain number of them in the primitive church.

And this may be argued further, not only from the silence of the most ancient writers, but also from the accounts of those who speak of them presently after their institution. For though the Romish church determines them to be precisely five in number, yet in the ancient church there was no such rule; but some accounts speak of more than five, and others not of so many; which argues that they were not of apostolical institution. The author under the name of Ignatius[16] reckons six without acolythists, viz. subdeacons, readers, singers, door-keepers, *copiatæ*, and exorcists. The author of the Constitutions under the name of Clemens Romanus[17] counts but four of these orders, viz. subdeacons, readers, singers, and door-keepers. For he makes no mention of the *copiatæ*, or of acolythists: and though he speaks of exorcists, yet he says[18] expressly it was no church order. The Apostolical Canons,[19] as they are commonly called, name only three, subdeacons, readers, and singers. And though the author under the name of St. Jerom[20] mentions four, yet he brings the *copiatæ* or *fossarii* into the account, and makes them the first order of the clergy, leaving out acolythists and exorcists. Epiphanius[21] makes no mention of acolythists, but instead of them puts in the *copiatæ*, and interpreters. Others add the *parabolani* also; and except Cornelius,[22] there is scarce any other ancient writer, who is so precise to the number of five inferior orders, as now computed in the church of Rome.

Sect. 3. Not instituted in all churches at the same time.

The reason of which difference must needs be this, that there was no certain rule left originally about any such orders; but every church instituted them for herself, at such times and in such numbers as her own necessities seemed to require. For at first most of the offices of these inferior orders were performed by the deacons, as I have had occasion to show in another place.[23] But as the number of converts increased in large churches, such as that of Rome, which confined herself to the number of seven deacons, the duties of the deacon's office quickly became too great and heavy for them: whereupon a sort of assistants to them were appointed, first in those great churches, under the names of these inferior orders, to take off from the deacons some of the heavy burden that lay upon them. And that is the reason why we meet with the inferior orders in such great and populous churches as Rome and Carthage in the beginning of the third century; whereas in many of the lesser churches all the offices were still performed by deacons, even in the fourth and fifth centuries: which may be concluded from the words of the author under the name[24] of St. Austin, where speaking of the deacons of Rome, he says, the reason why they did not perform all the inferior services of the church was, that there was a multitude of the lesser clergy under them; whereas otherwise they must have taken care of the altar and its utensils, &c. as it was in other churches at that time. Which seems evidently to imply, that these inferior orders were not taken into all churches when that author made this observation.

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13 Amalar. de Offic. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 6.

14 Schelstrat. de Concil. Antioch. p. 515.

15 Pet. Cantor, de Verbo Mirifico, ap. Menard. Not. in Sacramental. Gregor. p. 280. De novo institutum est, subdiaconatum esse sacrum ordinem.

16 Ep. ad Antioch. n. 12.

17 Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 11.

18 Ibid. lib. 8. c. 26.

19 Can. Apost. c. 69.

20 Jerom. de Septem Ordin. Eccl. t. 4. p. 81.

21 Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 21.

22 Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

23 Book II. chap. 20. sect. 15.

24 Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. t. 4. c. 101. Ut autem non omnia ministeria obsequiorum per ordinem agant, multitudo facit clericorum. Nam utique et altare portarent, et vasa ejus, et aquam in manus funderent sacerdoti, sicut videmus per omnes ecclesias.

Sect. 4. The principal use of them in the primitive church, to be a sort of nursery for the hierarchy.

But such churches as admitted them, made them subservient to divers good ends and purposes. For besides that of relieving the deacons in some part of their office, they were also a sort of nursery for the sacred hierarchy, or superior orders of the church. For in those days such churches as had these orders settled in them, commonly chose their superior ministers, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, out of them; and the clergy of these lesser orders were a sort of candidates under trial and probation for the greater. For the church, not having the advantage of Christian academies at that time, took this method to train up fit persons for the ministry, first exercising them in some of the lower offices, that they might be the better disciplined and qualified for the duties of the superior functions. And by this means every bishop knew perfectly both the abilities and morals of all the clergy of his diocese, for they were bred up under his eye, and governed by his care and inspection. In some places they lived all in one house, and ate all at one table: as Possidius[25] particularly notes of St. Austin's church at Hippo, and Sozomen[26] of the church of Rinocurura in the confines of Palestine and Egypt, that they had house, and table, and every thing in common. Hence it became a custom in Spain, in the time of the Gothic kings, about the end of the fifth century, for parents to dedicate their children very young to the service of the church; in which case they were taken into the bishop's family, and educated under him by some discreet and grave presbyter, whom the bishop deputed for that purpose, and set over them by the name of, *præpositus, et magister disciplinæ*, the superintendent, or master of discipline, because his chief business was to inspect their behaviour, and instruct them in the rules and discipline of the church. As we may see in the second and fourth councils[27] of Toledo, which give directions about this affair.

Sect. 5. Not allowed to forsake their service, and return to a mere secular life again.

And upon this account these inferior clergy were tied as well as others to the perpetual service of the church, when once they had devoted and dedicated themselves to it; they might not then forsake their station, and return to a mere secular life again at their own pleasure. The council of Chalcedon[28] has a peremptory canon to this purpose: That if any person ordained among the clergy betake himself to any military or civil employment, and does not repent and return to the office he had first chosen for God's sake, he should be anathematized. Which is repeated in the council of Tours,[29] and Tribur,[30] and some others, where it is interpreted so, as to include the inferior orders as well as the superior.

Sect. 6. How they differed from the superior orders, in name, in office, and manner of ordination.

But though they agreed in this, yet in other respects they differed very much from one another. As, 1. In name: the clergy of the superior orders are commonly called the *ἱερώμενοι*, holy[31] and sacred, as in Socrates and others; whence the name hierarchy is used by the author under the name of Dionysius[32] the Areopagite, to signify peculiarly the orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons; as Hallier, a famous Sorbonne doctor, has abundantly proved against Cellotius the Jesuit, in his learned and elaborate Defence[33] of the Hierarchy of the Church. But on the other hand, the inferior orders in the ancient canons have only the name of *insacrati*, unconsecrated; as in the council[34] of Agde, where the *insacrati ministri* are forbidden to touch the sacred vessels, or to enter into the *diaconicon* or sanctuary, it is plain there must be meant the inferior orders. 2. Another difference, which gave rise to the former distinction, was the different ceremonies observed in the manner of their ordination. The one were always ordained at the altar; the others not so: the one with the solemn rite of imposition of hands; the other commonly without it. Whence St. Basil[35] calls the one *βαθμὸς*, a degree; but the other, *ἀχειροτόνητος ὑπηρεσία*, an inferior ministry, which had no imposition of hands. 3. The main difference was in the exercise of their office and function. The one were ordained to minister before God as priests, to celebrate his sacraments, expound his word publicly in the church, &c. In which respects the three superior orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, are said by Optatus, and others, to have each their

[25] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 25. Cum ipso semper clerici, una etiam domo ac mensa, sumptibusque communibus alebantur et vestiebantur.

[26] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 31. *Κοινὴ δέ ἐστι τοῖς αὐτόθι κληρικοῖς οἴκησις καὶ τράπεζα καὶ τἄλλα πάντα.*

[27] Conc. Tolet. 2. c. 1. De his, quos voluntas parentum a primis infantiæ annis in clericatûs officio vel monachali posuit, statuimus——ut in domo ecclesiæ sub episcopali præsentia a præposito sibi debeant erudiri. It. Tolet. 4. c. 23. Si qui in clero puberes aut adolescentes existunt, omnes in uno conclavi atrii commorentur, ut in disciplinis ecclesiasticis agant, deputati probatissimo seniore, quem et magistrum disciplinæ et testem vitæ habeant.

[28] Conc. Chalced. c. 7. *Τοὺς ἅπαξ ἐν κλήρῳ κατειλεγμένους, ὡρίσαμεν, μήτε ἐπὶ στρατείαν, μήτε ἐπὶ ἀξίαν κοσμικὴν ἔρχεσθαι*, &c.

[29] Si quis clericus, relicto officii sui ordine, laicam voluerit agere vitam, vel se militiæ tradiderit, excommunicationis pœna feriatur.

[30] Conc. Triburiens. c. 27.

[31] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 10 et 15.

[32] Dionys. de Hierar. Eccles. c. 5. n. 2.

[33] Hallier, Defensio Hierarch. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 3. lib. 3. sect. 2. c. 1 et 2.

[34] Conc. Agathen. c. 66. Non licet insacratos ministros licentiam habere, in secretarium, quod Græci diaconicon appellant, ingredi, et contingere vasa dominica.

[35] Basil. Ep. Canon. c. 51.

share and degree in the Christian priesthood, as has been noted in the former book:[36] but the inferior orders were not appointed to any such ministry, but only to attend the ministers in Divine service, and perform some lower and ordinary offices, which any Christian, by the bishop's appointment, was qualified to perform. What these offices were, shall be showed by a particular account of them in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II.

OF SUBDEACONS.

Sect. 1. No mention of subdeacons till the third century.

The first notice we have of this order in any ancient writers is in the middle of the third century, when Cyprian and Cornelius lived, who both speak of subdeacons as settled in the church in their time. Cyprian[1] mentions them at least ten times in his epistles; and Cornelius, in his famous epistle[2] to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, where he gives a catalogue of the clergy then belonging to the church of Rome, reckons seven subdeacons among them. But some think they were not quite so early in the Greek church: for Habertus[3] says, no Greek writer speaks of them before Athanasius,[4] who lived in the fourth century.

Sect. 2. Their ordination performed without imposition of hands in the Latin church.

The author of the Constitutions, indeed, refers them to an apostolical original, and, in compliance with that hypothesis, brings in Thomas the apostle giving directions to bishops to ordain them with imposition of hands and prayer,[5] as he does for all the rest of the inferior orders. But that author is singular in this; for it does not appear to have been the practice of the Greek church, whose customs he chiefly represents: St. Basil, a more credible witness, says of this and all the other inferior orders, that they[6] were *ἀχειροτόνητοι*, ordained without imposition of hands. And for the Latin church it is evident, from a canon of the fourth council of Carthage, where we have the form and manner of their ordination thus expressed: When a subdeacon is ordained,[7] seeing he has no imposition of hands, let him receive an empty patin and an empty cup from the hands of the bishop, and an ewer and towel from the archdeacon. Which form wholly excluding imposition of hands, is a good collateral evidence (as Habertus[8] confesses ingenuously) to prove that this order was not instituted by the apostles: for they did not use to omit this ceremony in any of their ordinations.

Sect. 3. A brief account of their offices.

As to the office of subdeacons, we may, in some measure, learn what it was from the forementioned canon, viz. that it was to fit and prepare the sacred vessels and utensils of the altar, and deliver them to the deacon in time of Divine service. But they were not allowed to minister as deacons at the altar; no, nor so much as to come within the rails of it, to set a patin or cup or the oblations of the people thereon: as appears from a canon of the council of Laodicea,[9] which forbids the *ὑπηρέται*, by which is meant subdeacons, to have any place within the *diaconicon*, or sanctuary, nor to touch the holy vessels, meaning at the communion table. Though this is now their office in the church of Rome; and in that, Bona[10] owns they differ from those of the ancient church. Another of their offices was, to attend the doors of the church during the communion service. This is mentioned by the council of Laodicea, in a canon[11] which fixes them to that station. And Valesius thinks Eusebius meant them, when describing the temple of Paulinus, he speaks of some[12] whose office it was *θυραυλεῖν καὶ ποδηγεῖν τοὺς εἰσιόντας*, to attend the doors, and conduct those that came in to their proper places. The author of the Constitutions[13] divides this office between the deacons and subdeacons, ordering the deacons to stand at the men's gate, and the subdeacons at the women's; that no one might go forth, nor the doors be opened in the time of the oblation. Besides these offices in the church, they had another office out of the church, which was to go on the bishop's embassies, with his letters or messages to foreign churches. For in those days, by reason of the persecutions, a bishop did not so much as send a letter to a foreign church but by the hands of one of his clergy. Whence Cyprian[14] gives such letters the name of *literæ clericæ:* and the subdeacons were the men that were commonly employed in this office, as appears from every one of those epistles in Cyprian, which speak of subdeacons: particularly in that which he wrote to the clergy of Carthage in

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[36] See Book II. chap. 19. sect. 15.

[1] Cypr. Ep. 8, 20, 29, 34, 35, 45, 78, 79. ed. Oxon.

[2] Ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. [3] Habert. Archieratic. p. 49.

[4] Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. Vit. agent.

[5] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 21. [6] Basil. Ep. Canon. c. 51.

[7] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 5. Subdiaconus quum ordinatur, quia manûs impositionem non accipit, patinam de episcopi manu accipiat vacuam, et calicem vacuum. De manu vero archidiaconi, urceolum cum aqua, et mantile, et manutergium.

[8] Habert. Archieratic. p. 48. [9] Conc. Laodic. c. 21.

[10] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 16. Olim nec calicem nec patinam nec oblationes in altari ponebant.

[11] Conc. Laodic. c. 22. *οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτην τὰς θύρας ἐγκαταλιμπάνειν.*

[12] Euseb. Hist. lib. 10. c. 4.

[13] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 11.

[14] Cypr. Ep. 4. al. 9. Grave est si epistolæ clericæ veritas mendacio aliquo et fraude corrupta est.

his retirement, where he[15] tells them, that having occasion to write to the church of Rome, and needing some of the clergy to convey his letter by, he was obliged to ordain a new subdeacon for this purpose, because the church could not spare him one at that time, having scarce enough left to perform her own daily services. These were anciently the chief of the subdeacons' offices at their first institution.

Sect. 4. What offices they might not perform.

And great care was taken that they should not exceed their bounds, or encroach too much upon the deacon's office. They might not take upon them to minister the bread[16] or the cup to the people at the Lord's table; they might not bid the prayers, or do any part of that service which the deacons did, as they were the *κήρυκες* or holy criers of the church. This is the meaning of the canon[17] of the council of Laodicea, which prohibits the subdeacons from wearing an *horarium* in time of Divine service: which was a habit of deacons, that they made use of as a signal to give notice of the prayers, and other services of the church, to the catechumens, penitents, &c., who were to observe their directions: this habit therefore the subdeacons might not wear, because it was a distinguishing habit of a superior order. And further, to show the same subjection and deference to deacons, as deacons did to presbyters, they are forbidden by another canon[18] of that council to sit in the presence of a deacon without his leave.

Sect. 5. The singularity of the church of Rome in keeping to the precise number of seven subdeacons.

There is but one thing more I shall note concerning this order, which is the singularity of the church of Rome in keeping to the number of seven subdeacons. For in the epistle of Cornelius[19] which gives us the catalogue of the Romish clergy, we find but seven deacons, and seven subdeacons, though there were forty-four presbyters, and forty-two acolythists, and of exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers no less than fifty-two. But other churches did not tie themselves to follow this example. For in the great church of Constantinople, and three lesser that belonged to it, there were ninety subdeacons, as may be seen in one of Justinian's Novels,[20] where he gives a catalogue of the clergy, and fixes the number of every order, amounting to above five hundred in the whole.

CHAPTER III.

OF ACOLYTHISTS.

Sect. 1. Acolythists an order peculiar to the Latin church, and never mentioned by any Greek writer, for four centuries.

NEXT to the subdeacons the Latin writers commonly put acolythists, which was an order peculiar to the Latin church: for there was no such order in the Greek church for above four hundred years; nor is it ever so much as mentioned among the orders of the church by any Greek writer all that time, as Cabassutius[1] and Schelstrate[2] confess. And though it occurs sometimes in the later Greek rituals, yet Schelstrate says it is there only another name for the order of subdeacons. But in the Latin church these two were distinguished: for Cornelius in his catalogue makes a plain difference between them, in saying there were forty-two acolythists, and but seven subdeacons in the church of Rome. Cyprian also speaks of them[3] frequently in his epistles, as distinct from the order of subdeacons; though wherein their offices differed is not very easy to determine from either of those authors.

Sect. 2. Their ordination and office.

But in the fourth council of Carthage there is a canon which gives a little light in the matter: for there we have the form of their ordination, and some intimation of their office also. The canon[4] is to this effect: When any acolythist is ordained, the bishop shall inform him how he is to behave himself in his office: and he shall receive a candlestick with a taper in it, from the archdeacon, that he may understand that he is appointed to light the candles of the church. He shall also receive an empty pitcher to furnish wine for the eucharist of the blood of Christ. So that the acolythist's office seems at that time to have consisted chiefly in these two things, lighting the candles of the church, and attending the ministers with wine for the eucharist: the designation to which office needed no imposition of hands, but only the bishop's appointment, as is plain from the words of the canon now cited.

Sect. 3. The origination of the name.

Some think[5] they had another office, which was to accompany and attend the bishop whithersoever he went; and that they were called acolythists upon this ac-

[15] Cypr. Ep. 24. al. 29. Quoniam oportuit me per clericos scribere; scio autem nostros plurimos absentes esse, paucos vero, qui illic sunt, vix ad ministerium quotidiani operis sufficere: necesse fuit novos aliquos constituere, qui mitterentur: fecisse me autem sciatis lectorem Saturum et hypodiaconum Optatum confessorem.

[16] Conc. Laodic. c. 25. *ὁ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας ἄρτον διδόναι, οὐδὲ ποτήριον εὐλογεῖν.*

[17] Ibid. c. 22. *ὁ δεῖ ὑπηρέτην ὠράριον φορεῖν*, &c.

[18] Conc. Laodic. c. 20.

[19] Ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[20] Justin. Novel. 3.

[1] Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. 42. p. 249.

[2] Schelstrat. de Concil. Antiocheno, Dissert. 4. c. 17. p. 526.

[3] Cypr. Ep. 7, 34, 52, 59, 77, 78, 79. ed. Oxon.

[4] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 6. Acolythus quum ordinatur, ab episcopo quidem doceatur qualiter in officio suo agere debeat: sed ab archidiacono accipiat ceroferarium cum cereo, ut sciat se ad accendenda ecclesiæ luminaria mancipari. Accipiat et urceolum vacuum ad suggerendum vinum in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi.

[5] Duaren. de Minister. et Benefic. lib. 1. c. 14.

count: or perhaps because they were obliged to attend at funerals in the company of the *canonicæ* and *ascetriæ*, with whom they are joined in one of Justinian's Novels.[6] The original word, ἀκόλουθος, as Hesychius[7] explains it, signifies a young servant, or an attendant who waits continually upon another. And the name seems to be given them from this. But the inference which a learned person[8] makes from hence, that the order of acolythists was first in the Greek church, because the name is of Greek original, seems not to be so certain; because it can hardly be imagined, that it should be an order of the Greek church, and yet no Greek writer before Justinian's time make any mention of it.

Sect. 4. Whether acolythists be the same with the *deputati* and *ceroferarii* of later ages.

I know, indeed, St. Jerom[9] says, it was a custom in the Oriental churches to set up lighted tapers when the Gospel was read, as a token and demonstration of their joy; but he does not so much as once intimate, that they had a peculiar order of acolythists for this purpose: nor does it appear that this was any part of their office in the Latin church; for that which the council of Carthage speaks of, is probably no more than lighting the candles at night, when the church was to meet for their *lucernalis oratio*, or evening prayer. This office of acolythists, as much as the Romanists contend for the apostolical institution of it, is now no longer in being in the church of Rome, but changed into that of the *ceroferarii*, or taper-bearers, whose office is only to walk before the deacons, &c., with a lighted taper in their hands. Which is so different from the office of the ancient acolythists, that Duarenus[10] cannot but express his wonder, how the one came to be changed into the other, and why their doctors should call him an acolythist of the ancient church, who is no more then a taper-bearer of the present. Cardinal Bona[11] carries the reflection a little further, and with some resentment complains, that the inferior orders of the Romish church bear no resemblance to those of the primitive church, and that for five hundred years the ancient discipline has been lost.

CHAPTER IV.

OF EXORCISTS.

Sect. 1. Exorcists at first no peculiar order of the clergy.

There is nothing more certain than that in the apostolical age, and the next following, the power of exorcising, or casting out devils, was a miraculous gift of the Holy Ghost, not confined to the clergy, much less to any single order among them, but given to other Christians also, as many other extraordinary spiritual gifts then were. Origen[1] says, private Christians, that is, laymen, did by their prayers and adjurations dispossess devils. And Socrates[2] observes particularly of Gregory Thaumaturgus, that whilst he was a layman he wrought many miracles, healing the sick, and casting out devils, by sending letters to the possessed party only. And that this power was common to all orders of Christians, appears further from the challenges of the ancient apologists, Tertullian[3] and others, to the heathens, wherein they undertake, that if they would bring any person possessed with a devil into open court before the magistrate, any ordinary Christian should make him confess that he was a devil, and not a god. Minucius[4] speaks of this power among Christians, but he does not ascribe it to any particular order of men: as neither does Justin Martyr,[5] nor Irenæus,[6] nor Cyprian,[7] nor Arnobius,[8] though they frequently speak of such a power in the church.

Sect. 2. Bishops and presbyters, for the three first centuries, the usual exorcists of the church.

But as this gift was common to all orders of men, so it is reasonable to believe, that it was in a more especial manner conferred upon the bishops and presbyters of the church, who, when there was any occasion to use any exorcism in the church, were the ordinary ministers of it. Thus Cardinal Bona[9] understands that famous passage of Tertullian, where speaking[10] of a Christian woman, who went to the theatre, and returned possessed with a devil, he says, the unclean spirit was rebuked in exorcism for presuming to make such an attempt

[6] Justin. Novel. 59.

[7] Hesych. Ἀκόλουθος, ὁ νεώτερος παῖς, θεράπων, ὁ περὶ τὸ σῶμα.

[8] Bp. Fell, Not. in Cypr. Ep. 7.

[9] Hieron. cont. Vigilant. t. 2. p. 123. Per totas Orientis ecclesias, quando legendum est evangelium, accenduntur lumina, &c.

[10] Duaren. de Minister. et Benefic. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 74. Nescio quomodo tandem factum est, ut hoc munus in luminariorum curam postea conversum sit, et doctores nostri passim acolythos ceroferarios interpretentur.

[11] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 18. Desierunt quoque minorum ordinum officia, quæ plerumque a pueris, et hominibus mercede conductis, nullisque ordinibus initiatis exercentur, &c.

[1] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 7. p. 334. εὐχῇ καὶ ὁρκώσεσιν ἰδιῶται τὸ τοιοῦτον πράσσουσι, &c.

[2] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 27. λαϊκὸς ὢν πολλὰ σημεῖα ἐποίησε, νοσοῦντας θεραπεύων, καὶ δαίμονας δι' ἐπιστολῶν φυγαδεύων.

[3] Tertul. Apol. c. 23. Edatur hic aliquis sub tribunalibus vestris, quem dæmone agi constet. Jussus a quolibet Christiano loqui spiritus ille, tam se dæmonem confitebitur de vero, quam alibi Deum de falso.

[4] Minuc. Octav. p. 83. Ipsos dæmonas de semetipsis confiteri, quoties a nobis tormentis verborum et orationis incendiis de corporibus exiguntur.

[5] Justin. Apol. 1. p. 45. [6] Iren. lib. 2. c. 56 et 57.

[7] Cypr. ad Donat. p. 4. [8] Arnob. cont. Gent. lib. 1.

[9] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 17.

[10] Tertul. de Spectac. c. 26. Theatrum adiit, et inde cum dæmonio rediit. Itaque in exorcismo cum oneraretur immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem aggredi: Constanter et justissime quidem (inquit) feci, in meo enim inveni.

upon a believer: to which the spirit replied, that he had a right to her, because he found her upon his own ground. This exorcism, I say, Bona supposes to be performed by some presbyter of the church, endowed with that miraculous gift. And the like may be said of those exorcists in Cyprian,[11] who cast out devils by a Divine power: and of those also who are mentioned by Firmilian,[12] as persons inspired by Divine grace, to discern evil spirits and detect them: as one of them did a woman of Cappadocia, who pretended to be inspired, and to work miracles, and to baptize, and consecrate the eucharist by Divine direction. These exorcisms were plainly miraculous, and prove nothing more than that some persons had such a gift, who probably were some eminent presbyters of the church: at least, they do not prove that exorcists were as yet become any distinct order among the clergy in the church.

Sect. 3. In what sense every man his own exorcist.

Some think the order was as old as Tertullian, because Ulpian, the great lawyer, who lived in Tertullian's time, in one of his books[13] speaks of exorcising, as a thing used by impostors, by whom probably he means the Christians. Gothofred thinks he means the Jewish exorcists, who were commonly impostors indeed: but admitting that he means Christians, (which is more probable, considering what Lactantius[14] says of him, that he published a collection of the penal laws that had been made against them,) yet it proves no more than what every one owns, that exorcising was a thing then commonly known and practised among the Christians. Others urge the authority of Tertullian himself in his book de Corona Militis, where yet he is so far from owning any particular order of exorcists, that he rather seems to make every man his own exorcist. For there, among other arguments which he urges to dissuade Christians from the military life under heathen emperors, he makes use of this,[15] that they would be put to guard the idol temples, and then they must defend those devils by night, whom they had put to flight by day by their exorcisms; by which he means their prayers, as Junius rightly understands him. And so in another place, dissuading Christians from selling such things as would contribute toward upholding of idolatry, or the worship of devils, he argues thus; that otherwise the devils would be their *alumni;* that is, might be said to be fostered and maintained by them, so long as they furnished out materials to carry on their service: and with what confidence, says he,[16] can any man exorcise his own *alumni*, those devils, whose service he makes his own house an armoury to maintain? Vicecomes[17] and Bona,[18] by mistake, understand this as spoken of exorcism before baptism, taking the word, *alumni*, to signify the catechumens of the church: whereas, indeed, it signifies devils in this place, who are so called by Tertullian, in respect of those who contribute to uphold their worship; for such men are a sort of foster-fathers to them. So that this passage, when rightly understood, makes nothing for the antiquity of exorcists, as a peculiar order of the clergy, but only shows in what sense every Christian is to be his own exorcist, viz. by his prayers, resisting the devil, that he may fly from him.

Sect. 4. Exorcists constituted into an order in the latter end of the third century.

Setting aside then both that extraordinary power of exorcising, which was miraculous, and this ordinary way also, in which every man was his own exorcist; it remains to be inquired, when the order of the exorcists was first settled in the church. And here I take Bona's opinion to be the truest, that it came in upon the withdrawing[19] of that extraordinary and miraculous power; which probably was by degrees, and not at the same time in all places. Cornelius,[20] who lived in the third century, reckons exorcists among the inferior orders of the church of Rome: yet the author of the Constitutions, who lived after him, says it was no certain order,[21] but God bestowed the gift of exorcising as a free grace upon whom he pleased: and therefore, consonant to that hypothesis, there is no rule among those Constitutions for giving any ordination to exorcists, as being appointed by God only, and not by the church. But the credit of the Constitutions is not to be relied upon in this matter: for it is certain, by this time exorcists were settled as an order in most parts of the Greek church, as well as the Latin; which is evident from the council of Antioch, anno 341, in one of whose canons[22] leave is given to the *chorepiscopi* to promote subdeacons, readers, and exorcists; which argues, that those were then all standing orders of the church. After this, exorcists are frequently mentioned among the

[11] Cypr. Ep. 76. al. 69. ad Magnum, p. 187. Quod hodie etiam geritur, ut per exorcistas, voce humana et potestate divina, flagelletur, et uratur, et torqueatur diabolus.

[12] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cypr. p. 223. Unus de exorcistis—inspiratus Dei gratia fortiter restitit, et esse illum nequissimum spiritum, qui prius sanctus putabatur, ostendit.

[13] Ulpian. lib. 8. de Tribunal. in Digest. lib. 50. Tit. 13. Leg. 1. Si incantavit, si imprecatus est, si (ut vulgari verbo impostorum utar) exorcisavit.

[14] Lact. Instit. lib. 5. c. 11.

[15] Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. 11. Quos interdiu exorcismis fugavit, noctibus defensabit.

[16] Tertul. de Idol. c. 11. Qua constantia exorcisabit alumnos suos, quibus domum suam cellariam præstat?

[17] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 2. c. 30. p. 362.

[18] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 17.

[19] Bona, ibid. Postea subtracta hac potestate, constituit ecclesia ordinem, qui dæmonia expelleret.

[20] Ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[21] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 26.

[22] Conc. Antioch. c. 10.

inferior orders by the writers of the fourth century, as in the council of Laodicea,[23] Epiphanius,[24] Paulinus,[25] Sulpicius Severus,[26] and the Rescripts of Theodosius,[27] and Gratian[28] in the Theodosian Code, where those emperors grant them the same immunity from civil offices, as they do to the other orders of the clergy.

Sect. 5. Their ordination and office.

Their ordination and office is thus described by the fourth council of Carthage:[29] When an exorcist is ordained, he shall receive at the hands of the bishop a book, wherein the forms of exorcising are written, the bishop saying, Receive thou these and commit them to memory, and have thou power to lay hands upon the energumens, whether they be baptized or only catechumens. These forms were certain prayers, together with adjurations in the name of Christ, commanding the unclean spirit to depart out of the possessed person: which may be collected from the words of Paulinus concerning the promotion of St. Felix to this office, where he says,[30] from a reader he arose to that degree, whose office was to adjure evil spirits, and to drive them out by certain holy words. It does not appear that they were ordained to this office by any imposition of hands either in the Greek or Latin church; but yet no one might pretend to exercise it either publicly or privately, in the church or in any house, without the appointment of the bishop, as the council of Laodicea directs;[31] or at least the licence of a *chorepiscopus*, who, in that case, was authorized[32] by the bishop's deputation.

Sect. 6. A short account of the energumens, their names, and station in the church.

As to the energumens, for whose sake this office was appointed, they were so called from the Greek word, ἐνεργούμενοι, which, in its largest signification, denotes persons who are under the motion and operation of any spirit, whether good or bad; but in a more restrained sense, it is used by ecclesiastical writers for persons whose bodies are seized or possessed with an evil spirit. Upon which account they are otherwise called δαιμονιζόμενοι, demoniacs, and κατεχόμενοι, possessed. And because this was frequently attended with great commotions and vexations, and disturbances of the body, occasioning sometimes frenzy and madness, sometimes epileptic fits, and other violent tossings and contortions; such persons are often upon that account styled χειμαζόμενοι by the Greek, and *hyemantes* by the Latin writers, that is, tossed as in a winter storm or tempest. Thus the author of the Constitutions in some places styles them simply χειμαζόμενοι,[33] by which that he means the energumens is evident, because in another place he styles them χειμαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου,[34] such as were under the commotions and vexations of Satan; and tells us, that prayer was made for them under that character, in the oblation at the altar for all states and conditions of men, that God would deliver them from that violent energy or agitation of the wicked one. And thus most learned men, except Albaspinæus, understand that phrase in the canon of the council of Ancyra,[35] which orders some certain notorious sinners, εἰς τοὺς χειμαζομένους εὔχεσθαι, to pray *in loco hyemantium*, in that part of the church where the demoniacs stood, which was a place separate from all the rest. And some also think the name,[36] κλυδωνιζόμενοι, was given to the energumens upon the same account, because it signifies persons agitated by a spirit, as a wave in a tempest.

Sect. 7. The exorcist chiefly concerned in the care of them.

Now these energumens, or demoniacs, or whatever other name they were called by, were the persons about whom the exorcists were chiefly concerned. For besides the prayers which were offered for them in all public assemblies, by the deacons and bishops, and the whole congregation, (some forms of which prayers may be seen in the author[37] of the Constitutions,) the exorcists were obliged to pray over them at other times,[38] when there was no assembly in the church; and to keep them employed in some innocent business, as in sweeping[39] the church and the like, to prevent more violent agitations of Satan, lest idleness should tempt the tempter; and to see them provided of daily food[40] and sustenance, while they abode in the church, which it seems was the chief place of their residence and habitation.

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[23] Conc. Laodic. c. 24 et 26.

[24] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 21.

[25] Paulin. Natal. 4. S. Felicis.

[26] Sulpic. Vit. S. Martin. c. 5.

[27] Cod. Theod. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurion. Leg. 121.

[28] Ibid. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 24.

[29] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 7. Exorcista quum ordinatur, accipiat de manu episcopi libellum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, dicente sibi episcopo: Accipe et commenda memoriæ, et habeto potestatem imponendi manus super energumenum, sive baptizatum, sive catechumenum.

[30] Paulin. Natal. 4. Felic. Primis lector servivit in annis, inde gradum cepit, cui munus voce fideli adjurare malos, et sacris pellere verbis.

[31] Conc. Laod. c. 26.

[32] Concil. Antioch. c. 10.

[33] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 35 et 37.

[34] Constit. lib. 8. c. 12. παρακαλοῦμέν σε ὑπὲρ τῶν χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου—ὅπως καθαρίσῃς ἐκ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ πονηροῦ.

[35] Conc. Ancyr. c. 17.

[36] Vid. Dodwel. Dissert. 1. in Cypr. n. 17.

[37] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 6 et 7.

[38] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 90. Omni die exorcistæ energumenis manus imponant.

[39] Ibid. c. 91. Pavimenta domorum Dei energumeni verrant.

[40] Ibid. c. 92. Energumenis in domo Dei assidentibus victus quotidianus per exorcistas opportuno tempore ministretur.

Sect. 8. The duty of exorcists in reference to the catechumens.

This was the exorcist's office in reference to the energumens; to which Valesius [41] and Gothofred [42] add another office, viz. that of exorcising the catechumens before baptism. Which is a matter that will admit of some dispute. For it does not appear always to have been the exorcist's office, save only in one of these two cases: either, first, when a catechumen was also an energumen, which was a case that very often happened: and then he was to be committed to the care of the exorcists, whose office was to exorcise all energumens, whether they were baptized, or only catechumens, as is evident from the canon already alleged, sect. 5, out of the council of Carthage. Or, secondly, it might happen that the exorcist was also made the catechist, and in that case there can be no question but that his office was as well to exorcise as to instruct the catechumens. But then the catechist's office was many times separate from that of the exorcist's: (though some modern writers confound them together:) sometimes a presbyter, or a deacon, or a reader was the catechist: and in that case it seems more probable that the exorcism of the catechumens was performed by the catechist than by the exorcist; and for that reason I shall treat of the office of catechist distinctly in its proper place.

CHAPTER V.

OF LECTORS OR READERS.

Sect. 1. The order of readers not instituted till the 3rd century.

It is the opinion now of most learned men, even in the Romish church, that there was no such order as that of readers distinct from others for at least two ages in the primitive church. Bona owns[1] it to be one of the four orders, which he thinks only of ecclesiastical institution. And Cotelerius[2] says there is no mention made of it before the time of Tertullian, who is the first author that speaks of it as a standing order in the church. For writing against the heretics,[3] he objects to them, that their orders were desultory and inconstant: a man was a deacon among them one day, and a reader the next. Which implies, that it was otherwise in the church, and that readers then were as much a settled order as deacons, or any other. Cyprian, who lived not long after Tertullian, frequently speaks of them as an order of the clergy. In one place[4] he says he had made one Saturus a reader; and in another place he mentions one Aurelius, a confessor, whom he had ordained a reader for his singular merits, and constancy in time of persecution:[5] and for the same reason he made Celerinus, another confessor, one of the same order among the clergy.[6] So that it was then reckoned not only a clerical office, but an honourable office, to be a reader in the church, and such a one as a confessor needed not to be ashamed of. Sometimes persons of the greatest dignity were ordained to this office, as Julian is said to have been in the church of Nicomedia[7] while he professed himself a Christian. Sozomen[8] says expressly, that both he and his brother Gallus were reckoned among the clergy, and read the Scriptures publicly to the people. And there is no writer of that age, but always speaks of readers as a distinct order of the clergy in the church.

Sect. 2. By whom the Scriptures were read in the church before the institution of that order.

But since the order of readers, though frequently spoken of in the third and fourth ages, are never once mentioned in the two first, it will be proper to inquire, by whom the Scriptures were read in the church for those two centuries? Mr. Basnage[9] is of opinion that the Christian church at first followed the example of the Jewish church, and in this matter took her model from the synagogue, where, as he observes out of Dr. Lightfoot,[10] the custom was on every sabbath day to have seven readers, first a priest, then a Levite, and after them five Israelites, such as the minister of the congregation (whom they called the bishop or inspector and angel of the church) thought fit to call forth and nominate for that purpose: he thinks it was much after the same manner in the Christian church; the office was not perpetually assigned to any particular man, but chiefly performed by presbyters and deacons, yet so as that any other might do it by the bishop's appointment. But indeed the matter is involved in so great obscurity, that no certain conjecture can be made from the writings of the two first ages, but all that we can argue is from the seeming remains of the ancient customs in the following ages. For since we find that deacons in many churches continued to read the Gospel, even after the

[41] Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. 2.

[42] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 24.

[1] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 17.

[2] Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apost. lib. 2. c. 25.

[3] Tertul. de Præscript. c. 41. Hodie diaconus, qui cras lector.

[4] Cypr. Ep. 24. al. 29. Fecisse me sciatis lectorem Saturum.

[5] Id. Ep. 33. al. 38. Merebatur Aurelius clericæ ordinationis ulteriores gradus—Sed interim placuit ut ab officio lectionis incipiat, &c.

[6] Id. Ep. 34. al. 39. Referimus ad vos, Celerinum—clero nostro non humana suffragatione, sed divina dignatione conjunctum, &c.

[7] Socrat. lib. 3. c. 1. Nazian. Invectiv. 1. t. 1. p. 58.

[8] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 2. ὡς καὶ κλήρῳ ἐγκαταλεγῆναι, καὶ ὑπαναγινώσκειν τῷ λαῷ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς βίβλους.

[9] Basnag. Exercit. in Baron. p. 623.

[10] Lightfoot, Harm. p. 479.

order of readers was set up; as I have had occasion to show[11] in another place from the author[12] of the Constitutions, and St. Jerom,[13] and the council[14] of Vaison; we may thence reasonably conclude, that this was part of their office before; and since presbyters and bishops in other churches did the same, as Sozomen[15] informs us, it may as rationally be inferred, that this was their custom in former ages. But whether laymen performed this office at any time by the bishop's particular direction, as the Israelites did in the Jewish church, cannot be so certainly determined; only we find that in after ages, in the most celebrated church of Alexandria, even the catechumens, as well as believers,[16] were admitted to do the office of readers; and that may incline a man to think that this office was not wholly confined to the clergy in the two first ages. But this being peculiar to the church of Alexandria, nothing can be argued from it concerning the practice of the universal church; and therefore, till some better light is afforded, I leave this matter undetermined.

Sect. 3. The manner of ordaining readers.

It is more certain, that after the order of readers was set up, it was generally computed among the orders of the clergy, except perhaps at Alexandria, where that singular custom prevailed of putting catechumens into the office; for it can hardly be supposed, that they reckoned persons that were unbaptized, and not yet allowed to partake of the holy mysteries, into the number of their clergy. But in all other places it was reputed a clerical order, and persons deputed to the office were ordained to it with the usual solemnities and ceremonies of the other inferior orders. In the Greek church Habertus[17] thinks they were ordained with imposition of hands, but among the Latins without it. The author of the Constitutions prescribes a form of prayer to be used with imposition of hands; but whether that was the practice of all the Greek church is very much questioned. In the Latin church it was certainly otherwise. The council of Carthage[18] speaks of no other ceremony, but the bishop's putting the Bible into his hands in the presence of the people, with these words: Take this book, and be thou a reader of the word of God, which office if thou fulfil faithfully and profitably, thou shalt have part with those that minister in the word of God. And in Cyprian's time they seem not to have had so much as this ceremony of delivering the Bible to them, but they were made readers by the bishop's commission and deputation only to such a station in the church.

Sect. 4. Their station and office in the church.

This was the *pulpitum*, or *tribunal ecclesiæ*, as it is commonly called in Cyprian, the reading-desk in the body of the church, which was distinguished from the *bema*, or tribunal of the sanctuary. For the reader's office was not to read the Scriptures at the altar, but in the reading-desk only. Whence, *super pulpitum imponi, et ad pulpitum venire*, are phrases in Cyprian[19] to denote the ordination of a reader. In this place, in Cyprian's time, they read the Gospels, as well as other parts of Scripture; which is clear from one of Cyprian's epistles,[20] where speaking of Celerinus the confessor, whom he had ordained a reader, he says, It was fitting he should be advanced to the pulpit or tribunal of the church, that having the advantage of a higher station, he might thence read the precepts and Gospels of his Lord, which he himself as a courageous confessor had followed and observed. Albaspinæus[21] says, they also read the Epistles and Gospels in the communion service: but he should first have proved, that those were anciently any part of the communion service; for they do not appear to have been so from the most ancient liturgies, but were only read in the *missa catechumenorum*, or, as we now call it, the first service, at which the catechumens were present. And wheresoever they were taken into the communion service, it was the office of deacons, and not the readers, to rehearse them. But of this more when we come to the liturgy and service of the ancient church.

Sect. 5. The age at which they might be ordained.

There is but one thing more to be noted concerning this order, which is the age at which readers might be ordained. That is fixed by one of Justinian's Novels,[22] precisely forbidding any one to be ordained reader before he was completely eighteen years old. But before this law was made it was customary to ordain them much younger: for Ennodius, bishop of Ticinum, says of Epiphanius his predecessor,[23] that he was ordained reader at eight years old: as

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[11] Book II. chap. 20. sect. 6.

[12] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57.

[13] Hieron. Ep. 58. ad Sabin.

[14] Conc. Vasens. 2. c. 2.

[15] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 19.

[16] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22. *ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀναγνῶσται καὶ ὑποβολεῖς ἀδιάφορον, εἴτε κατηχούμενοι εἰσὶν, εἴτε πιστοί.*

[17] Habert. Archieratic. par. 4. obs. 1. p. 41.

[18] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 8. Lector cum ordinatur, faciat de illo verbum episcopus ad plebem, indicans ejus fidem, vitam, et ingenium. Post hæc spectante plebe tradat ei codicem, de quo lecturus est, dicens, Accipe et esto lector verbi Dei, habiturus, si fideliter et utiliter impleveris officium, partem cum eis qui verbum Dei ministraverunt.

[19] Cypr. Ep. 38 et 39. ed. Oxon.

[20] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. Quid aliud quam super pulpitum, id est, super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus—legat præcepta et evangelia Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur?

[21] Albaspin. Not. in Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 4.

[22] Justin. Novel. 123. c. 54.

[23] Ennod. Vit. Epiphan. Bibl. Patr. t. 15. p. 295. Annorum ferme octo lectoris ecclesiastici suscipit officium.

Cæsarius Arelatensis[24] is said to have been at seven. And this leads us to understand what Sidonius Apollinaris means, when speaking of John, bishop of Chalons, he says, he was a reader from his infancy.[25] Which is also said of St. Felix by Paulinus,[26] that he served in the office of a reader from his tender years. So Victor Uticensis, describing the barbarity of the Vandalic persecution in Africa, he aggravates their cruelty with this circumstance, that they had murdered or famished all the clergy of Carthage, five hundred or more, among whom there were many infant readers.[27] Now, the reason why persons were ordained so young to this office, was what I have intimated before, that parents sometimes dedicated their children to the service of God from their infancy, and then they were trained up and disciplined in some inferior offices, that they might be qualified and rendered more expert for the greater services of the church.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE OSTIARII OR DOOR-KEEPERS.

Sect. 1. No mention of this order till the third or fourth century.

This is the last of those five orders, which are pretended by the present church of Rome to be of apostolical institution: but for three whole centuries, we never so much as meet with the name of it in any ancient writer, except in the epistle of Cornelius,[1] bishop of Rome, where the πυλωροὶ, or door-keepers, are mentioned with the rest. In Cyprian and Tertullian there is no mention of them: the first and lowest order with them is that of readers, as it is now in the Greek church, among whom the order of door-keepers has been laid aside from the time of the council of Trullo, anno 692, as Schelstrate[2] scruples not to confess; though he blames Morinus for being a little too frank and liberal in extending this concession to the apostolical ages; and in order to confute him, alleges the authority of Ignatius and Clemens Romanus[3] for the antiquity of this order. But he refers us only to spurious treatises under their names, not known till the fourth century, about which time it is owned this order began to be spoken of by some few Greek writers. For Epiphanius[4] and the council of Laodicea[5] put the θυρωροὶ, that is, door-keepers, among the other orders of the clergy. And Justinian also, in one of his Novels,[6] speaks of them as settled in the great church of Constantinople, where he limits their number to one hundred, for the use of that and three other churches. This proves that they were settled in some parts of the Greek church, though, as Habertus[7] observes, they continued not many ages, nor ever universally obtained an establishment in all churches.

Sect. 2. The manner of their ordination in the Latin church.

What sort of ordination they had in the Greek church we do not find; for there is no author that speaks of it. In the Latin church it was no more but the bishop's commission, with the ceremony of delivering the keys of the church into their hands, and saying, Behave thyself as one that must give an account to God of the things that are kept locked under these keys; as the form is[8] in the fourth council of Carthage, and the *Ordo Romanus*,[9] and Gratian,[10] who have it from that council.

Sect. 3. Their office and function.

Their office is commonly said to consist in taking care of the doors of the church in time of Divine service, and in making a distinction betwixt the faithful and the catechumens, and excommunicated persons, and such others as were to be excluded from the church. But I confess this is more than can be made out from ancient history, at least in reference to the state and discipline of many churches. For, in the African church particularly, as I shall have occasion to show in another place, a liberty was given not only to catechumens and penitents, but also to heretics, Jews, and heathens, to come to the first part of the church's service, called the *missa catechumenorum*, that is, to hear the Scripture read, and the homily or sermon that was made upon it: because these were instructive, and might be means of their conversion, so that there was no need of making any distinction here. Then, for the other part of the service, called *missa fidelium*, or the communion service, the distinction that was made in that, was done by the deacons or subdeacons, and deaconesses, as I have showed before in speaking of those orders. So that all that the door-keepers could have to do in this matter was only to open and shut the doors as officers and servants under the other, and to be governed wholly by their direction. It belonged to

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[24] Vit. Cæsar. ap. Sur. 27. Aug. Clero adscriptum inter ipsa infantiæ rudimenta, post exactum ætatis septennium.

[25] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 25. Lector hic primum, sic minister altaris, idque ab infantia.

[26] Paulin. Natal. 4. Felic. Primis lector servivit in annis.

[27] Victor. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 3. Bibl. Patr. t. 7. 613. Fere quingenti vel amplius, inter quos quamplurimi erant lectores infantuli, &c.

[1] Ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[2] Schelstrat. Conc. Antioch. Dissert. 4. c. 17. p. 520.

[3] Ignat. Ep. ad Antioch. et Clement. Constit. lib. 3. c. 11.

[4] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 21. [5] Conc. Laodic. c. 24.

[6] Just. Novel. 3. c. 1. Insuper centum existentibus iis, qui vocantur ostiarii.

[7] Habert. Archieratic. par. 5. obs. 1. p. 47.

[8] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 9. Ostiarius cum ordinatur—ad suggestionem archidiaconi tradat ei episcopus claves ecclesiæ, dicens, Sic age quasi redditurus Deo rationem de his rebus quæ his claoibus recluduntur.

[9] Ordo Roman. part. 2. p. 98. [10] Grat. Dist. 23. c. 19

them likewise to give notice of the times of prayer and church assemblies; which in time of persecution required a private signal for fear of discovery: and that perhaps was the first reason of instituting this order in the church of Rome, whose example by degrees was followed by other churches. However it be, their office and station seems to have been little more than that of clerks and sextons in our modern churches.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE PSALMISTÆ, OR SINGERS.

Sect. 1. The singers a distinct order from readers in the ancient church.

I have hitherto given an account of those five inferior orders, which the church of Rome has singled out from the rest, and without any reason stamped them with the authority and character of apostolical institution; whilst yet she takes no notice of some others, which have as good pretence to antiquity, and to be styled distinct clerical orders, as most of the former. Among these I reckon the *psalmistæ*, the *copiatæ*, and the *parabolani* of the primitive church. Habertus,[1] and Bellarmine,[2] and others, who are concerned to maintain the credit of the Romish church in making but five inferior orders, pretend that singers and readers are only one and the same order. But as the canonists of their own church generally reckon them two, so nothing can be more evident than that they were always accounted so in the primitive church from their first institution. For they are distinguished as much as any other orders, by all the writers that mention them, as the reader that is curious in this matter may satisfy himself by consulting the places of Ephrem Syrus,[3] the council of Laodicea,[4] and those called the Apostolical Canons,[5] and Constitutions,[6] the author[7] of St. Mark's liturgy, the epistle under the name of Ignatius,[8] Justinian,[9] and the council of Trullo,[10] referred to in the margin. Particularly Justinian's Novel does so distinguish them, as to inform us that there were twenty-five singers and one hundred and ten readers in the Greek church of Constantinople. Which is a convincing evidence that they were of different orders.

Sect. 2. Their institution and office.

The first rise and institution of these singers, as an order of the clergy, seems to have been about the beginning of the fourth century. For the council of Laodicea is the first that mentions them, unless any one thinks perhaps the Apostolical Canons to be a little more ancient. The reason of instituting them seems to have been to regulate and encourage the ancient psalmody of the church. For from the first and apostolical age singing was always a part of Divine service, in which the whole body of the church joined together: which is a thing so evident, that though Cabassutius[11] denies it, and in his spite to the reformed churches, where it is generally practised, calls it only a protestant whim; yet Cardinal Bona has more than once[12] not only confessed, but solidly proved it to have been the primitive practice. Of which therefore I shall say no more at present, but only observe, that it was the decay of this that first brought the order of singers into the church. For when it was found by experience, that the negligence and unskilfulness of the people rendered them unfit to perform this service without some more curious and skilful to guide and assist them; then a peculiar order of men were appointed, and set over this business, with a design to retrieve and improve the ancient psalmody, and not to abolish or destroy it. And from this time these were called *κανονικοὶ ψαλταὶ*, the canonical singers, that is, such as were entered into the canon or catalogue of the clergy, which distinguished them from the body of the church. In some places, it was thought fit for some time to prohibit all others from singing but only these; with design, no doubt, to restore the concent of the ancient ecclesiastical harmony, which otherwise could not well have been done, but by obliging the rest for some time to be silent, and learn of those who were more skilful in the art of music. Thus I understand that canon of the council of Laodicea,[13] which forbids all others to sing in the church, except only the canonical singers, who went up into the ambo, or singing desk, and sung out of a book. This was a temporary provision, designed only to restore and revive the ancient psalmody, by reducing it to its primitive harmony and perfection. That which the rather inclines me to put this sense upon the canon, and look upon it only as a prohibition for a time, is, that in after ages we find the people enjoyed their ancient privilege of singing all together; which is frequently mentioned by St. Austin, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Basil, and many others, who give an account of the psalmody and service of the church in

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[1] Habert. Archierat. par. 4. obs. 4. p. 44.
[2] Bellarm. de Clericis, lib. 1. c. 11.
[3] Ephrem. 93. Serm. de Secundo Dom. Advent.
[4] Conc. Laodic. can. 24.
[5] Can. Apost. c. 69 et 43.
[6] Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 11.
[7] Liturg. Marci, Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 35.
[8] Epist. ad Antiochen.
[9] Justin. Novel. 3. c. 1.
[10] Concil. Trull. c. 4.
[11] Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. 38. p. 201.
[12] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 19. It. de Divin. Psalmod. c. 17.
[13] Conc. Laodic. c. 15. *μὴ δεῖν πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, ἑτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.*

their own ages, of which I shall speak more hereafter in its proper place.

Sect. 3. Why called ὑποβολεῖς.

Here I must note, that these canonical singers were also called ὑποβολεῖς, monitors, or suggestors, from their office, which was to be a sort of precentors to the people: for the custom in some places was for the singer or psalmist to begin a psalm or hymn, and sing half a verse by himself, and then the people answered in the latter clause; and from this they were said ὑπηχεῖν, or *succinere*, to sing after him, by way of *antiphona* or responsal. In this sense, Epiphanius Scholasticus understands the name ὑποβολεῖς in Socrates,[14] for he translates it, *psalmi pronunciatores:* and so both Valesius[15] and Cotelerius[16] explain it. But Habertus is of the contrary mind: he thinks the name,[17] ὑποβολεῖς, denotes not singers, but readers; and that they were so called, because they suggested to the preachers a portion of Scripture to discourse upon: for then their homilies were frequently upon such parts of Scripture, as the reader had just before repeated. The controversy is nice betwixt these learned men, and I shall no further inquire into the merits of it, but leave it to every judicious reader to determine.

Sect. 4. What sort of ordination they had.

There is but one thing more that needs be noted concerning this order, which is the manner of their designation to this office: which in this agreed with all the other inferior orders, that it required no imposition of hands, or solemn consecration: but in one thing it differed from them, that whereas the rest were usually conferred by the bishop or a *chorepiscopus*, this might be conferred by a presbyter, using this form of words, as it is in the canon of the fourth council of Carthage:[18] See that thou believe in thy heart what thou singest with thy mouth, and approve in thy works what thou believest in thy heart. And this is all the ceremony we find any where used about their designation.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE COPIATÆ OR FOSSARII.

Sect. 1. The *copiatæ* or *fossarii* reckoned among the *clerici* of the primitive church.

ANOTHER order of the inferior clergy in the primitive church were those, whose business was to take care of funerals, and provide for the decent interment of the dead. These, in ancient writers, are commonly termed *copiatæ*, which is the name that Constantine gives them in two rescripts[1] in the Theodosian Code. Epiphanius speaks of them[2] under the same name, styling them κοπιάται, and the author[3] under the name of Ignatius, κοπιῶντες. Gothofred[4] deduces it from the Greek word κοπάζειν, which signifies resting; others from κοπετὸς, mourning; but generally the name is thought to be given them from κόπος, and κοπιᾶσθαι, which signify labouring; whence they are by some called *laborantes*. The author under the name of St. Jerom[5] styles them *fossarii*, from digging of graves: and in Justinian's Novels[6] they are called *lecticarii*, from carrying the corpse or bier at funerals. Gothofred thinks it improper to reckon these among the *clerici*[7] of the ancient church: but when we are speaking of things and customs of the ancient church, I know not how we shall speak more properly than in the language of the ancients, who themselves call them so. For not only the author[8] under the name of St. Jerom calls them the first order of the *clerici*, as they are in his account; but St. Jerom himself also gives them the same title, speaking of one that was to be interred: The *clerici*, says he, whose office[9] it was, wound up the body, digged the earth, builded a vault, and so according to custom made ready the grave. This is the reason why Epiphanius[10] and the counterfeit Ignatius reckon them among the inferior orders. And Gothofred had no need to make emendations upon those imperial laws[11] in the Theodosian Code, which give the *copiatæ* the name of *clerici*, and entitle them to some immunities and privileges upon that account: for this, as appears, was only to speak in the language and style of other ecclesiastical writers.

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[14] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22.

[15] Vales. in Socrat. ibid.

[16] Coteler. Not. in Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57.

[17] Habert. Archierat. par. 4. obs. 1. p. 39.

[18] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 10. Psalmista, id est, cantor potest absque scientia episcopi, sola jussione presbyteri, officium suscipere cantandi, dicente sibi presbytero: Vide ut quod ore cantas, corde credas: et quod corde credis, operibus comprobes.

[1] Cod. Th. lib. 13. Tit. 1. de Lustrali Collat. Leg. 1. It. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 15.

[2] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 21.

[3] Epist. ad Antioch. n. 12.

[4] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 13. Tit. 1. Leg. 1.

[5] Hieron. de septem Ordin. Eccles. t. 4. p. 81.

[6] Justin. Novel. 43 et 59.

[7] Gothofr. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 15.

[8] De septem Ordin. Eccles. Primus in clericis fossariorum ordo est, &c.

[9] Hieron. Ep. ad Innocent. de Muliere septies icta, t. 1. p. 235. Clerici, quibus id officii erat, cruentum linteo cadaver obvolvunt, et fossam humum lapidibus construentes, ex more tumulum parant.

[10] Epiphan. et Ignat. ubi supra.

[11] Cod. Th. lib. 7. Tit. 20. de Veteranis, Leg. 12. Dum se quidam vocabulo clericorum, et infaustis defunctorum obsequiis occupatos—defendunt, &c. Ibid. lib. 13. Tit. 1. de Lustrali Collat. Leg. 1. Clericos excipi tantum, qui copiatæ appellantur, &c. Ibid. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 15. Clerici vero, vel hi quos copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari, &c.

Sect. 2. First instituted in the time of Constantine.

This order seems to have been first instituted in the time of Constantine: for Constantius his son, in one of those laws just now referred to, speaks of it as a late institution; and there is no writer of the three first ages that ever mentions it, but all that time the care of interring the dead was only a charitable office, which every Christian thought himself obliged to perform as occasion required. And that is the reason why we meet with so many noble encomiums of this sort of charity in the writers of those ages, but never once mention of any order instituted for that purpose. But when Constantine came to the throne, and was quietly settled in his new seat at Constantinople, he incorporated a body of men to the number of eleven hundred in that city, under the name of *copiatæ*, for that particular service: and so they continued to the time of Honorius and Theodosius junior, who reduced them to nine hundred and fifty:[12] but Anastasius augmented them again to the first number, which Justinian confirmed by two Novels[13] published for that purpose. And I suppose from this example of the Constantinopolitan church they took their rise in other populous churches.

Sect. 3. Why called *decani* and *collegiati*.

But probably there might be some little difference between those in the church of Constantinople and others in the lesser churches. For at Constantinople they were incorporated into a sort of civil society, in the Roman language called, *collegium*, a college, whence the laws sometimes style them *collegiati*, and *decani*, collegiates, and deans. As in the forementioned laws of Honorius and Theodosius junior, and Justinian, and another of Theodosius the Great[14] in the Justinian Code, where he grants them an exemption from some other civil offices, provided they did not act upon a feigned and pretended title, but were really employed in the service of the church. But why they were called *decani*, is not very easy to conjecture. Probably it might be, because they resembled the palatine deans, who were a sort of military officers belonging to the emperor's palace, and are styled also *corpus decanorum* in both the Codes[15] mentioned by St. Chrysostom[16] and other Greek writers under the name of δεκανοὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, deans of the palace, to distinguish them from those other deans of the church, which some unwarily confound together. But I am not very confident that this was the reason of the name, and therefore I only propose it as a conjecture, till some one assigns a better reason for it.

Sect. 4. Their office and privileges.

Their office was to take the whole care of funerals upon themselves, and to see that all persons had a decent and honourable interment. Especially they were obliged to perform this last office to the poorer sort, without exacting any thing of their relations upon that account. That it was so at Constantinople, appears from one of Justinian's Novels,[17] which acquaints us how Anastasius the emperor settled certain revenues of land upon this society, and ordered a certain number of shops or work-houses in the city to be freed from all manner of tribute, and to be appropriated to this use; out of whose income and annual rents of the lands, the defensors and stewards of the church, who had the chief care and oversight of the matter, were to pay these deans, and see the expenses of such funerals defrayed. Justinian not only confirmed that settlement; but a complaint being made of an abuse that, notwithstanding the laws of Anastasius, pay was exacted for funerals, he published that his Novel on purpose to correct it. But we do not find that such settlements were made in all other churches, but it is more probable that the *copiatæ* were maintained partly out of the common stock of the church, and partly out of their own labour and traffic, which for their encouragement was generally exempted from paying custom or tribute, as we shall see hereafter.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE PARABOLANI.

Sect. 1. The *parabolani* ranked by some among the *clerici*.

ANOTHER order of men, which by some are reckoned among the *clerici* of the ancient church, were those whom they called *parabolani*. Theodosius junior, in one of his laws relating to them in the Theodosian Code,[1] puts them among the *clerici*, and evidently includes them under that common title, as Gothofred rightly observes in his exposition of the place. Baronius himself does not deny that they were of the clergy, but he would persuade his reader

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[12] Cod. Just. lib. 1. Tit. 2. de SS. Eccles. Leg. 4. Non plures quam nongenti quinquaginta decani deputentur ecclesiæ, &c.

[13] Justin. Novel. 43 et 59.

[14] Cod. Just. lib. 11. Tit. 17. de Collegiatis Leg. unica. Qui sub prætextu decanorum seu collegiatorum, cum id munus non impleant, aliis se muneribus conantur subtrahere, eorum fraudibus credimus esse obviandum.

[15] Vid. Cod. Theod. lib. 6. Tit. 33. de Decanis. Leg. 1. It. Cod. Just. lib. 12. Tit. 27. Leg. 1 et 2.

[16] Chrys. Hom. 13. in Hebr. p. 1819.

[17] Justin. Novel. 59.

[1] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 42. Placet nostræ Clementiæ, ut nihil commune clerici cum publicis actibus vel ad curiam pertinentibus habeant. Gothofr. Not. in loc. Sane clericorum eos numero fuisse, tum hujus legis initium, tum utraque hæc lex et sequens ostendunt.

that they were not a distinct order, but chosen out of the inferior orders of the clergy,[2] of which there is nothing said in that law, but rather the contrary, that they were to be chosen out of the poor of Alexandria.

Sect. 2. Their institution and office.

Their office is described in the next law, where they are said to be deputed to attend upon the sick, and to take care of their bodies in time of their weakness.[3] At Alexandria they were incorporated into a society to the number of five or six hundred, to be chosen at the discretion of the bishop of the place, out of any sort of men except the *honorati* and *curiales*, who were tied to serve in the civil offices of their country, and therefore were not allowed to enter themselves into any ecclesiastical service. They were to be under the government and direction of the bishop, as appears from the same law, which is a correction of the former law; for by it they were put under the government of the *præfectus augustalis* (as the chief civil magistrate was called at Alexandria): but by this law Theodosius revoked his former decree, and subjected them entirely to the care and disposition of the bishop; or, as the Greek collector of the ecclesiastical constitutions out of the civil law styles him,[4] the pope; meaning, not the pope of Rome, as some ignorantly mistake, but the pope or bishop of Alexandria. For then it was customary to give every bishop the name of *papa*, as has been showed in another place.[5] What time this order began, we cannot certainly determine: the first notice we have of it is in these laws of Theodosius junior, anno 415. Yet it is not there spoken of as newly instituted, but as settled in the church before. And probably it might be instituted about the same time as the *copiatæ* were under Constantine, when some charitable offices, which were only voluntarily practised by Christians before, as every one's piety inclined him, were now turned into standing offices, and settled upon a certain order of men particularly devoted to such services. That it was not any order peculiar to the church of Alexandria, is evident, because there is mention made of the *parabalani* being at Ephesus in the time of the second council that was held there, anno 449. For Basilius Seleuciensis, who subscribed there to the condemnation of Flavian, and the absolution of Eutyches the heretic, being brought to a recantation in the council of Chalcedon, makes this apology for himself, that he was terrified into that subscription, by the soldiers that came armed into the church, together with Barsumas and his monks, and the *parabalani*,[6] and a great multitude of others. The original word is παραβαλανεῖς, which the old translator rightly renders, *parabalani*, which is the same with *parabolani*, for it is written both ways in ancient authors: but Binius, in his Greek edition of the councils, not understanding the word, explains it, *ii qui circa balnea versantur*, as if the *parabalani* had been persons attending at the public baths; whereas now all men know their office was of a different nature, and their names given them for a reason very different from that of giving attendance at the baths.

Sect. 3. The reason of the name *parabolani*.

As to the reason of their name, to omit the fanciful interpretations of Alciat and Accursius, which are sufficiently exposed by Gothofred, the opinion of Duarenus[7] and Gothofred seems to be the truest, that they were called *parabolani* from their undertaking παράβολον ἔργον, a most dangerous and hazardous office, in attending the sick, especially in infectious and pestilential diseases. The Greeks were used to call those παράβολοι, who hired themselves out to fight with wild beasts in the amphitheatre. And so Socrates the historian uses the word,[8] speaking of Theodosius his exhibiting one of the public games to the people at Constantinople, he says, The people cried out to him that he should suffer one of the bold παράβολοι to fight with the wild beasts. These were those whom the Romans called *bestiarii*, and sometimes *paraboli* and *parabolarii*, from the Greek word παραβάλλεσθαι, which signifies exposing a man's life to danger, as they that fought with wild beasts did. In this sense, I have had occasion to show before,[9] the Christians were generally called *parabolarii* by the heathens, because they were so ready to expose their lives to martyrdom. And it is the opinion of Gothofred[10] and some other[11] learned critics, that the ancient reading of the Greek copies of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, chap. ii. ver. 30, was παραβολευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ, exposing his life to danger, as an old Latin interpreter of Puteanus's renders it, *parabolatus de anima sua*. In the same sense these *parabolani* of the primitive church we are now speaking of, had their name from their bold exposing their lives to danger in attendance upon the sick in all infectious and pestilential distempers.

[2] Baron. an. 416. t. 4. p. 400. Fuisse hos minoris ordinis clericos allectos, exordium dati hoc anno rescripti insinuare videtur.

[3] Cod. Th. ibid. Leg. 43. Parabalani, qui ad curanda debilium ægra corpora deputantur, quingentos esse ante præcepimus: sed quia hos minus sufficere in præsenti cognovimus, pro quingentis sexcentos constitui præcipimus, &c.

[4] Collect. Constit. Eccles. lib. 1. Tit. 3. c. 18.

[5] Book II. chap. 2. sect. 7.

[6] Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. t. 4. p. 252.

[7] Duaren. de Minist. et Benefic. lib. 1. c. 19.

[8] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 22. Ὁ δῆμος κατεβόα, δεινῷ θηρίῳ ἕνα τῶν εὐφυῶν παραβόλων μάχεσθαι.

[9] Book I. chap. 2. sect. 9.

[10] Gothofr. Not. in Cod. Th. 16. t. 42.

[11] Vid. Grot. Hammond. Capel. in Philip. ii. 30.

Sect. 4. Some laws and rules concerning their behaviour.

I shall only observe further of them, that being commonly, according to their name, men of a bold and daring spirit, they were ready upon all occasions to engage in any quarrel that should happen in church or state. As they seem to have done in the dispute between Cyril the bishop, and Orestes the governor of Alexandria: which was the reason why Theodosius by his first law sunk their number to five hundred, and put them under the inspection of the *præfectus augustalis*, and strictly prohibited them from appearing at any public shows, or in the common council of the city, or in the judges' court, unless any of them had a cause of his own, or of the whole body, as their syndic, to prosecute there; and then he must appear single, without any of his order or associates to abet him. And though he not long after revoked this law as to the former part, allowing them to be six hundred, and the bishop to have the choice and cognizance of them; yet in all other respects he ordered it to stand in its full force, still prohibiting them to appear in a body upon any of the foresaid occasions:[12] and Justinian made this law perpetual by inserting it into his own Code. Which shows that the civil government always looked upon these *parabolani* as a formidable body of men, and accordingly kept a watchful eye and strict hand over them; that whilst they were serving the church, they might not do any disservice to the state, but keep within the bounds of that office whereto they were appointed.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE CATECHISTS.

Sect. 1. Catechists no distinct order of the clergy, but chosen out of any other order.

I HAVE hitherto discoursed of such particular orders of the ecclesiastics in the primitive church, as were destinated precisely to some particular office and function: but there were some offices which did not require a man to be of any one distinct order, but might be performed by persons of any order; and it will be necessary I should give some account of these also, whilst I am treating of the clergy of the church. The first of these I shall speak of is the catechist, whose office was to instruct the catechumens in the first principles of religion, and thereby prepare them for the reception of baptism. This office was sometimes done by the bishop himself, as is evident from that passage in St. Ambrose, where he says,[1] upon a certain Lord's day, after the reading the Scriptures and the sermon, when the catechumens were dismissed, he took the *competentes*, or candidates for baptism, into the baptistery of the church, and there rehearsed the creed to them. This was on Palm-Sunday, when it was customary for the bishop himself to catechise such of the catechumens as were to be baptized on Easter-eve. Theodorus Lector[2] takes notice of the same custom in the Eastern churches, when he tells us, that before the time of Timothy, bishop of Constantinople, the Nicene creed was never used to be repeated publicly in that church, except only once a year, on the great day of preparation, the day of our Lord's passion, when the bishop was wont to catechise. At other times presbyters and deacons were the catechists. St. Chrysostom performed this office when he was presbyter of Antioch, as appears from one of his Homilies,[3] which is inscribed, Κατήχησις πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας φωτίζεσθαι, A catechism or instruction for the candidates of baptism. Deogratias was catechist when he was deacon of Carthage, as we learn from St. Austin's book[4] de Catechizandis Rudibus, which he wrote at his request, to give him some assistance in performing his duty.

Sect. 2. Readers sometimes made catechists.

Nor was it only the superior orders that performed this office, but sometimes persons were chosen out of the inferior orders to do it. Optatus was but a reader in the church of Carthage, and yet Cyprian made him catechist, or, as it is in his phrase,[5] the *doctor audientium*, the master of the hearers, or lowest rank of catechumens. Origen seems to have had no higher degree in the church when he was first made catechist at Alexandria. For both Eusebius[6] and St. Jerom[7] say, he was but eighteen years old when he was deputed to that office; which was at least seven years before he could be ordained deacon by the canons of the church.

Sect. 3. Why called ναυτολόγοι by some Greek writers.

The author under the name of Clemens Romanus seems to have had regard to this, when comparing the

[12] Cod. Just. lib. i. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 18. Hi sexcenti viri reverendissimi sacerdotis præceptis ac dispositionibus obsecundent: reliquis, quæ dudum latæ legis forma complectitur super his parabolanis, vel de spectaculis, vel de judiciis, cæterisque (sicut jam statutum est) custodiendis.

[1] Ambros. Ep. 33. Post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicæ.

[2] Theodor. Lector. Collectan. lib. 2. p. 563. τὸ σύμβολον ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους λεγόμενον πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρασκευῇ τοῦ θείου πάθους, τῷ καιρῷ τῶν γινομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κατηχήσεων.

[3] Chrys. Hom. 21. ad Popul. Antiochen.

[4] Aug. de catechizand. Rudibus, c. 1. t. 4. p. 295. Dixisti quod sæpe apud Carthaginem, ubi diaconus es, ad te adducantur, qui fide Christiana imbuendi sunt, &c.

[5] Cypr. Ep. 24. al. 29. Optatum inter lectores doctorem audientium constituimus.

[6] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 3.

[7] Hieron. de Scriptor. in Origene. Decimo octavo ætatis suæ anno κατηχήσεων opus aggressus, &c.

church to a ship, and the clergy to the officers in it, he plainly distinguishes the catechists from the bishop, presbyters, and deacons, saying, The bishop[8] is to resemble the *πρωρεὺς*, or pilot; the presbyters the *ναῦται*, or mariners; the deacons, the *τοίχαρχοι*, or chief rowers; the catechists, the *ναυτολόγοι*, or those whose office it was to admit passengers into the ship, and contract with them for the fare of their passage. This was properly the catechist's duty, to show the catechumens the contract they were to make, and the conditions they were to perform, viz. repentance, faith, and new obedience, in order to their admittance into the Christian ship, the church, in which they were to pass through this world to the kingdom of heaven. Upon this account the catechists were termed *ναυτολόγοι*, and as such distinguished from bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Cotelerius[9] says he found a Greek manuscript in one of the French king's libraries, where the same comparison is made, and cited out of the Constitutions, in these words: The church is like a ship: Christ is the governor; the bishop, the pilot; the presbyters, the mariners; the deacons, the chief rowers; the catechists, or *nautologi*, the orders of subdeacons and readers. So that it is evident the catechists were sometimes chosen out of the inferior orders, when any of them were found duly qualified to discharge the duties of that function. And this will be the less wondered at by any one that considers, that the deaconesses, whilst their order was in being, were required to be a sort of private catechists to the more ignorant and rustic women-catechumens: which I need not stand to evidence here, because I have done it heretofore in speaking of the offices which belonged to that order. See Book II. chap. 22. sect. 9.

Sect. 4. Whether all catechists taught publicly in the church.

But in all these cases there is one thing to be diligently noted, that this sort of catechists were not allowed to instruct their catechumens publicly in the church, but only in private auditories appointed particularly for that purpose. Valesius[10] observes this in the case of Origen, and rightly concludes it from the invective of Demetrius bishop of Alexandria, against Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus bishop of Cæsarea, who had authorized Origen to preach publicly in the church, when as yet he was no presbyter. This accusation had been ridiculous, had he himself given Origen the same power before, when he was catechist at eighteen years of age at Alexandria. Ruffin indeed, in his translation of Eusebius, says positively that Demetrius gave him authority to catechise and teach publicly in the church.[11] But that is an interpolation and false paraphrase of Eusebius his words, who says no such thing, but only,[12] that Demetrius, bishop of the church, had committed to his care the office of catechising, or, as we may render it, the catechetic school, where probably for some time he also taught grammar and other human learning. That there were such sort of catechetic schools adjoining to the church in many places, is evident from a Novel[13] of the emperor Leo, who calls them *κατηχούμενα*, and says they were a sort of buildings belonging to the church. It might be the baptistery, as St. Ambrose calls it, or any other places set apart for that purpose.

Sect. 5. Of the succession in the catechetic school at Alexandria.

Such a school as this we may suppose that to have been, wherein Origen and so many other famous men read catechetic lectures at Alexandria. Eusebius says Pantænus taught in this school,[14] anno 181, and that it was a school of sacred learning from ancient custom long before, and that it continued so to be to his own time. St. Jerom deduces its original from St. Mark, the first founder of the church of Alexandria, telling us, that Pantænus[15] taught Christian philosophy at Alexandria, where it had been the custom of old always to have ecclesiastical doctors from the time of St. Mark. Where by ecclesiastical doctors he does not mean the bishop and presbyters of the church, (which were originally in all churches as well as Alexandria,) but the doctors of Christian philosophy in the catechetic school, whereof there had been a succession from the first foundation of the church. And the succession was continued for some ages after: for Clemens Alexandrinus[16] succeeded Pantænus; and Origen,[17] Clemens; Heraclas,[18] Origen; and Dionysius,[19] Heraclas. After whom some[20] add Athenodorus, Malchion, Athanasius, and Didymus. And the author of the Greek Synodicon published

[8] Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. n. 14.

[9] Coteler. Not. in Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. p. 263. *ἔοικεν ἡ ἐκκλησία νηΐ· ὁ μὲν γυβερνήτης ἐςὶν ὁ Χριςός· ὁ δὲ πρωρεὺς, ὁ ἐπισκοπος· οἱ ναῦται, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ τειχαρχοι, οἱ διάκονοι, οἱ ναυτολόγοι, τὸ τῶν ἀναγνωςῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τάγμα.*

[10] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 6. c. 19. It. Hallier. de Hierarch. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 66.

[11] Ruffin. lib. 6. c. 3. Demetrius—catechizandi ei, id est, docendi magisterium in ecclesia tribuit.

[12] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 3. *αὐτῷ μονῳ τῆς τȣ̃ κατηχεῖν διατριβῆς ὑπὸ Δημητρίȣ τȣ̃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεςῶτος ἐπιτετραμμένης.*

[13] Leo, Novel. 73. In ecclesiarum cœnaculis, quæ promiscuum vulgus *κατηχούμενα* vocare solet. Vid. Concil. Trull. c. 97. et Balsamon. et Zonar. in loc.

[14] Euseb. lib. 5. c. 10. *ἡγεῖτο τηνικαῦτα τῆς τῶν πιςῶν αὐτοθι διατριβῆς Πάνταινος· ἐξαρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλείου τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων παρ αὐτοῖς συνεςῶτος· ὁ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς παρατείνεται.*

[15] Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 36. Pantænus Stoicæ sectæ philosophus, juxta quandam veterum in Alexandria consuetudinem, ubi a Marco evangelista semper ecclesiastici fuere doctores——docuit sub severo principe, &c.

[16] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 6. [17] Id. lib. 6. c. 19.

[18] Hieron. de Scriptor. in Origene. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 26

[19] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 29.

[20] Hospin. de Templis, lib. 3. c. 5.

by Pappus, says,[21] Arius taught in the same school before he broached his heresy. It were easy to recount many other such schools at Rome, Cæsarea, Antioch, &c.; but I shall have another occasion to speak of these, when I come to consider the encouragement that Christian emperors gave to schools of learning and the professors of liberal arts and sciences: what has here been suggested upon this head, may suffice at present to show what was the office of the catechist, and what the use of catechetical schools in the church.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE ECCLESIECDICI AND DEFENSORES, OR SYNDICS OF THE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. Five sorts of *defensores* noted, two whereof only belonged to the church.

Another office which will deserve to be spoken of in this place, because it was sometimes, though not always, managed by the hands of the clergy, is that of the *defensores.* For the understanding of which it will be necessary in the first place to distinguish between the civil and ecclesiastical defensors. For Gothofred thinks there were in all four sorts of them, viz. the *defensores senatus*, *defensores urbium*, *defensores ecclesiarum*, and *defensores pauperum.* But he might have added one more, which Ulpian[1] calls, *defensores rerum publicarum*, whose office was, to be a sort of proctors or syndics in managing of the public causes of that corporation or company of tradesmen to which they belonged: which sort of defensors were first instituted by Alexander Severus, as Lampridius[2] tells us in his Life. The *defensores civitatum*, or, as they are otherwise called, *defensores plebis*, were a sort of tribunes of the people; one of their chief offices being to defend the poor plebeians against the insults and oppressions of the great and wealthy citizens. Now, in imitation of these, I presume, the ecclesiastical defensors were instituted, as both their name and office seems plainly to imply.

Sect. 2. Of the *defensores pauperum.*

The defensors of the poor had much the same employment in the church, as the *defensores plebis* had in the state: for if any of the poor, or virgins, or widows belonging to the church, were injured or oppressed by the rich, it was the business of these defensors, as their proctors or advocates, to see them righted, and to solicit the magistrate that they might have justice done them. This is evident from the decree made in the fifth council of Carthage, anno 401, which is also inserted into the African Code, and is to this purpose: That[3] forasmuch as the church was incessantly wearied with the complaints and afflictions of the poor, it was unanimously agreed upon by them in council, that the emperors should be petitioned to allow defensors to be chosen for them by the procurement and approbation of the bishops, that they might defend them from the power and tyranny of the rich.

Sect. 3. Of the *defensores ecclesiæ*, their office and function.

As to the other sort of defensors, called *defensores ecclesiæ*, (whom I speak of separately, because Gothofred makes a distinction between them, though others take them to be the same,) their office did as plainly resemble that of the other sort of civil defensors, called *defensores rerum publicarum.* For as those were the proctors and syndics of their respective companies, to manage the public concerns of their societies at law upon all emergent occasions; so these did the same for the church, whose syndics they were, being employed to solicit the cause of the church, or any single ecclesiastic, when they were injured or oppressed, and had occasion for redress in a civil court; or if they were not remedied there, they were to address the emperors themselves in the name of the church, to procure a particular precept in her favour. Thus Possidius[4] tells us in the Life of St. Austin, that when the Circumcellions, in their mad zeal, had plundered and slain some of the catholic clergy, the defensor of the church prosecuted them at law for the fact, that the peace of the church might no more be disturbed or impeded. In like manner, we read in the first council of Carthage,[5] that it being a thing against the imperial laws for any layman to impose a secular office upon a clergyman; if any such injury was offered to the church, it is said, the affront might be redressed, if the defensors of the church did not fail in their duty. Which plainly implies, that it was the business of the defensors to see the rights of the church, that were settled upon her by law, truly maintained; and if any encroachments were made upon them, they were to prosecute the aggressors and invaders before the magistrates, and execute the sentence which they gave in favour of

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[21] Synodicon Concil. t. 1. p. 1494.

[1] Digest. lib. 49. Tit. 4. Leg. 1.

[2] Lamprid. Vit. Alexand. Corpora omnium constituit, vinariorum, lupinariorum, caligariorum, et omnino omnium artium: hisque ex sese defensores dedit.

[3] Conc. Carth. 5. c. 9. Ab imperatoribus universis visum est postulandum, propter afflictionem pauperum, quorum molestiis sine intermissione fatigatur ecclesia, ut defensores eis, adversus potentias divitum, cum episcoporum provisione delegentur. Vid. Cod. Eccles. Afr. can. 75.

[4] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 12. De qua re, ne pacis ecclesiæ amplius impediretur profectus, defensor ecclesiæ inter leges non siluit, &c.

[5] Conc. Carthag. 1. c. 9. Ipsis non liceat clericos nostros eligere apothecarios vel ratiocinatores.—Quod si injuria constitutionis imperatoriæ clericos inquietandos putaverint, si defensio ecclesiastica nos non deridet, pudor publicus vindicabitur.

the church. It is further observable from a law of Arcadius and Honorius, recited in the next paragraph, that in case of necessity they were likewise to make application to the emperors, and bring their mandate to the inferior judges, when they could not otherwise have justice done them. By a canon of the council of Chalcedon, defensors are also empowered to admonish such idle monks and clerks as resorted to the royal city Constantinople, without any licence or commission from their bishop; and if after admonition they continued still to loiter there, the same defensors were to expel them thence by force,[6] and cause them to return to their own habitation. It appears also, from Justinian's laws,[7] that the defensors, together with the *œconomi*, were made a sort of superintendents over the *copiatæ*, or great body of deans, whose business was to attend at funerals, as has been showed before: the defensors were charged with the care of these, both in reference to their revenues and persons. They were likewise to make inquiry, whether every clerk belonging to the church carefully attended the celebration of morning and evening service in the church, and to inform the bishop of such as neglected, that they might be proceeded against with ecclesiastical censures.[8] These were the chief, if not the only offices of the defensors in the primitive church: for as to any spiritual power or jurisdiction over the clergy, they had none; nor were they as yet admitted to hear criminal causes, great or little, in the bishop's name; but these things were devolved upon them in latter ages, as Morinus[9] shows at large in a long dissertation upon this subject, to which I refer the inquisitive reader, contenting myself to give such an account of the defensor's office and power, as I find it to have been in the ages next after their institution.

Sect. 4. Of their quality, whether they were clergymen or laymen?

The next inquiry must be into their quality, whether they were of the clergy or laity? For learned men are not agreed about this. Petavius[10] says they were always laymen. But Morinus[11] and Gothofred,[12] with much better reason, assert the contrary, that at first they were generally chosen out of the clergy, till, for some particular reasons, it was thought most proper to have advocates at law to discharge this office in the African churches. This change was made about the year 407, when the African fathers, in the council of Carthage,[13] petitioned the emperor Honorius, that he would give them leave to choose their defensors out of the *scholastici*, or advocates at law, who were actually concerned in pleading of causes; that so they who took upon them the defence of the churches, might have the same liberty as the provincial priests were used to have, to go, upon necessary occasion, into the judges' consistory, or council-chamber behind the veil, and there suggest what they thought necessary to promote their own cause, or obviate the plots of their adversaries. In answer to this petition, Honorius shortly after published a law, wherein he granted them liberty to make use of such advocates for their defensors as they desired: for he decreed,[14] that whatever privileges were specially obtained of the emperor, relating to the church, should be intimated to the judges, and executed, *non per coronatos*, not by clergymen, as Gothofred rightly explains it, but by advocates at law. So that now it was no longer necessary that the defensors should be of the clergy, but the office was frequently intrusted in the hands of laymen. Which is further evident from an epistle of Pope Zosimus, who lived about the same time: for he says,[15] the defensors of the church were chosen out of the laity, and might afterward, if they were deserving, be ordained among the clergy. Yet after this we find the defensors in some places continued still to be of the clergy. For Morinus shows, that in the first session of the council of Chalcedon there is frequent mention made of one John, a presbyter and defensor;[16] as also in many epistles of Gregory the Great, the defensors of the Roman church are said to be of the clergy: to which I shall add a fragment of Theodorus Lector taken out of Damascen,[17] which speaks of one John, as both deacon and defensor of the church of St. Stephen at Constantinople in the time of Anastasius the emperor, which was in the beginning of the sixth century. From all which it is very evident against Petavius, that the defensors were sometimes chosen out of the clergy, and not always made of advocates or laymen.

[6] Conc. Chalced. c. 23. *Ἄκοντας αὐτὲς διὰ τȣ̃ αὐτȣ̃ ἐκδίκȣ ἐκβάλλεσθαι, καὶ τὲς ἰδίȣς καταλαμβάνειν τόπȣς.*

[7] Justin. Novel. 59.

[8] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 42. n. 10.

[9] Morin. de Ordinat. Eccles. par. 3. Exercit. 16. c. 7.

[10] Petav. Not. in Epiphan. Hær. 72. n. 10.

[11] Morin. ibid. Exerc. 16. c. 6. n. 16.

[12] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 38.

[13] Concil. African. vulgo dictum. can. 64. Placuit ut petant legati a gloriosissimis imperatoribus, ut dent facultatem defensores constituendi scholasticos, qui in actu sunt, vel in munere defensionis causarum, ut more sacerdotum provinciæ, iidem ipsi qui defensionem ecclesiarum susceperint, habeant facultatem pro negotiis ecclesiarum, quoties necessitas flagitaverit, vel ad obsistendum obrepentibus, vel ad necessaria suggerenda, ingredi judicum secretaria. Vid. Cod. can. Afr. Gr. Lat. c. 97. et Concil. Milevitan. c. 16, to the same purpose.

[14] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 38. Ut quæcunque de nobis ad ecclesiam tantum pertinentia, specialiter fuerint impetrata, non per coronatos, sed ab advocatis, eorum arbitratu, et judicibus innotescant, et sortiantur effectum, &c.

[15] Zosim. Ep. 1. c. 3. Defensores ecclesiæ, qui ex laicis fiunt, supradicta observatione teneantur, si meruerint esse in ordine clericatûs.

[16] Concil. Chalced. Act. 1.

[17] Vid. Damascen. Orat. 3. de Imagin. p. 799. et Fragment. Theodor. Lector. edit. a Vales. p. 583. *Ἰωάννης διάκονος καὶ ἔκδικος τȣ̃ εὐαγȣ̃ς οἴκȣ Στεφάνȣ.* &c.

Sect. 6. The ἔκδικοι and ἐκκλησιέκδικοι among the Greeks the same with the defensors of the Latin church.

I must not omit to acquaint the reader, that what the Latins call *defensores*, the Greek church commonly calls ἔκδικοι and ἐκκλησιέκδικοι, which signify the same as defensors; though Gothofred,[18] without any just reason, makes a difference between them: for not only their offices and powers are described to be the same, but also whenever the Greeks have any occasion to speak of the Latin defensors, they give them the name of ἔκδικοι, as may be seen either in the Code of the African church[19] published by Justellus, or that which the Greeks commonly call the council of Carthage, published by Ehinger,[20] and Dr. Beverege[21] in the Pandects. But whether προστάτης be another Greek name for a defensor, is not so certain. The word is only found once used by Epiphanius,[22] who speaking of one Cyriacus, styles him Κυριακὸς προστάτης, which Petavius renders, Cyriacus defensor. He seems indeed to have had some office in the church, because he is joined in the subscription of a letter with the clergy, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, and readers: but whether that be a sufficient reason to make him a defensor, I must leave the judicious reader to determine.

Sect. 6. Chancellors and defensors not the same in the primitive church.

There is one thing more must be resolved before I dismiss this subject; that is, whether chancellors and defensors were the same in the primitive church? In answer to which I say, it is very plain they were not: because the first time we find any mention of the office of chancellors in the church, they are expressly distinguished from the ἔκδικοι or defensors; and that is in the Novel of Heraclius, made in the beginning of the seventh century, where, determining the number of ecclesiastical officers that were to be allowed in the great church of Constantinople, he says, there should be two syncelli, twelve chancellors,[23] ten defensors, twelve referendaries, forty notaries, and twelve sceuophylaces, whereof four to be presbyters, six deacons, and two readers. It is not very easy to determine what the office of these chancellors was at that time; but it is very evident, however, from this, that they were not the same with the defensors. They who are acquainted with the civil law, know that the *cancellarii* in the civil courts were not judges, but officers attending the judge in an inferior station: which appears evidently from a title in both the Theodosian and Justinian Code,[24] *De adsessoribus et domesticis et cancellariis judicum.* Hottoman and Accursius take them for actuaries or notaries; but Gothofred, in his learned Notes[25] upon the Theodosian Code, proves at large out of Cassiodore and Agathias, that they were the *custodes secretarii*, the guards of the judges' consistory, and called *cancellarii* because they stood *ad cancellos*, at the rails or barriers which separated the *secretum* from the rest of the court. So that their office then was not to sit as judges or assessors, but only to attend the judge, and keep peace and good order under him. And if this was the condition of the *cancellarii* in the state, it is probable they had some such office in the church in the time of Heraclius, who first mentions them; but what that office was I am not able to determine any further, save only that it was not the same with that of the defensors of the church.

Sect. 7. Whether the defensors' office was the same with that of our modern chancellors.

It may be asked then, whether the office of our modern chancellors has any relation or resemblance to that of defensors in the ancient church? There are some learned men who make them altogether the same. Bishop Beverege derives the authority of them both from the same fountain. For he says[26] the defensors heard and determined causes in the bishop's name; and those not only that related to the poor, who sought the patronage of the church; but also when presbyters and deacons had any controversy with any other, whether of the clergy or laity, they might bring their action before the πρωτέκδικος or defensor. Whence he concludes, that chancellors of later ages are the very same ecclesiastical officials, as the defensors of the primitive church. It were to be wished that that learned person had given us ancient records for that power which he ascribes to the old defensors; for then they would have looked more like chancellors under another name: but indeed the authorities he alleges are all modern, such as Papias's Glossary, and Balsamon's Meditata, and the catalogues of officials in the church of Constantinople, which were written several ages after the first institution of defensors, and in times when the *protecdicus* among the Greeks was become an officer of great authority and power. So that though the power of chancellors might be much the same as that of the ἔκδικοι among the modern Greeks, yet that it was altogether the same with the ancient defensors, seems not hitherto be solidly proved; since the business of the ancient defensors, was not to do the office of judges, but of advocates at law, to defend the rights of the poor, and the liberties of the church, against all aggressors and invaders. But if any can show from ancient records, that the defensors had a larger power, he will very much oblige the world with such a discovery: in the mean time the reader will pardon

[18] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 38.
[19] Cod. Can. Eccles Afr. c. 75 et 97.
[20] Concil. Carthag. Gr. ap. Ehinger. c. 76 et 99.
[21] Conc. Carth. ap. Bevereg. c. 78 et 100.
[22] Epiph. Hær. 72. Marcel. n. 10.
[23] Heracl. Novel. 2. ap. Leunclav. Jus. Gr. Rom. t. 1 p. 79. Καγκελαρίους δὲ εἰς ιβ' ἐκδίκους εἰς I.
[24] Cod. Th. lib. 1. Tit. 12. Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 51.
[25] Gothofred, Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 1. Tit. 12. de Adsessorib. Leg. 3.
[26] Bevereg. Not. in can. 23. Concil. Chalced.

me for not ascribing to them greater powers than I had authority to do. The matter is curious, and may exercise the pens of learned men, and be the subject of further disquisition and inquiry.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE ŒCONOMI.

Sect. 1. The *œconomi* instituted in the fourth century. The reasons of their institution.

In the writings of the fourth and fifth centuries we frequently meet with an officer in the church, styled by the Greeks[1] *οἰκονόμος*, and by the Latins[2] *œconomus*, or *præpositus domus*, as it is in St. Austin.[3] His office was to manage the revenues of the whole diocese under the inspection of the bishop. For anciently, as I have showed elsewhere,[4] the whole revenue of the church was intrusted in the hands of the bishop, to be divided among the clergy and poor of the church by his direction and appointment: and in managing this affair he commonly made use of his archdeacon, as a proper assistant to ease himself of the great burden and encumbrance of it. But upon the general conversion of heathens, and the consequent augmentation of every diocese and church revenues, both the bishop and his archdeacon had business enough of another nature to take up the greatest part of their time; and then it was found necessary to institute officers on purpose, and set them over this affair, under the name of *œconomi*, or stewards of the church. Morinus[5] thinks they were instituted to avoid suspicion; and in some churches there is no question but it was so: for in the remaining fragments of the council of Tyre, anno 448, which are inserted into the acts of the council of Chalcedon,[6] we find that Ibas, bishop of Edessa, being accused by some of his clergy for embezzling the revenues of the church, is obliged to promise, that for the future the revenues should be managed by *œconomi*, or stewards, chosen out of the clergy, after the manner of the great church of Antioch. And it is not improbable, but the like accusation being brought against Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, in the council of Chalcedon, was the reason that moved that council to make a general decree in this matter, that forasmuch as they were informed, that in some churches the bishops alone administered the ecclesiastical revenues, without any stewards, they now ordained, that every church having a bishop, should also have a steward of her own clergy,[7] to manage the revenues of the church by the direction of the bishop; that so there might be witnesses of the right administration of them; and by that means neither the church's goods be embezzled, nor any scandal or reproach brought upon the priesthood. But then I cannot think this was the case of all churches. For these canons were made plainly against such bishops as managed the revenues of the church, *ἀμάρτυροι*, as the canon words it, without either archdeacon or *œconomus* to attest the fidelity of their management: but in such churches where bishops took the assistance of their archdeacon, this could not be the reason for setting up the office of the *œconomus*, because suspicion of mismanagement was provided against as well by the testimony of an archdeacon, as any other officer that could be appointed. And therefore I have assigned a more general, and, as I take it, a truer reason for the institution of this office in the church.

Sect. 2. Always to be chosen out of the clergy.

And that which further confirms my opinion is, that the *œconomi*, as well as the archdeacons, were always to be chosen out of the clergy. For so those canons of the councils of Tyre and Chalcedon, already cited, plainly direct. And for any thing that appears to the contrary, this was the constant practice of the church. We find in the acts of the council of Ephesus,[8] which are inserted also into the council of Chalcedon, one Charisius styled both presbyter and *œconomus* of the church of Philadelphia. And Liberatus[9] speaks of one John, who was *œconomus* of Alexandria, and presbyter of Tabennesus, a region belonging to Alexandria. Possidius tells us, in the Life of St. Austin,[10] that he always made one of his clergy the *præpositus domus*, as he calls him, whose office was to take care of the church revenues, and give an account of what he received and expended, when it was demanded of him. And to the same purpose Socrates[11] says of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, that having advanced two monks to the honour of the clergy, he made them the *œconomi* of the church. So that it was both the rule and practice of the church to take the *œconomi* out of some of the clergy, and we never meet with any instance or order to the contrary. Which argues plainly, that the true reason for devolving this office upon them, which formerly belonged to the

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[1] Vid. Conc. Chalced. c. 2, 25, 26.

[2] Liberat. Breviar. c. 16. [3] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 24.

[4] Book II. chap. 4. sect. 6.

[5] Morin. de Ordinat. Eccl. par. 3. Exerc. 16. c. 5. n. 3. Concil. Chalced. Act. 9.

[7] Conc. Chalced. c. 26. ἔδοξεν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπίσκοπον ἔχουσαν, καὶ οἰκονόμον ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου κλήρου.—— ὥστε μὴ ἀμάρτυρον εἶναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, &c.

[8] Conc. Ephes. in Act. 1. Conc. Chalced. t. 4. p. 292. Charisius presbyter et œconomus Philadelphiæ.

[9] Liberat. Breviar. c. 16. Johannes ex œconomo factus presbyter Tabennesiotes.—Factusque est iterum œconomus, habens causas omnium ecclesiarum.

[10] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 24. Domus ecclesiæ curam, omnemque substantiam ad vices valentioribus clericis delegabat et credebat: nunquam clavem, nunquam annulum in manu habens, sed ab eisdem domus præpositis cuncta et accepta et erogata notabantur.

[11] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 7. τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῖς ἐνεχείρισεν.

archdeacons, was no other than that because of a multiplicity of business the archdeacons now could not so well attend it.

Sect. 3. Their office to take care of the revenues of the church, especially in the vacancy of the bishopric.

What the office itself was, appears from what has already been said: to which I shall only add one thing: that by the authority of the council of Chalcedon[12] the *œconomus* was to continue in his office during the vacancy of the bishopric, and to look after the income of the church, that it might be preserved safe for the succeeding bishop. Which canon some not improbably think was designed to prevent delays in filling of vacant sees; that no metropolitan, or interventor, under whose care the vacant church was, might lie under any temptation to defer the election of a new bishop, in hopes of enriching himself from the revenues of the church; but whether this was the reason or not, it certainly argues that these men were generally persons of extraordinary credit and worth, since the church could securely repose so great a confidence in them.

Sect. 4. The consent of the clergy required in the choice of them.

And indeed all imaginable care was taken in their election, that they should be persons of such a character. To which purpose some canons required, that they should be chosen by all the clergy; as particularly Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria,[13] in his canonical epistle, gives a direction in that case. Which provision was but reasonable: for since all the clergy had a common concern in the revenues of the church, which were their livelihood and subsistence, it was fit the *œconomus*, to whose care the revenues were committed, should be chosen by common consent, that he might be a person without exception, and no one have reason to complain that he was injured or defrauded of his dividend or portion.

CHAPTER XIII.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOME OTHER INFERIOR OFFICERS IN THE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. Of the *παραμονάριοι*, or, *mansionarii*.

Beside the officers already mentioned, there were in the fourth and fifth century some few others, whose names are not very commonly met with, and therefore I shall but just hint the signification of them, and not spend time in any curious inquiries about their offices and employments. The same canon[1] of the council of Chalcedon, which speaks of the *œconomus* and defensor, mentions also another officer belonging to the church, who is styled *παραμονάριος* in the language of that council. But the translators and critics are not agreed upon the meaning of the word. The ancient translation of Dionysius Exiguus renders it *mansionarius*, and explains that in a marginal reading by *ostiarius*, or door-keeper of the church. And indeed this was the office of the *mansionarius* in the Roman church about the time when Dionysius Exiguus lived. For Gregory the Great, not long after, in one of his dialogues,[2] speaking of Abundius *mansionarius*, gives him also the title of *custos ecclesiæ;* and in another dialogue he makes it the office of the *mansionarius*[3] to light the lamps or candles of the church. Yet, notwithstanding this, the best learned of the modern critics give another sense of the Greek name *παραμονάριος*. Justellus[4] explains it by *villicus*, a bailiff, or steward of the lands. Bishop Beverege[5] styles him *rerum ecclesiasticarum administrator*, which is the same. And their opinion is confirmed by Gothofred, Cujacius, Suicerus, Vossius, and many others, whose judgment in the case may be sufficient to decide the controversy, till the reader sees better reason otherwise to determine him.

Sect. 2. Of the *custodes ecclesiarum*, and *custodes locorum sanctorum;* and how these differed from each other.

The civil law takes notice of another sort of officers, who are called *custodes ecclesiarum*, and *custodes locorum sanctorum;* which, though some writers confound together, yet Gothofred makes a distinction between them. The *custodes ecclesiarum* were either the same with the *ostiarii*, or order of door-keepers, or else with those called *seniores ecclesiæ*, which, as I have showed[6] in another place, were much of the same nature with our churchwardens and vestry-men. But the *custodes locorum sanctorum* were the keepers of those particular places in Palestine, which, if Gothofred judge right, had more peculiarly the title of *loca sancta*, holy places, because they were a sort of memorials of our Saviour; such as Bethlehem, the place of his nativity; and Mount Golgotha, the place of his crucifixion; and his grave or monument, which was the place of his resurrection; and Mount Olivet, the place of his ascension. These places were frequently visited by Christians in those ages, as appears from Eusebius, Gregory Nyssen, St. Jerom, and several others, whom the reader, that is curious in this matter, may find quoted by Gothofred,[7] who maintains, that upon that very account those places had a sort of guardians or keepers assigned them, under the title of *custodes locorum sanctorum*. But however this matter be, it is certain they had such an employment in the church as, in the eye of the law, was reputed a religious service; and accordingly they were entitled

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[12] Concil. Chalced. c. 25.

[13] Theophil. can. 9. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. p. 173. *γνώμῃ παντὸς ἱερατείȣ οἰκονόμον ἀποδειχθῆναι*, &c.

[1] Concil. Chalced. c. 2.

[2] Greg. M. Dial. lib. 3. c. 25.

[3] Ib. Dial. lib. 1. c. 5. Constantius mansionarius omnes lampades ecclesiæ implevit aqua, &c.

[4] Justel. Bibliothec. Jur. Canon. t. 1. p. 91.

[5] Bevereg. Not. in Conc. Chalced. c. 2.

[6] Book II. chap. 19. sect. 19.

[7] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 26.

to the same privilege[8] as the ecclesiastics had, to be exempt from personal tribute in regard to this their employment, as appears from a law of Theodosius the Great, by whom this immunity was granted them.

Sect. 3. Of the *sceuophylaces*, or *ceimeliarchæ*.

Next to these, for the similitude of the name and office, I mention the *sceuophylaces*, or, as they were otherwise called, κειμηλίων φύλακες, keepers of the κειμήλια, that is, the sacred vessels, utensils, and such precious things as were laid up in the sacred repository of the church. This was commonly some presbyter: for Theodorus Lector[9] says, Macedonius was both presbyter and *sceuophylax* of the church of Constantinople; and Sozomen[10] before him, speaking of the famous Theodore, presbyter of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom in the days of Julian, styles him φύλακα τῶν κειμηλίων, keeper of the sacred utensils, and says, he was put to death because he would not deliver up what he had under his custody to the persecutors. It will not be improper to give this officer also the name of *chartophylax* and *custos archivorum*, because the rolls and archives are reckoned part of the sacred repository of the church. Whence Suicerus[11] observes, that in Photius the names *sceuophylax* and *chartophylax* are given to the same person. But I must note, that the modern Greeks have a little changed this office, and added a power to it which did not belong to it in the primitive church. For now, as Balsamon[12] informs us, the *chartophylax* acts as the patriarch's substitute, excommunicating, censuring, and licensing the ordinations of presbyters and deacons, and sits as supreme ecclesiastical judge under the patriarch in many other cases relating to the church, which are things we do not find belonging to the office of a *sceuophylax* in the primitive ages.

Sect. 4. Of the *hermeneutæ*, or interpreters.

Epiphanius takes notice of another sort of officers in the church, to whom he gives the name[13] of ἑρμηνευταὶ, interpreters, and says, their office was to render one language into another as there was occasion, both in reading the Scriptures, and in the homilies that were made to the people. That there was such an office in the church appears further from the Passion of Procopius the martyr, published by Valesius,[14] where it is said, that Procopius had three offices in the church of Scythopolis, he was reader, exorcist, and interpreter of the Syriac tongue. I conceive the office was chiefly in such churches where the people spake different languages, as in the churches of Palestine, where probably some spoke Syriac and others Greek, and in the churches of Africa, where some spake Latin and others Punic. In such churches there was occasion for an interpreter, that those who understood not the language in which the Scriptures were read, or the homilies preached, might receive edification by having them immediately rendered into a tongue which they did understand. So far was the primitive church from encouraging ignorance, by locking up the Scriptures in an unknown tongue, that she not only translated them into all languages, but also appointed a standing office of interpreters, who were *viva voce* to make men understand what was read, and not suffer them to be barbarians in the service of God, which is a tyranny that was unknown to former ages!

Sect. 5. Of the *notarii*.

Another office, that must not wholly be passed over whilst we are upon this head, is that of the *notarii*, or *exceptores*, as the Latins called them; who are the same that the Greeks call ὀξυγράφοι, or ταχυγράφοι, from their writing short-hand by characters, which was necessary in the service they were chiefly employed in. For the first use of them was to take in writing the whole process of the heathen judges against the Christian martyrs, and minutely to describe the several circumstances of their examination and passion; what questions were put to them; what answers they made; and whatever passed during the time of their trial and suffering. Whence such descriptions were called *gesta martyrum*, the Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs; which were the original accounts which every church preserved of her own martyrs. The first institution of these *notarii* into a standing office at Rome, Bishop Pearson[15] and some other learned persons think, was under Fabian in the time of the Decian persecution. For in one of the most ancient catalogues[16] of the bishops of Rome, Fabian is said to have appointed seven subdeacons to inspect the seven notaries, and see that they faithfully collected the acts of the martyrs. But though it was no standing office before, yet the thing itself was always done by some persons fitly qualified for the work; as appears from the ancient acts of Ignatius and Polycarp, and several others, which were written before Fabian is said to

[8] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 26. Universos quos constituerit custodes ecclesiarum esse, vel sanctorum locorum, ac religiosis obsequiis deservire, nullius adtentationis molestiam sustinere decernimus. Quis enim eos capite censos patiatur esse devinctos, quos necessario intelligit supra memorato obsequio mancipatos?

[9] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2.

[10] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 8.

[11] Suicer. Thesaur. t. 2. p. 971.

[12] Balsam. Not. ad. can. 9. Concil. Nic. 2.

[13] Epiph. Expos. Fid. n. 21. ἑρμηνευταὶ γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς προσομιλίαις.

[14] Acta Procop. ap. Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. 1. Ibi ecclesiæ tria ministeria præbebat: unum in legendi officio, alterum in Syri interpretatione sermonis, et tertium adversus dæmones manus impositione consummans.

[15] Pearson. de Succession. Episc. Rom. Dissert. 1. c. 4. n. 3. Fell, Not. in Cypr. Ep. 12.

[16] Catalog. Rom. Pontif. in Fabian. Hic fecit sex vel septem subdiaconos, qui septem notariis imminerent, ut gesta martyrum fideliter colligerent.

have instituted public and standing notaries at Rome. In after ages these notaries were also employed in writing the acts of the councils, and taking speeches and disputations, and whatever else passed in synod. Thus Eusebius[17] notes that Malchion's dispute with Paulus Samosatensis in the council of Antioch was recorded as it was spoken, by the notaries who took it from their mouths: and Socrates says the same[18] of the disputation between Basilius Ancyranus and Photinus in the council of Sirmium. We read also of a sort of notaries in councils, whose office was to recite all instruments, allegations, petitions, or whatever else of the like nature was to be offered or read in council. And these were commonly deacons, and sometimes a presbyter was the chief of them, and thereupon styled *primicerius notariorum;* as in the acts of the general councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon[19] there is frequent mention of Aetius, deacon and notary, and Peter, presbyter of Alexandria and chief of the notaries, *primicerius notariorum.* There were also notaries that were employed to take the discourses of famous and eloquent preachers from their mouths: by which means, Socrates[20] observes, many of St. Chrysostom's sermons were preserved, and some of Atticus his successor. Bishops also had their private ὑπογραφεῖς, which some call notaries: but Valesius[21] reckons them in the quality of readers. Whatever they were, Athanasius served in this office, as ὑπογραφεὺς, under Alexander, and Proclus under Atticus, as Socrates[22] informs us.

Sect. 6. Of the *apocrisarii*, or *responsales*.

The curious reader perhaps will find several other of these lesser offices, which he will think might come into this catalogue: but, that I may not seem too minute in small matters, I will only add one office more, which is that of the *apocrisarii*, or *responsales*. These were a sort of residents in the imperial city in the name of foreign churches and bishops, whose office was to negociate as proctors at the emperor's court, in all ecclesiastical causes wherein their principals might be concerned. The institution of the office seems to have been in the time of Constantine, or not long after, when the emperors being become Christians, foreign churches had more occasion to promote their suits at the imperial court than formerly: however, we find it established by law in the time of Justinian; for in one of his Novels it is ordered,[23] that forasmuch as no bishop was to be long absent from his church without special command from the emperor, if therefore any one had occasion to negociate any ecclesiastical cause at court, he should prefer his petition either by the *apocrisarius* of his church, whose business was to act in behalf of the church, and prosecute her affairs; or else by the *œconomus*, or some other of his clergy sent on purpose to signify his request. It does not indeed appear from that law, that these *apocrisarii* were of the clergy, but from other writers we may easily collect it. For Liberatus says,[24] Anatolius, a deacon of Alexandria, was *apocrisarius* or resident for Dioscorus his bishop at Constantinople, by which means he gained a favourable opportunity of being chosen bishop of Constantinople upon the death of Flavian. And Evagrius[25] observes the same of Eutychius, that from being *apocrisarius* to the bishop of Amasia, he was immediately advanced to be bishop of the royal city after Mennas. Which seems plainly to imply, that he was one of the clergy before, since it does not appear that he was promoted *per saltum.* I must further observe, that in imitation of these *apocrisarii* in the church, almost every monastery had their *apocrisarii* likewise, whose business was not to reside in the royal city, as the former did, but to act as proctors for their monastery, or any member of it, when they had occasion to give any appearance at law before the bishop under whose jurisdiction they were. This is clear from another of Justinian's Novels, which requires the Ascetics in such cases to answer by their *apocrisarii* or *responsales*.[26] And these were sometimes also of the clergy, as appears from the acts of the fifth general council, where one Theonas[27] styles himself presbyter and *apocrisarius* of the monastery of Mount Sinai. The Latin translator calls him *ambasiator*, which is not so very proper, yet in some measure expresses the thing: for, as Suicerus[28] observes, in process of time the emperors also gave the name of *apocrisarii* to their own ambassadors, and it became the common title of every legate whatsoever. Which I the rather note, that the reader may distinguish these things, and not confound the civil and ecclesiastical sense of the name *apocrisarius* together. And thus much of the inferior orders and offices of the clergy in the primitive church.

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[17] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 29. *ἐπισημειουμένων ταχυγράφων.*

[18] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 30. *ὀξυγράφων τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν γραφόντων.*

[19] Concil. Ephes. Act. 1. in Actione 1. Concil. Chalced. t. 4. p. 292.

[20] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 4. It. lib. 7. c. 2.

[21] Vales. Not. in Socr. lib. 5. c. 22.

[22] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 17 et 41.

[23] Justin. Novel. 6. c. 2. Sancimus, si quando propter ecclesiasticam occasionem inciderit necessitas, hanc aut per eos qui res agunt sanctarum ecclesiarum (quos apocrisarios vocant) aut per aliquos clericos huc destinatos, aut œconomos suos notam imperio facere, &c.

[24] Liberat. Breviar. c. 12. Ordinatus est pro eo (Flaviano) Anatolius diaconus, qui fuit Constantinopoli apocrisarius Dioscori.

[25] Evagr. lib. 4. c. 38. *ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν Ἀμασείας ἐπισκόπου διηκονεῖτο*, &c.

[26] Justin. Novel. 79. c. 1.

[27] Concil. 5. General. Act. 1. in Libello Monachor. Syriæ Secundæ. t. 5. p. 116. *Θεωνᾶς πρεσβύτερος, καὶ ἀποκρισάριος τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ.*

[28] Suicer. Thesaur. t. 1. p. 456.

BOOK IV.

OF THE ELECTIONS AND ORDINATIONS OF THE CLERGY, AND THE PARTICULAR QUALIFICATIONS OF SUCH AS WERE TO BE ORDAINED.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEVERAL WAYS OF DESIGNING PERSONS TO THE MINISTRY, IN THE APOSTOLICAL AND PRIMITIVE AGES OF THE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. Four several ways of designing persons for the ministry. Of the first way, by casting lots.

Having thus far given an account of all the orders of the clergy in the primitive church, both superior and inferior, together with the several offices and functions that were annexed to them, I now proceed to consider the rules and methods that were observed in setting apart fit persons for the ministry, especially for the three superior orders, which were always of principal concern. And here in the first place it will be proper to observe, that in the apostolical and following ages, there were four several ways of designing persons for the ministry, or discovering who were most fit to be ordained: the first of which was by casting lots; the second, by making choice of the first-fruits of the Gentile converts; the third, by particular direction and inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and the last, in the common and ordinary way of examination and election. The first method was observed in the designation of Matthias to be an apostle, as we read, Acts i. 23, 26, where it is said, that the disciples themselves first appointed two, Joseph called Barsabas, and Matthias; and then praying to God, that he would show whether of those two he had chosen, they gave forth their lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias. St. Chrysostom[1] says, they used this method because as yet the Holy Ghost was not descended on them, and they had not at this time the power of choosing by inspiration; and therefore they committed the business to prayer, and left the determination to God. The author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy under the name of Dionysius,[2] fancies that God answered their prayer by some visible token: but if so, this had not been choosing by lot, as the Scripture says it was, but a quite different method of election. However, interpreters generally agree, that there was something extraordinary in it: Dr. Lightfoot[3] thinks Matthias had no other ordination to his apostleship; for the apostles did not give him any ordination by imposition of hands after this, as they did to presbyters afterwards: and that, if true, was extraordinary indeed. Others reckon the extraordinariness of it to consist in the singular way of electing and designing him to that office by lot: for they say[4] all ecclesiastical history scarce affords such another instance: and I confess there are not very many, but some few there are, which show that that method of electing was not altogether so singular as is commonly imagined. For in Spain, it was once the common practice, as may be concluded from a canon[5] of the council of Barcelona, anno 599, which orders, that when a vacant bishopric is to be filled, two or three shall be elected by the consent of the clergy and people, who shall present them to the metropolitan and his fellow bishops, and they, having first fasted, shall cast lots, leaving the determination to Christ the Lord: then he on whom the lot shall fall, shall be consummated by the blessing of consecration. There is nothing different in this from the first example, save only that in this there is express mention of a consecration afterward, which is not in the history of Matthias; and yet, perhaps, there might be a consecration in his case too, though not expressly mentioned: but I leave this to further inquiry.

Sect. 2. The second way, by making choice of the first-fruits of the Gentile converts.

The second way of designation was, by making choice of the first-fruits of the Gentile converts to be ordained to the ministry. For these expressing a greater zeal than others, by their readiness and

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[1] Chrys. Hom. 5. in 1 Tim.

[2] Dionys. Eccl. Hier. c. 5. p. 367.

[3] Lightfoot, in Acts i. 21.

[4] Dodwel, Dissert. 1. in Cypr. n. 17.

[5] Concil. Barcinon. c. 3. tom. 5. p. 1606. Duobus aut tribus, quos ante consensus cleri et plebis elegerit, metropolitani judicio ejusque coepiscopis præsentatis, quem sors, præeunte jejunio, Christo Domino terminante, monstraverit, benedictio consecrationis accumulet.

forwardness to embrace the gospel, were generally pitched upon by the apostles, as best qualified for propagating the Christian religion in the world. Clemens Romanus, in his epistle to the Corinthians,[6] says, the apostles in all countries and cities where they preached, ordained their first converts bishops and deacons, for the conversion of others; and that they had the direction of the Spirit for doing this. And hence the author that personates the same Clemens, in his pretended epistle to James, bishop of Jerusalem, giving him an account of the reasons that moved St. Peter to ordain him, says,[7] it was because he was chief of the first-fruits of his converts among the Gentiles. Some compare this to the right of primogeniture among the ancient patriarchs, which entitled the first-born to the priesthood; and I will not deny but there might be something of allusion in it: but then the parallel will not hold throughout; for in the latter case it was not any natural right, but personal merit attending their primogeniture, that entitled the first converts to the Christian priesthood.

Sect. 3. The third way, by particular direction of the Holy Ghost.

Which will appear further by considering, that many of them were ordained by the particular direction of the Holy Ghost. For so the words, *δοκιμάζοντες τῷ Πνεύματι*, in Clemens Romanus, may be understood, to signify the Spirit's pointing out the particular persons whom he would have to be ordained; which I observed to be the third way of designation of persons to the ministry, very usual in those primitive times of the church. Thus Timothy was chosen and ordained, according to the prophecies that went before of him, 1 Tim. i. 18. Whence his ordination is also called the gift that was given him by prophecy, 1 Tim. iv. 14. In regard to which the ancient interpreters, Chrysostom[8] and Theodoret, say, he had not any human vocation, but was chosen by Divine revelation, and ordained by the direction of the Spirit. Clemens Alexandrinus, in his famous homily, entitled, *Quis Dives salvetur*, observes the same of the clergy of the Asiatic churches, whom St. John ordained after his return from the isle of Patmos: he says, they were such as were signified or pointed out[9] to him by the Spirit. I know indeed Combefis[10] puts a different sense upon these words, and says, the designation here spoken of, means not any new or distinct revelation, but I know not what Divine predestination of the persons; or else their ordination itself, which was the seal or consignation of the Spirit; and that there is no authority for the common sense which interpreters put upon this passage. But as he owns his notion to be singular, and contrary to the sense of all other learned men; so it is evidently against matter of fact and ancient history, which affords several other instances of the like designations in the following ages. I will give an instance or two out of many. Eusebius[11] says, Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, was chosen *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν*, by revelation, and an oracular voice, which signified to some Ascetics of the church, that they should go forth out of the gates of the city, and there meet him whom God had appointed to be their bishop; which was this Alexander, a stranger from Cappadocia, coming upon other business to Jerusalem. He was indeed bishop of another place before, but his translation to the see of Jerusalem was wholly by Divine direction, which is the thing I allege it for. We have another such instance in the election of Alexander, surnamed Carbonarius, bishop of Comana, mentioned by Gregory Nyssen in the Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus. This Alexander was a Gentile philosopher, and very learned man, who upon his conversion to Christianity, that he might avoid observation, and follow his philosophical studies with the greater privacy, in his great humility betook himself to the trade of a collier, whence he had the name of Carbonarius. Now it happened upon the vacancy of the bishopric of Comana, that the citizens sent to Gregory Thaumaturgus to desire him to come and ordain them a bishop; but they not agreeing in their choice, one by way of jest and ridicule proposed Alexander the collier; who being discovered[12] by special revelation to Gregory Thaumaturgus to be a man of extraordinary virtues and worth, who had submitted to that contemptible calling only to avoid being taken notice of; and being found upon a due inquiry to be the man he was represented to be, he was thereupon unanimously chosen by all the church to be their bishop, and immediately ordained by St. Gregory. Cyprian often speaks of this Divine designation in the case of Celerinus,[13] and Aurelius,[14] when they were but to be ordained readers:

[6] Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. n. 42. *κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, καθίςανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάζοντες τῷ Πνεύματι εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιςεύειν.*

[7] Pseudo-Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. ap. Coteler. t. 1. p. 606. *σὺ γὰρ δι' ἐμοῦ τῶν σωζομένων ἐθνῶν εἶ κρείττων ἀπαρχή.*

[8] Chrys. et Theod. in Tim. i. 18.

[9] Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 23. et ap. Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. p. 185. *κλήρῳ ἕναγε τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινομένων.*

[10] Combefis. Not. in loc. p. 192. Quos Spiritus designasset Divina potius prædestinatione, quàm nova aliqua et distincta revelatione, quam nec Clemens significavit, nec ulla probat auctoritas, &c.

[11] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 11.

[12] Nyssen. t. 3. p. 562.

[13] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. ad Cler. Carthag. Referimus ad vos Celerinum fratrem nostrum—Clero nostro non humana suffragatione, sed Divina dignatione conjunctum. Qui cum consentire dubitaret, ecclesiæ ipsius admonitu et hortatu in visione per noctem compulsus est, ne negaret nobis suadentibus, &c.

[14] Id. Ep. 33. al. 38. Exspectanda non sunt testimonia humana, cum præcedunt Divina suffragia.

and he says also, he had a Divine direction[15] to translate Numidicus from another church to the church of Carthage. And Sozomen[16] tells us from Apollinarius, that Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, appointed Athanasius his successor by Divine command. For some time before his death it was signified to him by Divine revelation, that no one should succeed him but Athanasius: and therefore, when he lay upon his death-bed, he called Athanasius by name, who was then absent and fled for fear of being made bishop; and another of the same name, who was present, answering to the call, he said nothing to him, but called Athanasius again: which he did several times, whereby it was at last understood, that he meant the Athanasius that was fled; to whom, though absent, he then prophetically said, Thinkest thou that thou art escaped, Athanasius? No: thou art not escaped. It were easy to add many other instances of the like nature, but these are sufficient to show against Combefis, that in those early ages men were sometimes designed to the ministry by particular Divine revelation and prophecy, or else the ancients themselves were wonderfully deceived. Whilst I am upon this head, I must suggest two things further: First, that a dove's lighting upon the head of any man at an election was usually taken for a Divine omen; and commonly the person who had that sign, was looked upon as pointed out by the Spirit, and accordingly chosen before all others, as having a sort of emblem of the Holy Ghost. Eusebius observes,[17] it was this that turned the election upon Fabian, bishop of Rome, and gave him the preference before all others, though he was a stranger. No one at first thought of choosing him: but a dove being observed by the people to settle upon his head, they took it for an emblem of the Holy Ghost, which heretofore descended upon our Saviour in the form of a dove; and thereupon with one consent, as if they had been moved themselves by the Holy Ghost, they cried out, Ἄξιον, he was worthy; which was the word then used to signify their consent; and so without more ado they took him and set him upon the bishop's throne. The election of Severus, bishop of Ravenna, and that of Euortius, bishop of Orleans, was determined the same way, as Blondel[18] has observed out of their lives in Surius; and the inquisitive reader may furnish himself with other instances from his own observation. The other thing I would suggest is, that sometimes an accidental circumstance was so providentially disposed, as to be taken for an indication of the Divine will, and approbation of an election. Sulpicius Severus makes this observation particularly upon a circumstance that happened in the election of St. Martin, bishop of Tours. Some of the provincial bishops, who were met at the place, for very unjust reasons opposed his election; and more especially one, whose name was Defensor, was a violent stickler against him. Now it happened, that the reader who was to have read that day, not being able to get in due time to his place, by reason of the press and crowding of the people; and the rest being in a little confusion upon that account; one of those that stood by, taking up a book, read the first verse that he lighted upon, which happened to be those words of the 8th Psalm, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest destroy the enemy and defensor." For so it seems the vulgar Gallican translation then read it, *ut destruas inimicum et defensorem.* These words were no sooner read, but the people gave a shout, and the adverse party were confounded. And so, says our author,[19] it was generally believed that this Psalm was read by Divine appointment, that Defensor the bishop might hear his own work condemned, whilst the praises of God were perfected in St. Martin out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, and the enemy was at once both discovered and destroyed. By what has been said, the reader now will be able to judge of the meaning of the ancients, when they speak of particular Divine designations of persons to the ministry of the church.

Sect. 4. The fourth way, by common suffrage and election.

The fourth and last way of designation, was by the ordinary course of suffrage and election of the church: the method of which in general was so accurate and highly approved, that one of the Roman emperors, though a heathen, thought fit to give a great character and encomium of it, and propose it to himself as an example proper to be imitated in the designation and choice of civil officers for the service of the empire. For so Lampridius[20] represents the practice of Alexander Severus: whenever he was about to constitute any governors of provinces, or receivers of the public revenues, he first proposed their names, desiring the people to make evidence against them, if any one could prove them guilty of any crime: but if they accused them falsely, it should be at the peril of their own lives: saying, it was unreasonable, that when the Christians and Jews did this in propounding those whom they ordained

15 Cypr. Ep. 35. al. 40. Admonitos nos et instructos sciatis dignatione Divina, ut Numidicus presbyter adscribatur presbyterorum Carthaginiensium numero.

16 Sozom. lib. 2. c. 17. Ἀλέξανδρος διάδοχον αὐτῦ κατέλιπεν Ἀθανάσιον Θείαις προστάξεσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀγαγῶν τὴν ψῆφον, &c.

17 Euseb. lib. 6. c. 29.

18 Blond. Apol. p. 426. Surius, Vit. Sanct. Feb. 1. et Sep. 7.

19 Sever. Vit. S. Martin. c. 7. p. 225. Ita habitum est, Divino nutu Psalmum hunc lectum fuisse, ut testimonium operis sui Defensor audiret, quia ex ore infantium atque lactantium in Martino Domini laude perfecta, et ostensus pariter et destructus est inimicus.

20 Lamprid. Vit. Alex. Sever. c. 45.

their priests and ministers, the same should not be done in the appointment of governors of provinces, in whose hands the lives and fortunes of men were intrusted. This argues, that all imaginable care was taken in the election of Christian ministers, since their practice in this respect has such ample testimony from the heathens. And indeed all modern writers agree upon the matter in general, that anciently elections were made with a great deal of caution and exactness: but as to the particular methods that were used, men are strangely divided in their accounts of them; by which means there is no one subject has been rendered more intricate and perplexed than this of elections, which has even frighted some from attempting to give an account of it: but I must not wholly disappoint my readers through such fears, and therefore I shall briefly acquaint them with the different sentiments of modern authors who have handled this subject, and then clear what I take to be the true state of the case, from evident proofs of ancient history, which shall be the business of the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT METHOD AND MANNER OF ELECTIONS OF THE CLERGY.

Sect. 1. The different opinions of learned men concerning the people's power anciently in elections.

The grand question in this affair, upon which learned men are so much divided, is concerning the persons who had a right to vote in the elections of the clergy. Some think the people were never allowed any other power, save only to give their testimonials to the party elected, or to make objections, if they had any just and reasonable exceptions, against him. So Habertus,[1] and Sixtus Senensis,[2] and Bellarmine.[3] Others say the people were absolute and proper electors, and that from apostolical right, which they always enjoyed for a succession of many ages. This opinion is advanced, and with great show of learning asserted, by Blondel,[4] against Sancta Clara, and the rest of the other opinion. De Marca[5] takes a middle way between those two extremes. He says the people had as much power anciently, as any of the clergy below bishops; that is, their consent was required in the promotion of a bishop, as well as their testimony: yet he will not allow this to be called electing; for the designation, election, or judgment, he says, still belonged only to the metropolitan, together with the synod of provincial bishops. And though we read sometimes of their giving their vote or suffrage, yet that, he says, is only to be understood of suffrage of consent, not the suffrage of election. But Mr. Mason, in answer to Pamelius, who had advanced something of this notion before De Marca, rejects this as a deluding distinction, and asserts, that the people had properly a voice or suffrage of election, and he quotes[6] Bishop Andrews[7] for the same opinion. Yet he does not carry the point so high, as to maintain with Blondel, that it was of unalterable right, but left by God as a thing indifferent, to be ordered by the discretion of the church, so all things be done honestly and in order. And this seems to have been the opinion of Spalatensis,[8] Richerius,[9] Justellus,[10] Suicerus, and some other learned men of both churches. Others there are, who distinguish between the times preceding the council of Nice, and those that followed after: for they think whatever power was allowed the people in the three first ages, was taken away by that council, and the councils of Antioch and Laodicea, that followed not long after. So Schelstrate,[11] in his dissertations upon the council of Antioch, where he quotes Christianus Lupus and Sirmond for the same opinion. But this is exploded as a groundless fiction, not only by Spalatensis,[12] and Bishop Pearson,[13] but also by Richerius,[14] Cabassutius,[15] Valesius,[16] Petavius,[17] De Marca,[18] and other learned persons of the Roman communion, who think the fathers of the Nicene council made no alteration in this matter, but left all things as they found them. Some, again, distinguish between the election of bishops and the other clergy, and say, the people's consent was only required in the election of bishops, but not in the promotion of the inferior clergy. So Cabassutius,[19] and Bishop Beverege,[20] who reckons this so clear a point, that there is no dispute to be made of it. Yet Valesius disputes it, and asserts the contrary,[21]

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[1] Habert. Archieratic. p. 436.
[2] Sixt. Biblioth. lib. 5. Annot. 118.
[3] Bellarm. de Clericis, lib. 1. c. 7
[4] Blondel, Apol. p. 379, &c.
[5] Marca, de Concord. lib. 8. cap. 2. n. 2.
[6] Mason, Consecrat. of Bishops, lib. 4. c. 4. p. 159, 160.
[7] Andrews, Resp. ad Apol. Bell. c. 13. p. 313. Præsentia plebis apud Cyprianum includit testimonium de vita, nec excludit suffragium de persona.
[8] Spalat. de Repub. lib. 3. c. 3. n. 42.
[9] Richer. Hist. Concil. lib. 1. c. 12. n. 18. p. 389.
[10] Justel. Not. in Can. 6. Conc. Chalced.
[11] Schelstr. Not. in Can. 19. Conc. Antioch.
[12] Spalat. de Repub. lib. 3. c. 3. n. 12.
[13] Pearson, Vind. Ignat. par. 1. c. 11. p. 324.
[14] Richer. Hist. Concil. t. 1. c. 2. n. 7.
[15] Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. 17. p. 83.
[16] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.
[17] Petav. Not. in Synes. p. 56.
[18] Marca, de Concord. lib. 8. c. 3. n. 4.
[19] Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. 36. p. 196.
[20] Bevereg. Not. in Can. 6. Conc. Chalced.
[21] Vales. in Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. Presbyteri olim ab episcopo ordinari non poterant sine consensu cleri et populi.

that anciently presbyters were not to be ordained by the bishop without the consent of the clergy and people. Bishop Stillingfleet, who is one of the last that has considered this matter, gives us his sense in these following observations. First, That the main ground of the people's interest was founded upon the apostles' canon,[22] that a bishop must be blameless and of good report. And therefore, he says,[23] the people's share and concern in elections, even in Cyprian's time, was not to give their votes, but only their testimony concerning the good or ill behaviour of the person. Secondly, That yet upon this the people assumed the power of elections, and thereby caused great disturbances and disorders in the church. Thirdly, That to prevent these, many bishops were appointed without their choice, and canons made for the better regulating of them. Fourthly, That when there were Christian magistrates, they did interpose as they thought fit, notwithstanding the popular claim, in a matter of so great consequence to the peace of church and state. Fifthly, That upon the alteration of the government of Christendom, the interest of the people was secured by their consent in parliaments, and that by such consent the nomination of bishops was reserved to princes, and the patronage of livings to particular persons. In this great variety of judgments and opinions of learned men, it will be no crime to dissent from any of them, and therefore I shall take the liberty to review their opinions, and express impartially what I take to be agreeable or disagreeable in any of them to ancient history, and the rules and practice of the church.

Sect. 2. The power of the people equal to that of the inferior clergy in the election of a bishop.

And here, first of all, it will be proper to observe, that there was no one universal, unalterable rule observed in all times and places about this matter, but the practice varied according to the different exigences and circumstances of the church; as will evidently appear in the sequel of this history. In the mean time, I conceive the observation made by De Marca, thus far to be very true, That whatever power the inferior clergy enjoyed in the election of their bishop, the same was generally allowed to the people, or whole body of the church, under the regulation and conduct of the metropolitan and synod of provincial bishops. For their power, whatever it was, is spoken of in the very same terms, and expressed in the same words. Some call it consent, others suffrage or vote, others election or choice; but all agree in this, that it was equally the consent, suffrage, vote, election, and choice, both of clergy and people. Thus Cyprian observes of Cornelius,[24] that he was made bishop by the testimony of the clergy and suffrage of the people. Where it is evident the words, testimony and suffrage, are equally ascribed both to clergy and people. Socrates,[25] speaking of the election of Chrysostom, says he was chosen by the common vote of all, both clergy and people. And Theodoret describes the election of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, after the same manner, when he tells us[26] he was compelled to take the bishopric by the common vote of the bishops and clergy, and all the people. Siricius[27] styles this the election of the clergy and people; and Celestin,[28] the consent and desire of the clergy and people; and Leo,[29] both the consent, and election, and suffrage or votes of the people; who adds also, that in case the parties were divided in their votes, then the decision should be referred to the judgment of the metropolitan, who should choose him who had most votes and greatest merit to recommend him. From all which, and many other passages that might be alleged to the same purpose, it is very evident, that the power of the clergy and people was equal in this matter, and that nothing was challenged by the one, that was not allowed to the other also.

Sect. 3. This power not barely testimonial, but judicial and elective.

And hence it appears further, that this conjunctive power of clergy and people was not barely testimonial, but, as Bishop Andrews and Mr. Mason assert, a judicial and effective power, by way of proper suffrage and election; and that as well in the time of Cyprian, as afterwards: for Cyprian speaks both of testimony and suffrage belonging to both clergy and people: and says further,[30] that that is a just and legitimate ordination, which is examined by the suffrage and judgment of all, both clergy and people. So that they were then present at the choice of their bishop, not merely to give testimony concerning his life, but, as Bishop Andrews words it, to give their vote and suffrage in reference to his person. Which observation will be further

[22] Stillingfleet, Unreason. of Separat. par. 3. n. 25. p. 312.

[23] Ibid. p. 316, 317.

[24] Cypr. Ep. 52. al 55. ad Antonian. p. 104. Factus est Cornelius episcopus—de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis quæ tum adfuit suffragio.

[25] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 2. *Ψηφίσματι κοινῷ ὁμοῦ πάντων, κλήρου τε καὶ λαοῦ.*

[26] Theod. lib. I. c. 7. *Ψήφῳ κοινῇ κατηνάγκασαν ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἅπας ὁ λεώς.*

[27] Siric. Ep. 1. ad Himerium Tarracon. c. 10. Presbyterio vel episcopatui, si eum cleri ac plebis evocaverit electio, non immerito societur.

[28] Celestin. Ep. 2. c. 5. Nullus invitis detur episcopus. Cleri, plebis, et ordinis consensus et desiderium requiratur.

[29] Leo, M. Ep. 84. ad Anastas. c. 5. Cum de summi sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem cleri plebisque consensus concorditer postularit; ita ut si in aliam forte personam partium se vota diviserint, metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus et studiis juvatur et meritis, &c.

[30] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Fratr. Hispan. p. 172. Ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata.

evidenced and confirmed, by proceeding with the account of several rules and customs generally observed in these elections.

Sect. 4. Evidences of this power from some ancient rules and customs of the church. As, first, that no bishop was to be obtruded on an orthodox people without their consent.

One of these was, that no bishop was to be obtruded on any orthodox people against their consent. I say, an orthodox people, for in case the majority of them were heretics or schismatics, the practice was different, as will be showed hereafter: but where they were all catholics, and could agree upon a catholic and deserving bishop, they were usually gratified in their choice, and no person was to be put upon them against their inclination. Sometimes the bishops in synod proposed a person, and the people accepted him: sometimes, again, the people proposed and the bishops consented; and where they were unanimous in a worthy choice, we scarce ever find they were rejected. If they were divided, it was the metropolitan's care to unite and fix them in their choice, but not to obtrude upon them an unchosen person. This we learn from one of Leo's epistles,[31] where he gives us at once both the church's rule and practice, and the reasons of it. In the choice of a bishop, says he, let him be preferred, whom the clergy and people do unanimously agree upon and require: if they be divided in their choice, then let the metropolitan give preference to him, who has most votes and most merits: always provided, that no one be ordained against the will and desire of the people, lest they contemn or hate their bishop, and become irreligious or disrespectful, when they cannot have him whom they desired. The transgression of this rule was objected as a great crime to Hilarius Arelatensis by the emperor Valentinian III., that[32] he ordained bishops in several places against the will and consent of the people, whom when they would not admit of, because they had not chosen them, he used armed force to settle them in their sees, introducing the preachers of peace by the violence of war. Leo objects[33] the same thing to him, saying, that he ought to have proceeded by another rule, and first to have required the votes of the citizens, the testimonies of the people, the will of the gentry, and the election of the clergy: for he that was to preside over all, was to be chosen by all. This evidently shows, that the suffrage of the people was then something more than barely testimonial.

Sect. 5. 2dly, This further confirmed from examples of the bishops complying with the voice of the people against their own inclination.

Secondly, Another argument is, that in many cases the voices of the people prevailed against the bishops themselves, when they happened to be divided in their first proposals. Thus it happened in the famous election of St. Martin, bishop of Tours, which has been mentioned in the last chapter, sect. 3. The people were unanimously for him; Defensor with a great party of bishops at first were against him; but the voice of the people prevailed, and the bishops complied and ordained him. Philostorgius gives us such another instance. Demophilus, bishop of Constantinople, with some other bishops suspected of Arianism, meeting at Cyzicum to ordain a bishop there, the people first made a protestation against them, that unless they would anathematize publicly Aetius and Eunomius both in word and writing, they should ordain no bishop there: and when they had complied to do this, they still insisted on their privilege, that no one should be ordained but one of their own choosing.[34] Which was one, who, as soon as he was ordained, preached the catholic doctrine of the *ὁμοούσιον*, that the Son was of the same substance with the Father. Ancient history will furnish the reader with many other instances of the like nature.

Sect. 6. 3dly, From the manner of the people's voting at elections.

Thirdly, Another evidence of the people's power in elections is the manner of their voting, or the way of giving their assent or dissent to the ordination of any person: which was threefold: for either, first, they were unanimous in their vote for or against a man, and then their way was to express their mind by a general acclamation, crying out with one voice, Ἄξιος, or Ἀνάξιος, *dignus*, or *indignus*, as the word then was, He is worthy, or unworthy. Instances of which form the reader may find in St. Ambrose,[35] St. Austin,[36] Eusebius,[37] Philostorgius,[38] Photius,[39] the author of the Constitutions,[40] and several others. Or else, secondly, they were divided in their choice, and then they expressed their dissent in particular accusations of the parties proposed, and sidings, and sometimes outrageous tumults. St. Chrysostom,[41] reflects upon this way in his books of the priesthood, when he

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[31] Leo, Ep. 84. c. 5. Si in aliam forte personam partium se vota diviserint, metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus et studiis juvatur et meritis: tantum ut nullus invitis et non petentibus ordinetur, ne plebs invita episcopum non optatum aut contemnat aut oderit, et fiat minus religiosa quam convenit, cui non licuerit habere quem voluit.

[32] Novel. 24. ad calcem Cod. Theod. Indecenter alios invitis et repugnantibus civibus ordinavit. Qui quidem, quoniam non facile ab his qui non elegerant, recipiebantur, manum sibi contrahebat armatam—Et ad sedem quietis pacem prædicaturos per bella ducebat.

[33] Leo, Ep. 89. ad Episc. Vien. Expectarentur certe vota civium, testimonia populorum, quæreretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio clericorum.—Qui præfuturus est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur.

[34] Philostorg. lib. 9. c. 13. ὃν αὐτῶν αἱ ψῆφοι προσέταττον.

[35] Ambr. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 5. In ordinationibus eorum clamant et dicunt, Dignus es, et justus es.

[36] Aug. Ep. 110. Dignus et justus est, dictum est vicies.

[37] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 29. πάντα λαὸν Ἄξιον ἐπιβοῆσαι.

[38] Philostorg. lib. 9. c. 10. [39] Phot. Cod. 256. p. 1414.

[40] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 4.

[41] Chrys. de Sacerdot. lib. 3. c. 15.

tells us, that in those popular solemnities, which were then customarily held for the choice of ecclesiastial rulers, one might see a bishop exposed to as many accusations, as there were heads among the people. And the account that is given not only by Ammianus Marcellinus,[42] but by Socrates,[43] and the other historians, of the tumult raised at Rome in the election of Damasus, shows that the people were indulged in something more than barely giving testimony, else they had hardly run into so great a heat and ungovernable tumult. There was also a third way of expressing their consent, which was by subscribing the decree of election for greater security, that no party might pretend afterward that they had not given assent to it. Thus it was in the election of Meletius, bishop of Antioch, who was chosen by common consent both of catholics and Arians, each party presuming him to be of their own opinion. The election-paper was subscribed by all, Theodoret[44] says, and put into the hands of Eusebius Samosatensis, which Constantius, when Meletius proved a catholic, demanded to have had it destroyed, but with all his menaces he could not extort it from him. St. Austin gives the like account[45] of the election of Eradius his successor at Hippo, which for some reasons he got done in his own life-time. He first ordered the notaries of the church to take the acclamations of the people in writing, and then required all that could write, to subscribe the instrument themselves. And this was the common way, whenever the metropolitan could not be present at the election; then the decree of the whole church was drawn up in writing, and carried to him for his consent and approbation. The remains of which custom may still be seen in the ancient *Ordo Romanus*,[46] where there is a form of a decree, which the clergy and people were to sign upon their choice of a bishop, and present it to the metropolitan and the synod, in order to his consecration. In which case, if the metropolitan found him upon examination to be a person every way qualified, as they represented him, he then confirmed and ratified their choice, and so proceeded immediately to his ordination. All which argues that the people had something of a decisive power in elections, and that their suffrage was not merely testimonial.

Sect. 7. 4thly, From the use and office of interventors.

Fourthly, This is further evident from the use and office of interventors in the Latin church, whose business was to promote and procure a speedy election of a new bishop in any vacant see, as I have had occasion to show in another place.[47] For in the Roman and African churches, upon the vacancy of a bishopric, it was usual for the metropolitan to grant a commission to some of his provincial bishops to go to the vacant church, and dispose the clergy and people to be unanimous in the choice of a new bishop; and when they were agreed, they petitioned the metropolitan by the interventor to confirm their choice, and with a synod of provincial bishops to come and ordain him whom they had elected. Or else they drew up an instrument in writing, subscribed both by the interventor and themselves, and presented the new elect bishop to the metropolitan, who ordained him in his own church. This was the practice of the Roman province in the time of Symmachus and Gregory the Great, as appears from their epistles, which gave directions to the interventors, or visitors, as they call them, concerning their behaviour in the present case. Let no one, says Symmachus,[48] draw up an instrument of election without the presence of the visitor, by whose testimony the agreement of the clergy and people may be declared. And Gregory, writing to Barbarus, bishop of Beneventum, and visitor of the church of Palermo, bids him endeavour to make the clergy and people unanimous in their presentation of a worthy person to be their bishop, who could not[49] be rejected by the canons; and then drawing up their petition in form of a decree signed with all their hands, and the letters testimonial of the visitor, they should send him to Rome for consecration. Nothing can be plainer, than that here the clergy and people made the choice of their bishop with the assistance of a visitor or interventor, and then presented him to the metropolitan, who, if he had no canonical exception against him, confirmed their choice, and proceeded to his ordination.

Sect. 8. 5thly, From the custom of the people's taking persons and having them ordained by force.

Fifthly, As a further evidence of this power and privilege indulged to the people, it may be observed likewise, that it was customary in those days for the people in many places to lay violent

[42] Ammian. lib. 27. c. 3. [43] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 29.

[44] Theod. lib. 2. c. 31.

[45] Aug. Ep. 110. A notariis ecclesiæ, sicut cernitis. excipiuntur quæ dicimus, excipiuntur quæ dicitis, et meus sermo. et vestræ acclamationes in terram non cadunt.——Hoc ad ultimum rogo, ut gestis istis dignemini subscribere qui potestis.

[46] Ordo Rom. Biblioth. Patr. t. 10. p. 104. Decretum quod clerus et populus firmare (al. formare) debet de electo episcopo.—Ut omnium nostrorum vota in hanc electionem convenire noscatis, huic decreto canonico promptissima voluntate singuli manibus propriis roborantes subscripsimus.

[47] Book II. chap. 15.

[48] Symmach. Ep. 5. c. 6. Decretum sine visitatoris præsentia nemo conficiat, cujus testimonio clericorum, ac civium possit unanimitas declarari.

[49] Greg. lib. 11. Ep. 16. Dilectio tua clerum plebemque ejusdem ecclesiæ admonere festinet, ut remoto studio, uno eodemque consensu talem sibi præficiendum expetant sacerdotem, qui et tanto ministerio dignus valeat reperiri, et venerandis canonibus nullatenus respuatur. Qui dum fuerit postulatus cum solemnitate decreti omnium subscriptionibus roborati, et dilectionis tuæ testimonio literarum, ad nos sacrandus occurrat.

hands upon persons, and bring them by force to the bishop to be ordained. Thus Possidius[50] tells us it was in the ordination of St. Austin, the people seized him and brought him to the bishop, requiring with one voice that he would ordain him presbyter, whilst he in the mean time wept abundantly for the force that was put upon him. Paulinus[51] says the same of himself, that he was ordained presbyter by force and the irresistible violence of an inflamed and zealous people. And there are many other instances of the like nature.

Sect. 9. 6thly, From the title of fathers, which some bishops upon this account by way of compliment gave to their people.

Sixthly, I observe but one thing more relating to this matter, which was the compliment that some bishops passed upon their people upon this account, styling them fathers, in regard to the share and influence they had in their designation and election. St. Ambrose himself speaking to his people, addresses himself to them in this style: Ye are[52] my fathers, who chose me to be bishop: ye, I say, are both my children and fathers; children in particular, fathers altogether. In which words he plainly refers to that providential consent of the people of Milan, who, when they were divided before into several factions, as soon as Ambrose was named, all unanimously conspired together in his election. These are some of those collateral evidences, that may be brought to prove that anciently the clergy and people joined in a common vote in the election of their bishop, and that their suffrage was something more than testimonial, especially in the fourth and fifth ages, in the Latin church, where, as De Marca owns, the people's request was chiefly considered.

Sect. 10. What power the people had in the designation of presbyters.

Nor was this privilege only indulged them in the election of their bishop, but sometimes in the designation of presbyters also. For St. Austin and Paulinus were but to be ordained presbyters, when that forcible constraint, just now spoken of, was laid upon them by the people. Besides, St. Jerom[53] says expressly, that presbyters and the other clergy were as much chosen by the people, as the bishops were. And Possidius[54] notes this to have been both the custom of the church and St. Austin's practice, in the ordinations of priests and clerks, to have regard to the majority or general consent of Christian people. And Siricius, who speaks the sense and practice of the Roman church, says,[55] that when a deacon was to be ordained either presbyter or bishop, he was first to be chosen both by the clergy and people. And therefore I cannot so readily subscribe to the assertion of those learned men, who say that bishops before their ordination were propounded to the people, but not presbyters or any other of the inferior clergy.

Sect. 11. Whether the council of Nice made any alteration in these matters.

As to those who assert, that the people were anciently indulged in these matters before the council of Nice, but that their power was abridged by a new decree of that council, they are evidently under a mistake; for it is certain the Nicene fathers made no alteration in this affair, but left the whole matter as they found it. For though in one of their canons[56] it is said, that the presence, or at least the consent, of all the provincial bishops, and the confirmation or ratification of the metropolitan, shall be necessary to the election and ordination of a bishop; yet that is not said to exclude any ancient privilege that the people enjoyed, but only to establish the rights of metropolitans and provincial bishops, which Meletius, the schismatical Egyptian bishop, had particularly invaded, by presuming to ordain bishops without the authority of his metropolitan, or consent of his fellow bishops in the provinces of Egypt. That nothing else was designed by that canon is evident from this, that the same council, in the synodical epistle written to the church of Alexandria, expressly mentions the choice of the people, and requires it as a condition of a canonical election. For speaking of such Meletian bishops as would return to the unity of the catholic church, it says, that when any catholic bishop died, Meletian bishops might succeed in their room, provided they were worthy, and that the people[57] chose them, and the bishop of Alexandria ratified and confirmed their choice. Our learned Bishop Pearson has rightly observed, that Athanasius[58] himself was thus chosen after the Nicene council was ended; which is a certain argument

[50] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 4. Eum tenuerunt, et ut in talibus consuetum est, episcopo ordinandum intulerunt, omnibus id uno consensu et desiderio fieri perficique petentibus, magnoque studio et clamore flagitantibus, ubertim eo flente.

[51] Paulin. Ep. 35. inter Epist. August. A Lampio apud Barcilnonam in Hispania, per vim inflammatæ subito plebis sacratus sum. Vid. Paulin. Ep. 6. ad Severum, p. 101.

[52] Ambr. Com. in Luc. lib. 8. c. 17. Vos enim mihi estis parentes, qui sacerdotium detulistis: vos, inquam, filii vel parentes, filii singuli, universi parentes.

[53] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Cum te vel populus vel pontifex civitatis in clerum elegerit, agito quæ clerici sunt. Id. in Ezek. lib. 10. c. 33. p. 609. Speculator ecclesiæ, vel episcopus vel presbyter, qui a populo electus est.

[54] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 21. In ordinandis sacerdotibus et clericis consensum majorem Christianorum et consuetudinem ecclesiæ sequendam esse arbitrabatur.

[55] Siric. Ep. 1. ad Himer. Tarracon. c. 10. Exinde jam accessu temporum, presbyterium vel episcoparum, si eum cleri ac plebis evocaverit electio, non immerito sortietur.

[56] Conc. Nic. can. 4.

[57] Conc. Nic. Ep. Synod. ap. Theod. lib. 1. c. 9. et Socrat. lib. 1. c. 9. *εἰ ἄξιοι φαίνοιντο, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἱροῖτο, συνεπιψηφίσοντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντος τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου.*

[58] Pearson, Vind. Ignat. par. 1. c. 11. p. 324. ed. Antwerp. Eusebiani, qui creationem Athanasii abrogare voluerunt, defectum popularis electionis objiciebant, et epis-

that the people's right was not abrogated in that council. The Eusebian party made it an objection against him, that he had not the choice of the people: but the bishops of Egypt assembled in synod, in their synodical epistle do with great earnestness maintain the contrary, asserting, that the whole multitude of the people of the catholic church,[59] as if they had been all united in one soul and body, cried out, requiring Athanasius to be ordained bishop. Whence Gregory Nazianzen[60] also says of him, that he was brought to the throne of St. Mark, ψήφῳ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς, by the suffrage of all the people. It were easy to add many other instances and proofs of the like nature to the time of the council of Chalcedon, when the people of Alexandria still enjoyed their ancient privilege, as appears from several passages in Liberatus, who says of Proterius and some other of their bishops, that they were chosen by the nobles, and the decree[61] and voice of all the people: but I shall say no more upon this head, but only allege two canons of the fourth council of Carthage, which comprise the whole practice of the church in relation to this matter: the one decreeing,[62] that the ordination of a bishop should always be by the consent of four parties, the clergy, the laity, the provincial bishops, and the metropolitan, whose presence and authority was principally necessary in all such cases. The other canon[63] orders, that no bishop shall ordain any clergymen without consulting with his clergy, and asking the consent, approbation, and testimony of his people. This seems to have been the most common and ordinary practice of the church.

Sect. 12. Some exceptions to the general rule. First, in case the greatest part of the church were heretics or schismatics.

But then, as all general rules have their exceptions, so it cannot be denied but that this rule varied sometimes, or at least had its limitations and restrictions; and I shall not do justice to the reader, nor the subject neither, unless I mention those also. Here therefore we are to observe in the first place, that this rule did not hold when the greatest part of any church were turned heretics or schismatics. For in that case, had elections been made by the general suffrage of the people, none but heretical or schismatical bishops must have been ordained. And therefore in the time of the great prevalency of Arianism, and the long schism of the Donatists, the church did not tie herself always to act precisely by this rule. We find it objected by the Donatists in the collation of Carthage,[64] that the catholics made bishops in many places where they had no people; that is, no catholic people, for they were all Donatists; consequently, those bishops were ordained not only without, but against the consent of the people. And this I take to be the case of those bishops mentioned in the seventeenth and eighteenth canons of the council of Antioch; one of which says, That if any bishop is ordained to preside over a people, and does not take upon him his office, and go to the church to which he is ordained, he shall be excommunicated, till he complies, or a provincial synod determines otherwise about him: and the other says, If such a bishop absents from his diocese, not by his own default, but διὰ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ παραίτησιν, because the people refuse to receive him, in that case he shall be honoured as a bishop, though not admitted to his own church. These canons were made at a time when the Arian faction had raised great commotions in the church, which probably made some bishops unwilling to go to their churches, and others could not be admitted, because the faction strongly prevailed against them: and in both of them it is supposed the ordinations were made without asking the people's consent; of which practice we have frequent instances in ecclesiastical history in cases of the same nature.

Sect. 13. 2ndly, In case of ordaining bishops to far distant places, or barbarous nations.

Secondly, Another exception to the rule was, when bishops were to be ordained for very distant countries or barbarous nations. When Athanasius ordained Frumentius bishop of the Indies at Alexandria, as the historians[65] report, no one can imagine that he had the formal consent, though he might have the presumptive approbation, of all his people. As neither can we suppose the bishop of Tomi in Scythia to be chosen by his people, when he was the only bishop[66] in all that region, and commonly ordained at Constantinople, as by the twenty-eighth

copi Ægypti, in synodo congregati, epistola ad omnes ecclesiæ catholicæ episcopos scripta, contrarium magna animi contentione asseruerunt.——Quod neque hi neque illi fecissent, si populi suffragia in eligendo episcopo locum nullum habuissent.

[59] Ep. Synod. Concil. Alex. ap. Athan. Apol. 2. t. 2. p. 726. πᾶς ὁ λαὸς—ἀνεβόων, ἔκραζον, αἰτοῦντες Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον.

[60] Naz. Orat. 21. t. 1. p. 377.

[61] Liberat. Breviar. c. 14. Collecti sunt nobiles civitatis, ut eum qui esset vita et sermone pontificatu dignus, eligerent.——Novissime in Proterium omnium sententia declinavit. Id. c. 15. Scripsit imperator Leo duci Alexandriæ Stilæ, ut pelleret quidem ab episcopatu modis omnibus Timotheum, inthronizaret autem alium decreto populi, qui synodum vindicaret.

[62] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 1. Cum consensu clericorum et laicorum, et conventu totius provinciæ episcoporum, maximeque metropolitani vel auctoritate vel præsentia ordinetur episcopus.

[63] Ibid. can. 22. Ut episcopus sine consilio clericorum suorum clericos non ordinet; ita ut civium assensum, et conniventiam, et testimonium quærat.

[64] Collat. Carth. 1. c. 182. Petilianus episcopus dixit, Imo crebros ubi habes episcopos, sane et sine populis habes.

[65] Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 9. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19. Theodoret. lib. 1. c. 23.

[66] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 19.

canon of the council of Chalcedon, the bishops of barbarous nations were appointed to be.

Sect. 14.
3dly, In case an interventor or any other bishop intruded himself into any see without the consent of a provincial synod.

Thirdly, In case an interventor, or visitor, who was sent to procure a speedy election in any vacant see, got himself settled in the see, by the interest which he had gained in the people during his administration; yet he was not allowed to continue in the possession of that see, though he had made never so strong a party among the people, or had the consent of them all. As appears from a canon of the fifth council of Carthage,[67] which is also inserted into the Code of the African church. The case was the same with any vacant bishops, ἐπίσκοποι σχολάζοντες, as the canons call them, who were ordained to such places as would not receive them: if any of them intruded themselves into any vacant church without the consent of the metropolitan and a provincial synod, they were to be rejected, though all the people were unanimous in choosing them, as the council of Antioch decreed in express terms against[68] such invaders: If, say they, a vacant bishop transfers himself into a vacant church, and seizes the throne by stealth, without the authority of a full synod of the province, he shall be discarded, though all the people upon whom he thrust himself should agree in the choice of him. The same council has another canon,[69] which prohibits any bishop to remove from one diocese to another, either of his own accord, or by the compulsion of the people. Which plainly implies, that in all such cases no regard was had to the choice of the people, when they pretended to act without the concurrence of a provincial synod.

Sect. 15.
4thly, In case of factions and divisions among the people.

Fourthly, When the people were divided in their choice, and could not unanimously agree upon any one; then, to prevent further disputes, and the mischievous consequences of faction and division, it was usual for the metropolitan and the synod to choose an indifferent person, whom no party had named, and prefer him before all the competitors of the people. And this was usually done with good success; for the people commonly were ashamed of their own choice, and universally acquiesced in this. Sidonius Apollinarius gives us a famous instance in the ordination of John, bishop of Chalons: a triumvirate of competitors, whose characters were not extraordinary, had, by different interests, drawn the people into three very great factions; to remedy which, the metropolitan, privately consulting with his fellow bishops, but taking none of the people into council, ordained this John, to the surprise of them all: but, as our author[70] observes, it was managed with that prudence, that though the advice of the people was not taken, yet the holy man was ordained, to the astonishment of the factious, and the confusion of the wicked, with the general acclamations of the good, and the contradictions and oppositions of none. And this was a common method in case of incurable divisions among the people.

Sect. 16.
5thly, The emperors sometimes interposed their authority to prevent tumults in the like cases.

Fifthly, Sometimes the emperors interposed their authority, and themselves nominated the person whom they would have to be ordained bishop, when they found by experience what dangerous tumults these popular elections raised among the people. Thus it was in the case of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, who was nominated by Theodosius only. For the people were not so much as consulted in the matter, but the emperor ordered the bishops to give him in a catalogue of fit persons, reserving the power of election entirely to himself. Nay, when some of the bishops objected against Nectarius, that he was but a catechumen and unbaptized, the emperor, notwithstanding, persisted in his choice, and the bishops complied, and immediately baptized and ordained him, as Sozomen[71] informs us. Socrates takes notice of the same prerogative made use of by Theodosius junior, upon the like occasion, who nominated Nestorius to the see of Constantinople, διὰ τοὺς κενοσπουδιστὰς, by reason of factious and vain-glorious persons[72] in the church. And for the like reason, the same author[73] tells us, upon another vacancy, to prevent tumults in the election, he gave his mandate to the bishops to enthrone Proclus in the church. De Marca[74] will furnish the reader with other instances, and ecclesiastical history with more to the same purpose.

Sect. 17.
6thly, The people sometimes restrained to the choice of one out of three, which were nominated by the bishops.

Sometimes, again, we find the people and clergy were confined in their choice, to take one out of three that were first nominated by the bishops in council. Thus it was in France in the time of the second council of Arles, anno 452, when that council made an order about elections to

[67] Conc. Carth. 5. c. 8. Placuit, ut nulli intercessori licitum sit, cathedram cui intercessor datus est, quibuslibet populorum studiis, vel seditionibus retinere. Vid. Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr. c. 74.

[68] Conc. Antioch c. 16. εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος σχολάζων ἐπὶ σχολάζουσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιῤῥίψας, ὑφαρπάζει τὸν θρόνον δίχα συνόδου τελείας: τῦτόν ἀποβλητον εἶναι, καὶ εἰ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, ὅν ὑφάρπασεν, ἕλοιτο αὐτον.

[69] Ibid. can. 21. Ἐπίσκοπον ἀπὸ παροικίας ἑτέρας εἰς ἑτέραν μὴ μεθίςασθαι, μήτε αὐθαιρέτως ἐπιῤῥίπτοντα ἑαυτὸν, μήτε ὑπὸ λαῶν ἐκβιαζόμενον.

[70] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 25. Strepitu furentis turbæ despecto, sanctum Johannem, stupentibus factiosis, erubescentibus malis, acclamantibus bonis, reclamantibus nullis, collegam sibi consecravere.

[71] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 8.

[72] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 29.

[73] Idem, lib. 7. c. 40.

[74] Marca, de Concord. lib. 8. c. 9. n. 18.

this purpose: That in the ordination of a bishop[75] this rule should be observed, the bishops shall nominate three, out of which the clergy and people shall have power to choose one. Other laws[76] appointed the clergy and people to nominate three, and the metropolitan and provincial bishops to cast lots which of the three should be ordained; which was the rule of the Spanish church in the time of the council of Barcelona, anno 599.

Sect. 18. Lastly, By Justinian's laws, the elections were confined to the *optimates*, and the inferior, people wholly excluded.

Lastly, We find also in Justinian's laws, that a considerable alteration was made in this affair wherever those laws took place; for thereby the inferior sort of the common people were wholly cut off from having any concern in these elections, which were now confined to the clergy and the *optimates*, or persons of better rank and quality in every church. For so, by two of his Novels,[77] it is expressly provided, that when a bishop is to be ordained for any city, the clergy and chief men of the city shall meet, and nominate three persons, drawing up an instrument, and inserting therein upon their oath that they choose them neither for any gift, nor promise, nor friendship, nor any other cause, but because they know them to be of the true catholic faith, and of honest life, and good learning, &c. That out of these three, one that is best qualified may be chosen by the discretion and judgment of the ordainer. De Marca thinks the council of Laodicea long before made a canon to the same purpose, forbidding the elections of the clergy to be committed *τοῖς ὄχλοις*, *vili plebeculæ*, as De Marca renders it,[78] that is, to the common and inferior sort of people. But it is not certain the canon intended the prohibition in that sense; or if it did, it was of no force, for the people continued their ancient practice for some ages after that council. However, upon the whole matter it appears that this power of the people did never so universally obtain, but that it was limited in several cases by certain restrictions, and varied according to the different state of times and nations.

Sect. 19. How and when princes and patrons came to have the chief power of elections.

At last, upon the breaking of the Roman empire, the Gothic kings in France and Spain were generally complimented with a share in these elections, and their consent was as necessary as any other to the ordination of bishops within their dominions. By which means their power quickly increased into a prerogative of nominating solely, and all others had little else to do but to accept their nominations. Which the reader, that is curious in this matter, may find discoursed at large by De Marca,[79] in his account of the change that was made in the French and Spanish churches in after ages, which it is none of my business here further to pursue. As to the power of nomination in inferior patrons, it is generally agreed by learned men,[80] that it came in upon the division of dioceses into distinct parishes, and the founding of churches in country places. For, to give greater encouragement to such pious and useful works, the founder of any church, who settled an endowment upon it, was allowed to retain the right of presentation to himself, to nominate a fit clerk to the bishop for his approbation. That which led the way to this practice, was a decree of the first council of Orange, anno 441, wherein this power and privilege was first granted to bishops, that if any bishop was disposed to found a church in the territory of another bishop, the bishop of the diocese where the church was built, should consecrate it; reserving to the founder[81] the right of nominating such clerks as he should desire to have in his own church, whom the bishop of the diocese should ordain at his request; or if they were already ordained, he should allow them to continue without any molestation. And this canon is repeated in the second council of Arles,[82] in the editions of Sirmond and Labbe, though it be wanting in some others. After this, by the laws of Justinian, all founders of churches, and their heirs, are allowed to nominate their own clerks, upon the right of patronage, to those churches. If any man builds an oratory, says one of his Novels,[83] and either he or his heirs are minded to have clerks ordained thereto; if they allow maintenance to them, and they be worthy persons, such as they nominate shall be ordained. And the bishop has no power

[75] Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 54. Placuit in ordinatione episcopi hunc ordinem custodiri, ut tres ab episcopis nominentur, de quibus clerici vel cives erga unum habeant eligendi potestatem.

[76] Conc. Barcinon. can. 3.

[77] Justin. Novel. 123. c. 1. Sancimus, quoties opus fuerit episcopum ordinari, clericos et primates civitatis, cui episcopus ordinandus est, mox in tribus personis decreta facere, propositis sacrosanctis evangeliis, periculo suarum animarum dicentes in ipsis decretis, quia neque propter aliquam donationem, neque propter aliquam promissionem, aut amicitiam, aut aliam quamlibet causam; sed scientes eos rectæ et catholicæ fidei, et honestæ esse vitæ, et literas nosse, hos elegerint:——ut ex tribus illis personis melior ordinetur, electione et judicio ordinantis. See also Novel. 137. c. 2. et Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 42.

[78] Concil. Laodic. c. 13. Marca, de Concord. lib. 8. c. 6. n. 8.

[79] Marca, de Concord. lib. 8. c. 9 et 10.

[80] See Stillingfleet, Unreas. of Separ. p. 326.

[81] Conc. Arausican. 1. c. 9. Reservata edificatori episcopo hac gratia, ut quos desiderat clericos in re sua videre, ipsos ordinet is in cujus civitatis territorio est; vel si jam ordinati sunt, ipsos habere acquiescat.

[82] Conc. Arelat. 2. an. 452. can. 36.

[83] Novel. 123. c. 18. Si quis oratorii domum ædificaverit, et voluerit in ea clericos ordinare aut ipse, aut ejus hæredes: si expensas ipsis clericis ministrant, et dignos denominant, denominatos ordinari. Si vero qui ab eis eliguntur, tanquam indignos prohibent sacræ regulæ ordinari, tunc episcopus quoscunque putaverit meliores, ordinari procuret.

to ordain any other, unless the persons so nominated be unqualified by the canons. Another Novel[84] allows the bishop liberty to examine them, and judge of their qualifications; but if he finds them worthy, he is obliged to ordain them, having in that case no power to refuse them. They who would see more of this matter, may consult our learned Bishop Stillingfleet, who gives an account[85] of the progress of it in future ages; which being foreign to my subject, I return to the business of elections in the ancient church, and proceed to give an account of the several qualifications, that were necessarily required in persons to be elected and ordained to any office or dignity in the church.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE EXAMINATION AND QUALIFICATIONS OF PERSONS TO BE ORDAINED TO ANY OFFICE OF THE CLERGY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. AND FIRST, OF THEIR FAITH AND MORALS.

Sect. 1. Three inquiries made about persons to be ordained respecting, 1st, Their faith 2dly, their morals 3dly, their outward quality and condition.

Before any person could regularly be elected or ordained to any clerical office in the church, the electors and ordainers were obliged to make several inquiries concerning him, which I think may be reduced to these three heads: the examination of his faith, his morals, and his outward state and condition in the world. The two first of these they were most strict in canvassing and examining, because they were more essential and necessary to the ministry; but the third they did not omit, because the peculiar state of those times did more especially require it. For then men were tied by the laws of the empire to bear the offices of the state, according to their quality and substance, and those offices were commonly inconsistent with the offices of the church: which made it necessary to inquire, before men were ordained, whether they were under any obligation to the state, or obnoxious to any distinct power, for fear the church should seem to encroach upon other men's rights, or bring trouble upon herself, by having her clergy recalled to a secular life again.

Sect. 2. The rule and method of examining their faith and learning.

The trial of their faith and orthodoxy, under which I also comprehend their learning, was made three ways: partly by obliging the electors to give in their public testimony of them; partly by obliging the persons elected to answer to certain interrogatories, or questions of doctrine, that were put to them; and partly by making them subscribe a body of articles, or confession of faith, at the time of their ordination. By a law of Justinian's,[1] the electors themselves were to declare upon oath in the instrument or decree of election, if it were a bishop that was chosen, that they knew him to be a man of the true catholic faith, and of good life and conversation, &c. And by the same law, the bishop to be ordained was required to give in a libel, or form of confession of his faith, subscribed with his own hand; and to repeat the form of prayer used at the oblation of the holy eucharist, and at baptism, with the other prayers of the church. Which was an intimation that he allowed and approved the liturgy, or public service of the church. The fourth council of Carthage prescribes a particular form of examination by way of interrogatories to the bishop who was to be ordained, which is too long to be here inserted; but it consists chiefly of such questions as relate to the articles of the creed, and doctrines levelled against the most noted heresies,[2] that either then were, or lately had been, predominant in the church. Orders also are there given to examine, whether the candidate be well instructed in the law of God, and able to expound the sense of Scripture, and be thoroughly exercised in the doctrines of the church. By which we may judge what due precaution was then taken, to admit none but persons rightly qualified, as to their faith, to the chief administrations of the church.

Sect. 3. The irregular ordination of Synesius considered.

Upon which consideration it has seemed very difficult to some learned men, to account for the practice and conduct of Theophilus of Alexandria, in ordaining Synesius, at the same time that he professed he could not yet believe the doctrine of the resurrection, and some other articles of the Christian faith. Baronius[3] and Habertus,[4] and our learned Bishop Taylor,[5] reckon he only dissembled, and used this stratagem to avoid being ordained. But had this been the case, it had still been a just canonical exception against him: for the canons[6] forbid the ordination of any one, who accuses himself as guilty of any heinous crime, whether his accusation be true or false: for he proves himself guilty, either by confessing a truth, or at least by telling a lie about it. But indeed the case of Synesius was no feigned case, for he spake the real sense of his soul;

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[84] Nov. 77. c. 2. [85] Still. Unreas. of Separ. par. 3. p. 327.

[1] Justin. Novel. 137. n. 2. Quemque ipsorum jurare secundum divina eloquia, et ipsis psephismatibus inscribi—Quod scientes ipsos rectæ et catholicæ fidei et honestæ vitæ, ipsos elegerint. Ibid. Exigi etiam ante omnia ab eo qui ordinandus est, libellum ejus propria subscriptione complectentem quæ ad rectam ejus fidem pertinent. Enunciari etiam ab ipso et sanctam oblationis formulam, quæ in sancta communione fit, et eam quæ fit in baptismate precationem, et reliquas deprecationes.

[2] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 1. [3] Baron. an. 410. t. 5. p. 315.

[4] Habert. Archieratic. p. 500.

[5] Taylor, Duct. Dubit. book 3. c. 2. p. 495.

[6] Conc. Valentin. c. 4. Quicunque sub ordinatione vel

as appears not only from what the historian says of it,[7] but from the account which he himself gives in one of his epistles[8] to his brother Euoptius: You know, says he, that philosophy teaches the contrary to many of those generally-received doctrines. Therefore I cannot persuade myself, that the soul is postnate to the body; I cannot say that the world and all its parts shall be dissolved; I look upon the resurrection to be ἱερόν τι καὶ ἀπόῤῥητον, a sort of mystical and ineffable thing, and am far from assenting to the vulgar opinions about it. —And now being called to the priesthood, I would not dissemble these things, but testify them both before God and man. This asseveration seems too solemn and serious, to be the speech of one who was only acting a part, and dissembling his opinion; and therefore it is more probable that he was in earnest, as Lucas Holstenius[9] more fully shows in a peculiar dissertation upon this subject against Baronius. Valesius, to vindicate Theophilus, says,[10] Synesius altered his opinions before he was ordained: but that is more than can be proved. The best account of the thing is that which is given by Holstenius, that it was the man's admirable virtues, and excellent qualifications in other respects, and a great want of fit men in those difficult times, that encouraged Theophilus to ordain him, in hopes that God would enlighten his mind, and not suffer so excellent a person long to labour under such errors in religion. But the fairest colours that can be put upon it, will hardly justify a fact so contrary to the rules of the church. The instance was singular, and never made a precedent, or drawn into imitation; the general practice of the church being, as has been showed, to examine men's orthodoxy, and require their assent and subscriptions to the rule of faith before their ordination.

Sect. 4. A strict inquiry made into the morals of such as were to be ordained.

Their next inquiry was into the morals of the person to be ordained. And here the examination was very strict and accurate. For then the custom was generally to ordain such only as were known to all the people, and of whose life and character they were satisfied, and could bear testimony to them. The bishops and presbyters who preside over us, says Tertullian,[11] are advanced to that honour only by public testimony. The law is, says Cyprian,[12] to choose bishops in the presence of the people, who have perfect knowledge of every man's life, and are acquainted with the tenor of their actions by their conversation.

Sect. 5. For which reason no stranger to be ordained in a foreign land.

Upon which account the laws forbade the ordination of strangers in any church to which they did not belong. Optatus makes it an objection against the Donatists, that in the Roman see they never had a bishop who was a citizen of Rome, but still their succession in that city was supplied by Africans and strangers.[13] Whereas, on the contrary, he challenges them to show,[14] whenever the church at any time brought a Frenchman or a Spaniard into Africa; or ordained a stranger to a people that knew nothing of him. In the civil law we have a constitution of Honorius the emperor to this purpose,[15] That no clerks should be ordained out of any other possession or village, but only that where their church was. Or if any thinks that decree was made rather for reasons of state, he may read the same in the canons of the church: as in the council of Eliberis,[16] which decrees, That no stranger baptized in a foreign country, should be ordained out of the province where he was baptized, because his life and conversation could not be known. And this rule was generally observed, except in some extraordinary cases, when either public fame had made a man eminent and noted over all the world; or there were some particular reasons for going against the rule, of which I have given an account in another place. See Book II. chap. 10. sect. 3.

Sect. 6. Nor any one who had done public penance in the church.

The strictness of this examination, as to men's morals, will appear further from this, that the commission of any scandalous crime, for which a man was obliged to do penance in the church, did, for ever after, according to the rules and discipline of those times, render that person irregular and incapable of holy orders. For though they granted pardon and absolution, and lay-communion, to all offenders that submitted to the discipline of public penance; yet

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diaconatus, vel presbyterii, vel episcopatus, mortali crimine se dixerint esse pollutos, a supradictis ordinationibus esse submovendos, reos scilicet vel veri confessione, vel mendacio falsitatis.

[7] Evagr. lib. 1. c. 15. οὔπω τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀναστάσεως παραδεχόμενον, &c.

[8] Synes. Ep. 105. p. 397.

[9] Holsten. Dissert. 3. de Synesio, ap. Vales. Not. in Theodor. p. 203.

[10] Vales. Not. in Evagr. lib. 1. c. 15. It. Petav. Vit. Synes. p. 4.

[11] Tertul. Apol. c. 39. Præsident apud nos probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti.

[12] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. p. 172. Episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit.

[13] Optat. lib. 2. p. 48. Quid est hoc, quod pars vestra in urbe Roma episcopum civem habere non potuit? Quid est quod toti Afri et peregrini in illa civitate sibi successisse noscuntur.

[14] Ibid. p. 51. Nunquid nos adduximus Hispanum aut Gallum? Aut nos ordinavimus ignorantibus peregrinum?

[15] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 33. Clerici non ex alia possessione vel vico, sed ex eo ubi ecclesiam esse constiterit, ordinentur.

[16] Conc. Eliber. c. 24. Omnes qui peregre fuerint baptizati, eo quod eorum minime sit cognita vita, placuit, ad clerum non esse promovendos in alienis provinciis.

they thought it not proper to admit such to clerical dignities, but excluded them from the orders and promotions of the church. At least it was thus in most of the Western churches in the fourth and fifth centuries, as appears from the Latin writers of those ages. The epistles of Siricius and Innocent show it to have been the practice of the Roman church in their time. For Siricius[17] says, no layman, after public penance and reconciliation, was to be admitted to the honour of the clergy: because, though they were cleansed from the contagion of all their sins, yet they ought not to touch the instruments of the sanctuary, who themselves before had been the instruments and vessels of sin. The letters of Innocent[18] are to the same purpose. And so for the French churches we have the testimony of Gennadius,[19] and the second council of Arles,[20] and Agde.[21] And for the Spanish churches, a canon of the first council of Toledo,[22] which allows not penitents to be ordained, except in case of necessity, and then only to the offices of the inferior orders, door-keepers and readers. The practice of the African churches is evident, from the fourth council of Carthage, which decrees that no penitent should be ordained,[23] though he was a good man at the present. And if any such was ordained by the bishop's ignorance, not knowing his character, he should be deposed, because he did not declare that he had been a penitent, at the time of his ordination. By this we may understand what Optatus means, when, speaking of the Donatists, who made some of the catholic children do public penance in the church, he says they thereby gave them a wound, which was intended[24] to cut them off from the benefit of ordination; plainly referring to this rule in the church, that he who had done public penance, was thereby made incapable of ordination. Which seems also to be St. Austin's meaning, when speaking of a Christian astrologer, who had done penance for his fault, he says, his conversion perhaps[25] might make some think he intended to get an office among the clergy of the church: but no, says he, he is a penitent; he seeks nothing more but only a pardon and absolution: meaning, that a person in his circumstances could not pretend to sue for orders by the rules and canons of the church. But we are to note, that this is always to be understood of public penance, not of private: for the council of Girone, or Gerunda, in Catalonia, expressly makes this distinction[26] between public penance in the church, and private penance in time of sickness; making the one to incapacitate men from taking orders, but not the other. And in all other canons, where this distinction is not expressed, it is always to be understood. For it was only that penance which left some public mark of disgrace upon men, which unqualified them for the orders of the church. But this rule might be dispensed with in extraordinary cases, and there are some learned men who think it was not so generally insisted on in the three first ages of the church.

Sect. 7. No murderer to be ordained, nor adulterer, nor one that had lapsed in time of persecution.

As to particular crimes, there were a great many that unqualified men, whether they had done public penance for them or not. Such as the three great crimes of murder, adultery, and lapsing in time of persecution. The council of Toledo[27] sets murder in the front of those sins which exclude men from holy orders. The crime of fornication and adultery is noted upon the same account by those called the Apostolical Canons,[28] the council of Neocæsarea,[29] the council of Nice,[30] Eliberis,[31] and several others. Nay, the council of Neocæsarea goes a little further, and decrees,[32] that if any man's wife committed adultery whilst he was a layman, he should not be admitted to any ecclesiastical function. Or if she committed adultery when he was in office, he must give her a bill of divorce and put her away; otherwise be degraded from his office. As to the crime of lapsing and sacrificing in time of persecution, Origen[33] assures us it was the custom of the church in his time to exclude such as were guilty of it, from all ecclesiastical power and government. And Athanasius[34] says the same, that

[17] Siric. Ep. 1. ad Himer. Tarracon. c. 14. Post pœnitudinem et reconciliationem nulli unquam laico liceat honorem clericatus adipisci: quia quamvis sint omnium peccatorum contagione mundati, nulla tamen debent gerendorum sacramentorum instrumenta suscipere, qui dudum fuerint vasa vitiorum.

[18] Innoc. Ep. 22. c. 3. Ubi pœnitentiæ remedium necessarium est illic ordinationis honorem locum habere non posse.

[19] Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm. c. 72.

[20] Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 25.

[21] Conc. Agath. c. 93. De pœnitentibus nullus clericus ordinetur.

[22] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 2. Pœnitentes non admittantur ad clerum, nisi tantum necessitas aut usus exegerit, et tunc inter ostiarios deputentur, vel inter lectores.

[23] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 68. Ex pœnitentibus (quamvis sit bonus) clericus non ordinetur. Si per ignorantiam episcopi factum fuerit, deponatur a clero, quia se ordinationis tempore non prodidit fuisse pœnitentem.

[24] Optat. lib. 2. p. 59. Invenistis pueros, de pœnitentia sauciastis, ne aliqui ordinari potuissent.

[25] Aug. Append. Enarrat. Psal. lxi. Posset videri, quia sic conversus est, clericatum quærere in ecclesia. Pœnitens est: non quærit nisi solam misericordiam. Vid. Aug. Ep. 50. ad Bonifac. p. 87.

[26] Conc. Gerundens. an. 517. c. 9. Qui ægritudinis languore depressus, pœnitentiæ benedictionem, quam viaticum deputamus, per communionem acceperit; et postmodum reconvalescens caput pœnitentiæ in ecclesia publicè non subdiderit; si prohibitis vitiis non detinetur obnoxius, admittatur ad clerum.

[27] Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 2.

[28] Canon. Apost. c. 61.

[29] Conc. Neocæs. c. 9 et 10.

[30] Conc. Nic. c. 2.

[31] Conc. Eliber. c. 30.

[32] Conc. Neocæs. c. 8.

[33] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 3. p. 143.

[34] Athan. Ep. ad Rufin. t. 2. p. 41.

they were allowed the privilege of repentance, but not to have any place among the clergy. Or if any were ignorantly ordained, they were to be deposed as soon as they were discovered, by a rule[35] of the great council of Nice. Which was no new rule, but the ancient rule of the whole catholic church: for Cyprian[36] says it was agreed upon at Rome, and in Africa, and by the bishops of the whole world, that such men might be admitted to repentance, but should be kept back from the ordinations of the clergy, and the honour of the priesthood. Upon this account the Arians themselves, though they were not much given to act by rules, sometimes thought fit to deny men ordination; as Athanasius[37] and Socrates[38] say they did by Asterius the sophist, whom they would not ordain, because he had sacrificed in time of persecution. But they were far from being constant to this rule; for if Philostorgius[39] says true, the leading bishops of the Arian party, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris of Chalcedon, Theognis of Nice, Leontius of Antioch, Antonius of Tarsus, Menophantus of Ephesus, Numenius, Eudoxius, Alexander, and Asterius of Cappadocia, all sacrificed in the Diocletian persecution. But then it must be owned, that some of these were ordained bishops in the church before the Arian heresy began to appear: whence we must conclude, that either the bishops who ordained them knew nothing of their lapsing; or else that the church herself sometimes granted dispensations in this case also. Baronius[40] and some others lay it to the charge of Eusebius the historian, that he sacrificed in time of persecution: Petavius,[41] and Huetius,[42] and Mr. Pagi[43] bring the same charge against Origen out of Epiphanius, the first reporter of the story: whilst Valesius[44] and Du Pin[45] undertake to vindicate the reputation of Origen from so foul an aspersion; and Hanckius[46] and Dr. Cave[47] do the same for Eusebius. I will not interpose in these controversies, but only observe, that if the accusations brought against those two persons were true, the consequence must be, either that persons who had lapsed might be ordained, or at least continue in their orders undeposed, when the church saw fit to dispense with her ordinary rule; which probably was not so strict, but that it might admit of some relaxation, when proper occasions and cases extraordinary seemed to require it.

Sect. 8. No usurer, or seditious person.

Another crime which unqualified men for orders in those times, was sedition or rebellion; for he that stood convicted of treasonable practices was never to be ordained. This appears from the fourth council of Carthage,[48] which joins the seditious and usurers together, and excludes them both from ordination. As to the crime of usury, I shall not here stand to explain the nature of it, which will be done in a more convenient place,[49] but only observe, that this crime, in the sense in which the ancients condemned it, was of such an odious and scandalous nature, as to debar men that had been guilty of it, from the honour and privilege of ordination. Whence Gennadius, speaking of the practice of the Latin church, and the qualifications required in persons to be ordained, says, they must not be men convicted of taking usury.[50] In the Greek church, at least in the province of Cappadocia, the rule seems not to have been altogether so strict: for St. Basil's canons[51] do not absolutely exclude such from the ministry, but allow them to be ordained, provided they first gave away to the poor what they had gained by usury, and promised not to exercise it for the future.

Sect. 9. Nor one who had voluntarily dismembered his own body.

Another crime which made a man irregular, and debarred him from the privilege of ordination, was the disfiguring or dismembering of his own body. If any man indeed happened to be born a eunuch, there was no law against his ordination: for Eusebius[52] says, Dorotheus, presbyter of Antioch, was a eunuch from his mother's womb; and Socrates[53] and Sozomen say of Tigris, presbyter of Constantinople, that he was made a eunuch by a barbarian master. Or if a man had suffered the loss of any member by the cruelty of the persecutors; as many confessors in the Diocletian persecution had their right eyes bored out, and their left legs enfeebled; in that case there was no prohibition of their ordination, except they were utterly incapacitated from doing the office of ministers, by being made blind, or deaf, or dumb; for so those called the Apostolical Canons[54] determined: A man that hath lost an

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35 Conc. Nic. c. 10.

36 Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. p. 174. Cum jampridem nobiscum, et cum omnibus omnino episcopis in toto mundo constitutis, etiam Cornelius collega noster—decreverit, ejusmodi homines ad pœnitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti; ab ordinatione autem cleri, atque sacerdotali honore prohiberi.

37 Athan. de Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. t. 1. p. 887.

38 Socrat. lib. 1. c. 36.

39 Philostorg. lib. 2. c. 14.

40 Baron. ad an. 335. n. 8.

41 Petav. Animadvers. in Epiphan. Hær. 64. n. 2.

42 Huet. Origenian. lib. 1. c. 4.

43 Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 251. n. 6.

44 Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 6. c. 39.

45 Du Pin, Bibliothèque, t. 1. p. 444.

46 Hanckius, de Scriptor. Byzantin. par. 1. c. 1. n. 158.

47 Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. 1. p. 128.

48 Conc. Carth. 4. c. 67. Seditionarios nunquam ordinandos clericos, sicut nec usurarios.

49 Book VI. c. 2. sect. 8.

50 Gennad. de Eccles. Dogm. c. 172. Neque illum qui usuras accepisse convincitur.

51 Basil. Can. 14. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2.

52 Euseb. lib. 7. c. 32.

53 Socrat. lib. 6. c. 15. Sozom. lib. 8. c. 24.

54 Canon. Apost. c. 76 et 77.

eye, or is maimed in his leg, may be ordained bishop, if he be otherwise worthy. For it is not any imperfection of body that defiles a man, but the pollution of his soul. Yet if a man is deaf or blind, he shall not be made bishop; not because he is polluted, but because he will not be able to perform the duties of his function. The council of Nice adds a third case, in which it was lawful to ordain dismembered persons, which was when, in case of a mortal distemper, the physicians thought it necessary to cut off one limb of the body to save the whole. All these were excepted cases, and the prohibition of the canons did not extend to them: but the crime was, when any one dismembered himself in health, as the Nicene canon words it;[55] such a one was not to be ordained, or if he was ordained when he committed the fact, he was to be deposed. The Apostolical Canons give this reason for it,[56] because such a one is in effect a self-murderer, and an enemy of the workmanship of God. Nor was it any excuse in this case, that a man made himself a eunuch out of a pretended piety, or to avoid fornication. For such were liable to the penalty of the canon, as well as any others; which is noted by Gennadius[57] and the council of Arles.[58] And indeed the first reason of making the canon was to prevent that mistaken notion of piety, which had once possessed Origen,[59] who taking those words of our Saviour, "There are some that make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake," in a wrong sense, fulfilled them literally upon himself. And the Valesian heretics carried the matter a little further, asserting, that men ought to serve God after that manner; and therefore they both made themselves eunuchs, and all that came over to them, as St. Austin[60] informs us. It was to correct and discountenance these erroneous opinions and practices, that the church at first made this rule; which was so nicely observed, that we scarce meet with two instances to the contrary in after ages. Leontius made himself a eunuch, to avoid suspicion in his converse with the virgin Eustolium; but he was deposed from the office of presbyter for the fact, and it gave occasion to the council of Nice to renew the ancient canon against such practices; so that when the Arians afterward ordained him bishop of Antioch, the historians[61] tell us the catholics generally declaimed against his ordination as uncanonical. The only instance that looks like a dispensation with this rule, is what we have in Baronius concerning Timotheus, bishop of Alexandria, his ordaining Ammon the Egyptian monk, who, to avoid being ordained, had cut off his own right ear, to make himself irregular; notwithstanding which, Baronius says,[62] Timotheus ordained him, and justified what he did with this expression: That this law indeed was observed by the Jews; but for his own part, if they brought to him a man without a nose, that was but of good morals, he would ordain him bishop. But there is some reason to question the truth of this narration; for not only Palladius, whom Baronius cites, but Socrates and Sozomen,[63] in telling the story, seem rather to intimate that he was not ordained. However, supposing it to be true, it is a singular instance, and we shall hardly find such another in all the history of the church. Which shows how cautious the ancients were in observing this rule, that they might not bring any disrepute or scandal upon the church.

Sect. 10. Men only accountable for crimes committed after baptism, as to what concerned ordination.

But in all these and the like cases there is one thing particularly to be observed, that the crimes which made men irregular, were generally understood to be such only as were committed after baptism. For all crimes committed before baptism were supposed to be so purged away in the waters of baptism, as that a perfect amnesty passed upon them, and men notwithstanding them were capable of ordination. So that not only the crimes which men committed whilst they were heathens, but such as they fell into when they were catechumens, were overlooked in this inquiry, when their morals came to be examined for ordination. This is evident not only from the known case of St. Austin, whose faults were never objected to him at his ordination, because they were only such as preceded his baptism; but also from the rule made in the council of Ancyra, in the case of such as lapsed into idolatry whilst they were only catechumens. For the canon[64] says, That such as sacrificed before baptism, and were afterwards baptized, might be promoted to ecclesiastical dignities, as persons that were cleansed from all crimes by the sanctification of baptism. It is true, only that one crime of sacrificing is here specified; but by parity of reason, the rule must be understood to extend to all other cases of the like nature: and so the practice of the church has commonly determined it.

Sect. 11. Except any great irregularity happened in their baptism itself. As in the case of clinic baptism.

Yet here again we must observe, that if any great irregularity happened in men's baptism itself, such crimes were always objected against them, to debar them from ordination. Thus it was frequently with those who were baptized

[55] Conc. Nic. c. 1. [56] Canon. Apost. c. 21.
[57] Gennad. de Eccles. Dogm. c. 72.
[58] Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 7. Si qui se, carnali vitio repugnare nescientes, abscindunt, ad clerum pervenire non possunt.
[59] Vid. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 8. Epiphan. Hær. 64. n. 3.
[60] Aug. de Hæres. c. 37. Valesii et seipsos castrant, et hospites suos, hoc modo existimantes Deo se debere servire.
[61] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 26. Theodor. lib. 2. c. 24.
[62] Baron. an. 385. p. 513.
[63] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23. Sozom. lib. 7. c. 30. Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 12.
[64] Conc. Ancyr. c. 12.

only with clinic baptism, in time of sickness or urgent necessity, when they had carelessly deferred their baptism to such a critical moment, and might have had it sooner, had it not been their own default. This delaying of baptism was always esteemed a very great crime, and worthy of some ecclesiastical censure: and therefore the church, among other methods which she took to discountenance the practice of it, thought fit to punish persons who had been guilty of it, and had put themselves upon the fatal necessity of a clinic baptism by denying them ordination. We have a canon in the council of Neocæsarea[65] to this purpose: If any man is baptized only in time of sickness, he shall not be ordained a presbyter; because his faith was not voluntary, but as it were of constraint; except his subsequent faith and diligence recommend him, or else the scarcity of men make it necessary to ordain him. And that this was an old rule of the church, appears from the account which Cornelius[66] gives of the ordination of Novatian to be presbyter. He says, the clergy and many of the people objected against it, alleging, that it was not lawful to ordain one who had been baptized upon his bed in time of sickness; and that the bishop was forced to intercede with them, to give way to his ordination, as a matter of grace and favour. Which shows, that the ordination of such was contrary to the common rule and practice of the church.

Sect. 12. And heretical baptism.

In like manner, they who were baptized by heretics, were not ordinarily allowed clerical promotion, when they returned to the bosom of the catholic church. The council of Eliberis is very peremptory[67] in its decree, That whatever heresy they came from, they should not be ordained: or if any such were already ordained, they should be undoubtedly degraded. Pope Innocent[68] testifies for the same practice in the Roman church, saying, It is the custom of our church, to grant only lay-communion to those that return from heretics, by whom they were baptized, and not to admit any of them to the very lowest order of the clergy. But it must be confessed, that the council of Nice dispensed with the Novatians[69] in this respect, allowing their clergy, though both baptized and ordained among them, to be received with imposition of hands, and retain their orders in the church. And the African fathers granted the same indulgence to the Donatists, to encourage them to return to the unity of the catholic church. For in the council of Carthage, anno 397, which is inserted into the African Code,[70] a proposal was made, that such as had been baptized among the Donatists in their infancy, by their parents' fault, without their own knowledge and consent, should, upon their return to the church, be allowed the privilege of ordination: and in the next council[71] the proposal was accepted, and a decree passed accordingly in favour of them. By which we may understand, that this was a piece of discipline, that might be insisted on or waved, according as church governors in prudence thought most for the benefit and advantage of the church. But in case the persons so returning had been baptized by such heretics, whose baptism was null, and to be reiterated in the church; as the baptism of the Paulianists, or Samosatenian heretics, was; in that case it was determined by the great council of Nice, that such persons, when they were rebaptized, might be ordained.[72] For baptism, as has been noted before, set men clear of all crimes: and their former baptism being null, that was reckoned their only baptism, which they received at their return to the catholic church; and no crimes committed before that were then to prejudice their ordination in the church.

Sect. 13. No man to be ordained, who had not made all his family catholic Christians.

I cannot here omit to mention another qualification required of persons to be ordained, because it was of great use and service in the church; which was, that none should be admitted, at least to the superior degrees of bishops, presbyters, or deacons, before they had made all the members of their family catholic Christians. This is a rule we find in the third council of Carthage,[73] which was equally designed to promote the conversion of pagans, Jews, heretics, and schismatics, who are all opposed to catholic Christians: and it was a very proper rule in that case; since nothing could be more disadvantageous or dishonourable to religion, than to have any countenance or secret encouragement given to its opposers, by those who were designed to serve at the altar. Besides that this was but a proper way of making reprisals upon the heathen religion. For Julian had made a like decree for his pagan priests, in opposition to the Christians; charging Arsacius, high priest of Galatia, that he should admit none to the priest's office,[74] who tolerated either servants, or children, or wives that were Galilæans; and did not come with their whole family and retinue to the worship of the gods

[65] Conc. Neocæs. c. 12.

[66] Ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[67] Conc. Eliber. c. 51. Ex omni hæresi qui ad nos fidelis venerit, minime est ad clerum promovendus. Vel si qui sunt in præteritum ordinati, sine dubio deponentur.

[68] Innoc. Ep. 22. Nostræ lex ecclesiæ est, venientibus ab hæreticis, qui tamen illic baptizati sunt, per manus impositionem laicam tantum tribuere communionem, nec ex his aliquem in clericatûs honorem vel exiguum subrogare.

[69] Conc. Nic. c. 8. χειροθετουμένους αὐτοὺς μένειν ὥστε ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ.

[70] Cod. Can. Afric. c. 48. al. 47.

[71] Ibid. c. 58. al. 57.

[72] Conc. Nic. c. 19. ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονείσθωσαν.

[73] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 18. Ut episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi non ordinentur, priusquam omnes qui sunt in domo eorum Christianos catholicos fecerint.

[74] Julian. Ep. ad Arsac. ap. Sozomen. lib. 5. c. 16.

in the idol temples. It had been a great omission and oversight in the governors of the Christian church, had they not been as careful to secure the interest of the true religion in the families of their ministers, as that pagan prince was to secure a false religion among his idol priests: and therefore, had there been nothing more than emulation in the case, yet that had been a sufficient reason to have laid this injunction upon all the candidates of the Christian priesthood.

Sect. 14. What methods were anciently taken to prevent simoniacal promotions.

There is but one qualification more I shall mention under this head, which was, that men should come honestly and legally to their preferment, and use no indirect or sinister arts to procure themselves an ordination. Merit, and not bribery, was to be their advocate, and the only thing to be considered in all elections. In the three first ages, whilst the preferments were small, and the persecutions great, there was no great danger of ambitious spirits, nor any great occasion to make laws against simoniacal promotions. For then martyrdom was as it were a thing annexed to a bishopric; and the first persons that were commonly aimed and struck at, were the rulers and governors of the church. But in after ages, ambition and bribery crept in among other vices, and then severe laws were made both in church and state to check and prevent them. Sulpitius Severus takes notice of this difference betwixt the ages of persecution and those that followed, when he says,[75] that in the former, men strove who should run fastest to those glorious combats, and more greedily sought for martyrdom by honourable deaths, than in after times by wicked ambitions they sought for the bishoprics of the church. This implies, that in the age when Sulpitius lived, in the fifth century, some irregular arts were used by particular men to advance themselves to the preferments of the church. To correct whose ambition and ill designs, the church inflicted very severe censures upon all such as were found guilty of simony, or, as some then[76] called it, *χριστεμπορεία*, the selling of Christ. The council of Chalcedon decreed,[77] that if any bishop gave ordination, or an ecclesiastical office or preferment of any kind, for money, he himself should lose his office, and the party so preferred be deposed. And the reader may find several other constitutions of the same import in those called the Apostolical Canons,[78] the council of Constantinople[79] under Gennadius, anno 459, the second council of Orleans,[80] Bracara,[81] and many others. The imperial laws also were very properly contrived to prevent this abuse. For by one of Justinian's laws it was enacted,[82] that whenever a bishop was to be chosen, the electors themselves should take an oath, and insert it into the election paper, that they did not choose him for any gift, or promise, or friendship, or any other cause, but only because they knew him to be a man of the true catholic faith, and an unblamable life, and good learning. And in another of his laws, where this same injunction is repeated, it is further provided, that the party elected shall also at the time of his ordination take an oath, upon the holy Gospels, that he neither gave nor promised,[83] by himself or other, nor hereafter will give to his ordainer, or to his electors, or any other person, any thing to procure him an ordination. And for any bishop to ordain another without observing the rule prescribed, is deposition by the same law, both for himself and the other whom he ordained. These were some of those ancient rules to be observed in the examination of men's lives and morals, before they were consecrated to the sacred function, or admitted to serve in any of the chief offices of the church.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE QUALIFICATIONS OF PERSONS TO BE ORDAINED, RESPECTING THEIR OUTWARD STATE AND CONDITION IN THE WORLD.

Sect. 1. No soldier to be ordained.

A THIRD inquiry was made into men's outward state and condition in the world. For there were some callings and states of life, which debarred men from the privilege of ordination, not because they were esteemed absolutely sinful vocations, but because the duties attending them were commonly incompatible and inconsistent with the offices of the clergy. Of this nature were all those callings, which come under the general name of *militia Ro-*

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75 Sever. Hist. lib. 2. p. 99. Certatim in gloriosa certamina ruebatur, multoque avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur.

76 Vid. Epist. Alexandri Alexandrini ap. Theodor. lib. 1. c. 4.

77 Conc. Chalced. c. 2.

78 Canon. Apost. c. 29.

79 Conc. CP. Epist. Synod. Con. t. 4. p. 1025.

80 Conc. Aurel. 2. c. 3 et 4.

81 Bracar. 3. c. 3.

82 Justin. Novel. 123. c. 1. Propositis eis sacrosanctis evangeliis, periculo suarum animarum dicentes in ipsis decretis, quia neque propter aliquam donationem, nec promissionem, aut amicitiam, aut aliam quamlibet causam, sed scientes eos rectæ et catholicæ fidei, et honestæ esse vitæ, et literas nosse, hos elegerunt.

83 Novel. 137. c. 2. Jusjurandum autem suscipere eum qui ordinatur, per Divinas Scripturas, quod neque per se ipsum neque per aliam personam dedit quid, aut promisit, neque posthac dabit, vel ordinanti ipsum, vel his qui sacra pro eo suffragia fecerunt, vel alii cuiquam ordinationis de ipso faciendæ nomine, &c.

mana, which we cannot so properly English, the military life, as, the service of the empire. For it includes several offices, as well civil as military: the Romans, as Gothofred and other learned persons have observed,[1] calling all inferior offices by the name of *militia:* so there were three sorts of it, *militia palatina, militia castrensis* or *armata*, and *militia præsidialis* or *cohortalis:* the first including the officers of the emperor's palace; the second, the armed soldiery of the camp; and the third, the apparitors and officials of judges and governors of provinces; all which were so tied to their service, that they could not forsake their station: and for that reason the laws of the state forbade any of them to be entertained as ecclesiastics, or ordained among the clergy. Honorius[2] the emperor particularly made a law to this purpose, That no one who was originally tied to the military life, as some were even by birth, should, either before or after they were entered upon that life, take upon them any clerical office, or think to excuse themselves from their service under the notion of becoming ecclesiastical persons. The canons of the church seem to have carried the matter a little further; for they forbade the ordination of any who had been soldiers after baptism, because they might perhaps have imbrued their hands in blood. This appears from the letters of Innocent I., who blames the Spanish churches[3] for admitting such persons into orders, alleging the canons of the church against it. The first council of Toledo forbids any such to be ordained deacons, though they had never been concerned in shedding of blood; because, though they had not actually shed blood,[4] yet by entering upon the military life they had obliged themselves, if occasion had so required, to have done it. Which seems to import, that soldiers might be allowed in the inferior services, but were not to be admitted to the sacred and superior orders of the church.

Sect. 2. Nor any slave or freedman without the consent of his patron.

Another state of life, which debarred men from the privilege of ordination, was that of slaves or vassals in the Roman empire; who, being originally tied by birth or purchase to their patron's or master's service, could not legally be ordained, because the service of the church was incompatible with their other duties, and no man was to be defrauded of his right under pretence of an ordination. In this case therefore the patron was always to be consulted before the servant was ordained. Thus in one of those called the Apostolical Canons[5] we find a decree, that no servants should be admitted among the clergy without the consent of their masters, to the grievance of the owners, and subversion of their families. But if a servant be found worthy of an ecclesiastical promotion, as Onesimus was, and his master give his consent, and grant him his freedom, and let him go forth from his house, he may be ordained. The council of Toledo[6] has a canon to the same purpose. And the council of Eliberis[7] goes a little further, and says, though a secular master, that is, a heathen, as Albaspinæus interprets it, had made his servant a freeman, he should not be ordained. The reason of which is conceived to be, that such masters gave them only a conditional freedom, and still retained a right to exact certain services and manual labours of them, which would not consist with the service of the church. The imperial laws also[8] made provision in this case, that no persons under such obligations should be admitted to any office of the clergy, or if they were admitted, merely to evade their obligations, their masters should have power to recall them to their service, unless they were bishops or presbyters, or had continued thirty years in some other office of the church. By which it appears, that the ordination of such persons was prohibited only upon a civil account, not because that state of life was sinful, or that it was any undervaluing or disgrace to the function to have such persons ordained, but because the duties of the civil and ecclesiastical state would not well consist together.

Sect. 3. Nor any member of a civil company, or society of tradesmen, who were tied to the service of the commonwealth.

For the same reason, the laws forbade the ordination of any persons, who were incorporated into any society for the service of the commonwealth, unless they had first obtained the leave of the society and prince under whom they served. This is the meaning of that law of

[1] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurion. Leg. 63. Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 5. c. 4. Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 375. n. 12.

[2] Cod. Th. lib. 7. Tit. 20. de Veteranis Leg. 12. Quoniam plurimos vel ante militiam, vel post inchoatam, nec peractam, latere objectu piæ religionis agnovimus, dum se quidam vocabulo clericorum—defendunt, nulli omnino tali excusari objectione permittimus, &c.

[3] Innoc. Ep. 22. c. 4. Quantos ex militia, qui cum potestatibus obedierunt, severa necessario præcepta sunt executi. Ibid. c. 6. Ne quispiam qui post baptismum militaverit, ad ordinem debeat clericatûs admitti. Vid. Ep. 2. ad Victricium Rothomagens. c. 2.

[4] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 8. Si quis post baptismum militaverit, et chlamydem sumpserit, aut cingulum ad necandos fideles, etiamsi graviora non admiserit, si ad clerum admissus fuerit, diaconii non accipiat dignitatem.

[5] Canon. Apost. c. 82.

[6] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 10. Clericos, si quidem obligati sint vel pro æquatione, vel de genere alicujus domûs, non ordinandos, nisi probatæ vitæ fuerint, et patroni consensus accesserit.

[7] Conc. Eliber. c. 80. Prohibendum est, ut liberti, quorum patroni in sæculo fuerint, ad clerum provehantur.

[8] Valent. 3. Novel. 12. ad calcem Cod. Th. Nullus originarius, inquilinus, servus, vel colonus ad clericale munus accedat——ut vinculum debitæ conditionis evadat.——Originarii sane vel servi, qui jugum natalium declinantes, ad ecclesiasticum se ordinem transtulerunt, exceptis episcopis et presbyteris, ad dominorum jura recedant, si non in eodem officio annum tricesimum compleverunt.

Justinian,[9] which forbids any of those called *ταξεῶται*, or *cohortales*, that is, the officers or apparitors of judges, to be ordained, unless they had first spent fifteen years in a monastic life. And the first council of Orleans[10] requires expressly either the command of the prince, or the consent of the judge, before any such secular officer be ordained. By the laws of Theodosius junior,[11] and Valentinian III.,[12] all corporation men are forbidden to be ordained; and if any such were ordained among the inferior clergy, they were to be reclaimed by their respective companies; if among the superior, bishops, presbyters, or deacons, they must provide a proper substitute, qualified with their estate to serve in the company from whence they were taken. The reader, that is curious in this matter, may find several other laws in the Theodosian Code,[13] made by the elder Valentinian and Theodosius the Great, with respect to particular civil societies so incorporated for the use of the public, no member of which might be ordained, but either they must quit their estates, or be liable to be recalled to the service, which they had unwarrantably forsaken.

Sect. 4. Nor any of the *curiales*, or *decuriones*, of the Roman government.

For reasons of the same nature, the canons were precise in forbidding the ordination of any of those who are commonly known by the name of *curiales*, or *decuriones*, in the Roman government; that is, such as were members of the *curia*, the court, or common council of every city. These were men who, by virtue of their estates, were tied to bear the offices of their country; so that out of their body were chosen all civil officers, the magistrates of every city, the collectors of the public revenue, the overseers of all public works, the *pontifices* or *flamens*, who exhibited the public games and shows to the people, with abundance of others, whose offices are specified by Gothofred,[14] to the number of twenty-two, which I need not here recite. These were always men of estates, whose substance amounted to the value of three hundred solids; which is the sum that is specified by Theodosius junior,[15] as qualifying a man to be a member of the *curia*; and both they and their estates were so tied to civil offices, that no member of that body was to be admitted into any ecclesiastical office, till he had first discharged all the offices of his country, or else provided a proper substitute, one of his relations qualified with his estate to bear offices in his room: otherwise the person so ordained was liable, by the laws of the empire, (of which I give a more particular account hereafter[16] in the next book,) to be called back by the *curia* from an ecclesiastical to a secular life again. Which was such an inconvenience to the church, that she herself made laws to prohibit the ordination of any of these *curiales*, to avoid the trouble and molestation, which was commonly the consequent of their ordination. St. Ambrose[17] assures us, that sometimes presbyters and deacons, who were thus ordained out of the *curiales*, were fetched back to serve in curial offices, after they had been thirty years and more in the service of the church. And therefore, to prevent this calamity, the council of Illyricum, mentioned by Theodoret,[18] made a decree, that presbyters and deacons should always be chosen out of the inferior clergy, and not out of these *curiales*, or any other officers of the civil government. Innocent, bishop of Rome, frequently refers to this rule of the church[19] in his epistles, where he gives two reasons against their ordination: first, that they were often recalled by the *curia* to serve in civil offices, which brought some tribulation upon the church. Secondly, because many of them had served in the office of *flamens*[20] after baptism, and were crowned as the heathen high priests were used to be, while they exhibited the public games and shows to the people. Which, though it was indulged by the civil law in Christian magistrates, yet the church reckoned it a crime, for which men were sometimes obliged to do public penance, as appears from the canons[21] of the council of Eliberis: and consequently such a crime, as made men irregular and incapable of ordination. So that upon both accounts, these *curiales* were to be excluded from the orders of the church. And though this rule by the importunity of men was

[9] Justin. Novel. 123. c. 15. Sed neque cohortales, neque decuriones clerici fiunto.——Dempto si monachicam aliquis ex ipsis vitam non minus quindecim annis transegerit.

[10] Conc. Aurel. 1. c. 4. Nullus sæcularium ad clericatûs officium præsumatur, nisi aut cum regis jussione, aut cum judicis voluntate.

[11] Theodos. Novel. 26. de Corporatis Urbis Romæ, ad calcem Cod. Th.

[12] Valentin. Novel. 12. ibid.

[13] Cod. Th. lib. 14. Tit. 4. de Suariis Leg. 8. Eos qui ad clericatûs se privilegia contulerunt, aut agnoscere oportet propriam functionem, aut ei corpori, quod declinant, proprii patrimonii facere cessionem. Vid. ibid. l. 14. Tit. 3. de Pistoribus Leg. 11. It. lib. 8. Tit. 5. de Cursu Publico Leg. 46.

[14] Gothofred. Paratitlon. Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurionibus, t. 4. p. 339.

[15] Theod. Novel. 38. ad calcem Cod. Th.

[16] See Book V. chap. 3. sect. 15.

[17] Ambr. Ep. 29. Per triginta et innumeros annos presbyteri quidam gradu functi, vel ministri ecclesiæ retrahuntur a munere sacro, et curiæ deputantur.

[18] Ap. Theodor. lib. 4. c. 9. *ἐκ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος, καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ στρατιωτικῆς ἀρχῆς.*

[19] Innoc. Ep. 4. c. 3. De curialibus manifesta ratio est, quoniam etsi inveniantur hujusmodi viri qui debeant clerici fieri, tamen quoniam sæpius ad curiam repetuntur, cavendum ab his est propter tribulationem, quæ sæpe de his ecclesiæ provenit.

[20] Innoc. Ep. 23. c. 6. Neque de curialibus aliquem ad ecclesiasticum ordinem venire posse, qui post baptismum vel coronati fuerint, vel sacerdotium, quod dicitur, sustinuerint, et editiones publicas celebraverint, &c.

[21] Conc. Eliber. c. 3.

sometimes transgressed, yet the laws both of church and state always stood in force against such ordinations; and sometimes the ordainers themselves were punished with ecclesiastical censures. Of which there is a famous instance related by Sozomen,[22] who says the council of Constantinople, anno 360, deposed Neonas from his bishopric for ordaining some of these *curiales* bishops. Sozomen indeed calls them *πολιτευόμενοι*; but that is but another name for *curiales*, whom the Greeks otherwise term *βουλευταὶ*, counsellors; and the Latins, *municipes*, burghers, or corporation men; and *minor senatus*,[23] the little senate of every city, in opposition to the great senate of Constantinople and Rome. These persons, whatever denomination they went by, were so entirely devoted to the service of the commonwealth, that till they had some way or other discharged that duty, they might not (as appears) be admitted to serve in any office of the church.

Sect. 5. Nor any proctor or guardian, till his office expired.

Indeed it was a general rule in this matter, as we learn from one of the councils[24] of Carthage, that no one was to be ordained, who was bound to any secular service. And for that reason it was decreed by the same council, at least for the churches of Africa, that no agent or factor in other men's business, nor any guardian of orphans, should be ordained, till his office and administration was perfectly expired; because the ordination of such[25] would otherwise turn to the reproach and defamation of the church. But if I mistake not, this prohibition did not extend to the inferior orders, but only to those whose office was to serve at the altar.

Sect. 6. Pleaders at law denied ordination in the Roman church.

In some churches there seems also to have been an absolute prohibition and rule against ordaining advocates or pleaders at law, not only whilst they continued in their profession, but for ever after. This seems to have been the custom of the Roman and Spanish churches. For Innocent, bishop of Rome, in a letter[26] to the council of Toledo, complains of an abuse then crept into the Spanish church, which was, that many who were exercised in pleading at the bar, were called to the priesthood. To correct which abuse, as he deemed it, he proposed this rule to them to be observed, that no one who had pleaded causes after baptism,[27] should be admitted to any order of the clergy. What particular reasons the church of Rome might then have for this prohibition, I cannot say; but it does not appear, that this was the general rule of the whole catholic church. For the council of Sardica[28] allows a lawyer even to be ordained bishop, if he first went regularly through the offices of reader, deacon, and presbyter. Which shows, that the custom, as to this particular, was not one and the same in all churches.

Sect. 7. Also energumens, actors, stage-players, &c. in all churches.

The reader may find several other cautions given by Gennadius,[29] against ordaining any who had been actors or stage-players; or energumens, during the time of their being possessed; or such as had married concubines, that is, wives without formality of law; or that had married harlots, or wives divorced from a former husband. But I need not insist upon these, since the very naming them shows all such persons to have been in such a state of life, as might reasonably be accounted a just impediment of ordination. It will be more material to inquire, what the ancients meant by digamy, which after the apostle they always reckoned an objection against a man's ordination? And whether any vow of perpetual celibacy was exacted of the ancient clergy, when they were admitted to the orders of the church? Which because they are questions that come properly under this head, it will not be amiss to resolve them distinctly, but briefly, in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE STATE OF DIGAMY AND CELIBACY IN PARTICULAR: AND OF THE LAWS OF THE CHURCH ABOUT THESE, IN REFERENCE TO THE ANCIENT CLERGY.

Sect. 1. No digamist to be ordained, by the rule of the apostle.

As to what concerns digamy, it was a primitive apostolical rule, that a bishop or a deacon should be one who was the husband of one wife only: on which rule all the laws against digamy in the primitive church were founded. But then we are to observe, that the ancients were not exactly agreed about the sense of that apostolical rule; and that occasioned different notions and different practices among them in reference to the ordination of digamists.

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[22] Sozom. lib. 4. c. 24.

[23] Majorian. Novel. 1. ad calcem Cod. Theod. Curiales servos esse reipublicæ ac viscera civitatum nullus ignorat, quorum cœtum recte appellavit antiquitas minorem senatum.

[24] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 9. Obnoxii alienis negotiis non ordinentur.

[25] Ibid. c. 8. Procuratores et actores, etiam tutores pupillorum—si ante libertatem negotiorum vel officiorum, ab aliquo sine consideratione fuerint ordinati, ecclesia infamatur.

[26] Innoc. Ep. 23. ad Concil. Tolet. c. 2. Quantos ex eis, qui post acceptam baptismi gratiam, in forensi exercitatione versati sunt, et obtinendi pertinaciam susceperunt, accitos ad sacerdotium esse comperimus?

[27] Ibid. c. 4. Ne quispiam ad ordinem debeat clericatûs admitti, qui causas post acceptum baptismum egerint.

[28] Conc. Sardic. c. 10. *ἐάν τις σχολαστικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀξιοῖτο ἐπίσκοπος γίνεσθαι, μὴ πρότερον καθίστασθαι, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ ἀναγνώστου καὶ διακόνου καὶ πρεσβυτέρου ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκτελέσῃ.*

[29] Gennad. de Eccles. Dogm. c. 73.

Sect. 2. Three different opinions among the ancients about digamy. First, that all persons were to be refused orders, as digamists, who were twice married after baptism.

One very common and prevailing notion was, that all persons were to be refused orders, as digamists, who were twice married after baptism, though legally and successively to two wives one after another. For though they did not condemn second marriages, as sinful and unlawful, with the Novatians and Montanists; yet, upon presumption that the apostle had forbidden persons twice married to be ordained bishops, they repelled such from the superior orders of the church. That this was the practice of some churches in the time of Origen, may appear from what he says in his Comments upon St. Luke, that not only[1] fornication, but marriages excluded men from the dignities of the church: for no digamist could be either bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or deaconess in the church. Tertullian, when he became a Montanist, laid hold of this argument, and urged it to decry second marriages in all persons; pleading[2] that a layman could not in decency desire licence of the ecclesiastics to be married a second time, seeing the ecclesiastics themselves, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were but once married. Which he repeats frequently[3] in several parts of his writings. And it cannot be denied but that many other ancient writers, St. Ambrose,[4] St. Jerom,[5] Gennadius,[6] Epiphanius,[7] and the councils of Agde[8] and Carthage,[9] put the same sense upon the words of the apostle. Only Epiphanius puts a distinction between the superior and inferior orders, making the rule in this sense obligatory to the former, but not to the latter.

Sect. 3. 2. Others extended the rule to all persons twice married, whether before or after baptism.

Some there are again, who gave the rule a stricter exposition, making it a prohibition not only of ordaining persons twice married after baptism, but also such as were twice married before it, or once before and once after; as many Gentiles and catechumens happened to be in those times, when baptism was administered to adult persons. St. Ambrose[10] was of opinion, that even these were to be excluded from ordination: and so it was decreed by Innocent, bishop of Rome,[11] and the council of Valencia[12] in France. But this opinion was generally rejected by others, as furthest from the sense of the apostle.

Sect. 4. 3. The most probable opinion of those, who thought the apostle by digamists meant polygamists, and such as married after divorce.

The most probable opinion is that of those ancient writers, who interpret the apostle's rule as a prohibition of ordaining polygamists, or such as had married many wives at the same time; and such as had causelessly put away their wives, and married others after divorcing of the former; which were then very common practices both among Jews and Gentiles, but scandalous in themselves, and such as the apostles would have to be accounted just impediments of ordination. This is the sense which Chrysostom[13] and Theodoret[14] propose and defend, as most agreeable to the mind of the apostle. And it is certain, that second marriages in any other sense were not always an insuperable objection against men's ordination in the Christian church. For Tertullian owns[15] that there were bishops among the catholics who had been twice married; though, in his style, that was an affront to the apostle. And it appears from the letters of Siricius,[16] and Innocent,[17] that the bishops of Spain and Greece made no scruple to ordain such generally among the clergy; for they take upon them to reprove them for it. Theodoret, agreeably to his own notion, ordained one Irenæus bishop, who was twice married: and when some objected against the legality of the ordination upon that account, he defended it by the common practice of other churches. Herein, says he,[18] I followed the example of my predecessors. Alexander, bishop of the apostolical see of Antioch, with Acacius of Beræa, ordained Diogenes, a digamist; and Praylius ordained Domninus of Cæsarea, a digamist likewise. Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, received and approved the ordination of many such; and so do the bishops of Pontus and Palestine, among whom no controversy is made about it. From hence it appears, that the practice of the church varied in this matter; and that therefore Bellarmine and other Romanists very much abuse their readers, when they pretend that the ordination of digamists, meaning persons twice lawfully married, is both against the rule of the apos-

[1] Orig. Hom. 17. in Luc. p. 228. Ab ecclesiasticis dignitatibus non solum fornicatio, sed et nuptiæ repellunt: neque enim episcopus, nec presbyter, nec diaconus, nec vidua, possunt esse digami.

[2] Tertul. de Monogam. c. 11. Qualis es id matrimonium postulans, quod eis, a quibus postulas, non licet habere? ab episcopo monogamo, a presbyteris et diaconis ejusdem sacramenti, &c.

[3] Vid. Tertul. de Pœnitent. c. 9. De Exhort. Castitat. c. 7. Ad Uxor. lib. 1. c. 7.

[4] Ambros. de Offic. lib. 1. c 50.

[5] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Ep. 11. ad Geront. Ep. 83. ad Ocean.

[6] Gennad. de Eccles. Dogm. c. 72.

[7] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 21.

[8] Conc. Agathen. c. 1.

[9] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 69.

[10] Ambros. Ep. 82. ad Vercellenses.

[11] Innoc. Ep. 2. c. 6. Ep. 22. c. 2. Ep. 24. c. 6.

[12] Conc. Valentin. c. 1.

[13] Chrysost. Hom. 10. in 1 Tim. iii. 2. Hom. 2. in Tit. i. 6.

[14] Theod. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. 2.

[15] Tertul. de Monogam. c. 12. Quot enim et digami præsident apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo?

[16] Siric. Ep. 1. ad Himer. Tarracon. c. 8.

[17] Innoc. Ep. 22. ad Episc. Maced. c. 1.

[18] Theod. Ep. 110. ad Domnum.

tle, and the universal consent and practice of the church.

Sect. 5. No vow of celibacy required of the clergy as a condition of their ordination for the three first ages.

They still more abuse their readers, in pretending that a vow of perpetual celibacy, or abstinence from conjugal society, was required of the clergy, as a condition of their ordination, even from the apostolical ages. For the contrary is very evident from innumerable examples of bishops and presbyters, who lived in a state of matrimony without any prejudice to their ordination or function. It is generally agreed by ancient writers, that most of the apostles were married. Some say, all of them except[19] St. Paul and St. John: others say, St. Paul was married also, because he writes to his yoke-fellow, whom they interpret his wife, Phil. iv. 3. This was the opinion of Clemens Alexandrinus,[20] wherein he seems to be followed by Eusebius,[21] and Origen,[22] and the author of the interpolated Epistle[23] to the Church of Philadelphia, under the name of Ignatius; whom some modern Romanists, mistaking him for the true Ignatius, have most disingenuously mangled, by erasing the name of Paul out of the text; which foul dealing Bishop Usher[24] has exposed, and Coteleriu[25] does in effect confess it, when he owns that the author himself wrote it, and that he therein followed the authority of Clemens, Origen, and Eusebius. But passing by this about St. Paul, (which is a matter of dispute among learned men, the major part inclining to think that he always lived a single life,) it cannot be denied that others of the apostles were married: and in the next ages after them we have accounts of married bishops, presbyters, and deacons, without any reproof or mark of dishonour set upon them. As to instance in a few, Valens, presbyter of Philippi, mentioned by Polycarp;[26] Chæremon, bishop of Nilus, an exceeding old man, who fled with his wife to Mount Arabion in time of persecution, where they both perished together, as Eusebius informs us.[27] Novatus was a married presbyter of Carthage, as we learn from Cyprian's epistles.[28] Cyprian himself was also a married man, as Mr. Pagi[29] confesses. And so was Cæcilius,[30] the presbyter that converted him. As also Numidicus, another presbyter of Carthage, of whom Cyprian[31] tells us this remarkable story, That in the Decian persecution he saw his own wife with many other martyrs burned by his side; whilst he himself lying half burnt, and covered with stones, and left for dead, was found expiring by his own daughter, who drew him out of the rubbish, and brought him to life again. Eusebius assures us, that Phileas,[32] bishop of Thmuis, and Philoromus, had both wife and children: for they were urged with that argument by the heathen magistrate to deny their religion in the Diocletian persecution; but they generously contemned his argument, and gave preference to the laws of Christ. Epiphanius[33] says, Marcion the heretic was the son of a bishop, and that he was excommunicated by his own father for his lewdness. Domnus also, bishop of Antioch,[34] is said to be son to Demetrian, who was bishop of the same place before him. It were easy to add abundance more such instances; but these are sufficient to show, that men of all states were admitted to be bishops and presbyters in the primitive ages of the church.

Sect. 6. The vanity of the contrary pretences.

The most learned advocates of the Roman communion have never found any other reply to all this, save only a groundless pretence of their own imagination, that all married persons when they came to be ordained, promised to live separate from their wives by consent, which answered the vow of celibacy in other persons. This is all that Pagi[35] or Schelstrate[36] have to say in the case, after all the writers that have gone before them: which is said not only without proof, but against the clearest evidences of ancient history, which manifestly prove the contrary. For Novatus, presbyter of Carthage, whose case Pagi had under consideration, was certainly allowed to cohabit with his wife after ordination: as appears from the charge that Cyprian brings against him, that he had struck and abused his wife,[37] and thereby caused her to miscarry; for which crime he had certainly been thrust out not only from the presbytery, but the church also, had not the persecution coming on so suddenly prevented his trial and condemnation. Cyprian does not accuse him for cohabiting with his wife, or be-

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19 Ambros. ad Hilar. in 2 Cor. xi. Omnes apostoli, exceptis Johanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt. Vid. Epiphan. Hær. 78. Antidicomarianit. n. 10. Cotelerius cites Eusebius, Basil, and some others for the same opinion. Not. in Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. Interpolat. n. 4.

20 Clem. Alex. Strom. 3. p. 448.

21 Euseb. lib. 3. c. 30.

22 Orig. Com. in Rom. i. p. 459. Paulus ergo (sicut quidam tradunt) cum uxore vocatus est: de qua dicit, ad Philippenses scribens: Rogo te etiam germana compar, &c.

23 Pseudo-Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. n. 4.

24 Usser. Dissert. in Ignat. c. 17.

25 Coteler. Not. in loc.

26 Polycarp. Ep. ad Philip. n. 11.

27 Euseb. lib. 6. c. 42.

28 Cypr. Ep. 49. al. 52. ad Cornel.

29 Pagi. Crit. in Baron. ad an. 248. n. 4.

30 Pontius Vit. Cyprian.

31 Cypr. Ep. 35. al. 40. Numidicus presbyter uxorem adhærentem lateri suo, concrematam simul cum cæteris, vel conservatam magis dixerim, lætus aspexit, &c.

32 Euseb. lib. 8. c. 9.

33 Epiphan. Hær. 42.

34 Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.

35 Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 248. n. 6.

36 Schelstrat. Eccles. Afric. Dissert. 3. c. 4. ap. Pagi, ibid.

37 Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 49. p. 97. Uterus uxoris calce percussus, et abortione properante in parricidium partus expressus, &c.

getting children after ordination; but for murdering his children which he had begotten; which was indeed a crime that made him liable both to deposition and excommunication: but the other was no crime at all by any law then in force in the African, or in the universal church. There seems indeed in some places to have been a little tendency towards introducing such a law by one or two zealous spirits; but the motion was no sooner made, but it was quashed immediately by the prudence and authority of wiser men. Thus Eusebius observes, that Pinytus, bishop of Gnossus in Crete, was for laying the law of celibacy upon his brethren: but Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, wrote to him, that he should consider the weakness of men, and not impose[38] that heavy burden upon them. And thus matters continued for three centuries, without any law that we read of, requiring celibacy of the clergy at the time of their ordination.

Sect. 7. The clergy left to their liberty by the Nicene council.

In the council of Nice, anno 325, the motion was again renewed, that a law might pass to oblige the clergy to abstain from all conjugal society with their wives, which they had married before their ordination. But the proposal was no sooner made, but Paphnutius, a famous Egyptian bishop, and one himself never married, vigorously declaimed against it; saying, So heavy a burden was not to be laid upon the clergy; that the marriage bed was honourable, and that they should not by too great severity bring detriment on the church; for all men could not bear so severe an exercise, and the chastity of the wives so separated would be endangered also. Conjugal society, he said, was chastity; and it was enough, that such of the clergy as were not married before their ordination, should continue unmarried, according to the ancient tradition of the church; but it was not proper to separate any one from his wife, which he had married whilst he was a layman. This said, the whole council agreed to stifle the motion that had been made, and left every man to his liberty as before. So Socrates[39] and Sozomen tell the story. To which all that Valesius[40] after Bellarmine has to say, is, that he suspects the truth of the thing, and desires leave to dissent from his historians. Which is but a poor evasion, in the judgment of Du Pin himself, who thus[41] reflects upon them for it: Some question the truth of this story, says he, but I believe they do it for fear the story might prejudice the present discipline, rather than from any solid proof they have for it. But they should consider, that this canon is purely a matter of discipline, and that the discipline of the church may change according to the times, and that it is not necessary for the defence of it, to prove that it was always uniform in all places. So that in the judgment of that learned Romanist there is no question to be made, but that the council of Nice decreed in favour of the married clergy, as the historians relate it did; and that then the practice was different from that of the present church of Rome, which others are so unwilling to have the world believe.

Sect. 8. And other councils of that age.

It is as evident from other councils of the same age, that the married clergy were allowed to continue in the service of the church, and no vow of abstinence required of them at their ordination. Socrates observes, that the council of Gangra anathematized Eustathius the heretic, because he taught men to separate[42] from such presbyters as retained their wives, which they married while they were laymen, saying, their communion and oblations were abominable. The decree is still extant among the canons of that council,[43] and runs in these words: If any one separate from a married presbyter, as if it were unlawful to participate of the eucharist when such a one ministers, let him be anathema. The council of Ancyra gives leave to deacons to marry after ordination; if they protested,[44] at their ordination, that they could not continue in an unmarried state, they might marry, and yet continue in their office, having, in that case, the bishop's licence and permission to do it. And though the council of Neocæsarea in one canon forbids unmarried presbyters to marry after ordination;[45] yet such as were married before ordination, are allowed by another canon to continue without any censure,[46] being only obliged to separate from their wives in case of fornication. The council of Eliberis,[47] indeed, and some others in this age, began to be a little more rigorous toward the married clergy: but it does not appear that their laws were of any great force. For Socrates[48] says, even in his time, in the Eastern churches, many eminent bishops begat children of their lawful wives; and such as abstained, did it not by obligation of any law, but their own voluntary choice. Only in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Hellas, the clergy were obliged to abstain under pain of ecclesiastical cen-

[38] Dionys. Ep. ad Pinytum, ap. Euseb. lib. 4. c. 23. *Μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον τὸ περὶ ἁγνείας ἐπαναγκὲς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι.*

[39] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. c. 23.

[40] Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. 1. c. 11.

[41] Du Pin, Bibliothèque, vol. 2. p. 253. Edit. Anglic.

[42] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 43. *Πρεσβυτέρου γυναῖκα ἔχοντος, ἣν νόμῳ λαϊκὸς ὢν ἠγάγετο τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὡς μῦσος ἐκκλίνειν ἐκέλευε.*

[43] Conc. Grangr. c. 4. *Εἴ τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*

[44] Conc. Ancyr. c. 10. *Εἰ ἐμαρτύραντο καὶ ἔφασαν χρῆναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενοι οὕτως μένειν, οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες ἔστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ*, &c.

[45] Conc. Neocæs. c. 1.

[46] Ibid. c. 8. [47] Conc. Elib. c. 33. Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 2.

[48] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22.

sure, which, he says, was occasioned by Bishop Heliodore's writing his book called his Ethiopics. So that as yet there was no universal decree against married bishops in the Greek church, much less against presbyters and deacons. But the council of Trullo, anno 692, made a difference between bishops and presbyters; allowing presbyters, deacons, and all the inferior orders, to cohabit with their wives after ordination;[49] and giving the Roman church a smart rebuke for the contrary prohibition: but yet laying an injunction upon bishops to live separate from their wives,[50] and appointing the wives to betake themselves to a monastic life,[51] or become deaconesses in the church. And so the matter was altered in the Greek church, as to bishops, but not any others. In the Latin church also the alteration was made but by slow steps in many places. For in Africa even bishops themselves cohabited with their wives at the time of the council of Trullo, as appears from one of the forementioned canons of that council.[52] But it is beyond my design to carry this inquiry any further; what has been already said, being sufficient to show, that the married clergy were allowed to officiate in the first and primitive ages; and that celibacy in those times was no necessary condition of their ordination, as is falsely pretended by the polemical writers of the present church of Rome. I have now gone through the several qualifications of the ancient clergy, concerning which inquiry was made before their ordination. I come now, in the next place, to consider the solemnity of the thing itself, together with the laws and customs which were generally observed at the time of ordination.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE ORDINATIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE CLERGY, AND THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS GENERALLY OBSERVED THEREIN.

Sect. 1. The canons of the church to be read to the clerk, before the bishop ordained him.

WHEN the election of a person duly qualified according to the forementioned rules was made, then it was the bishop's office, or the metropolitan's, if the party elect was himself a bishop, to ordain him. But before they proceeded to ordination, there were some other laws and rules to be observed. For not to mention here again the oath against simony, and the subscriptions, which, I have showed before,[1] were anciently required of persons to be ordained; I must not forget to note, that in the African church a rule was made in the third council of Carthage,[2] and thence transferred into the African Code,[3] that before any bishop, or other clergyman, was ordained, the ordainers should cause the canons of the church to be read in his hearing; that they might not have cause to repent afterward, that they had transgressed any of them. This rule was made at the instance and request of St. Austin, as Possidius notes in his Life,[4] who says, that because he was ordained bishop of Hippo while Valerius was alive, which was contrary to the rule of the council of Nice, which he was ignorant of at the time of his ordination, he therefore prevailed with the African fathers to make a decree, that the canons of the church should be read at every man's ordination. This rule implied a tacit promise, that the party ordained would observe the canons that were read to him: but for greater security, it was afterward improved into an explicit promise by a law of Justinian,[5] which requires every clerk after the reading of the canons to profess, that as far as it was possible for man to do, he would fulfil what was contained in them. Whence, no doubt, came those later forms of professing obedience to the canons of the seven general councils in the Greek church, and the oath to St. Peter taken by the bishops of Rome in the Latin church, that they would observe the decrees of the eight general councils. The first of which forms may be seen at length in Habertus,[6] and the other in Baronius,[7] and the book called Liber Diurnus, by the reader that is curious to consult them.

Sect. 2. No clerk to be ordained ἀπολελυμένως.

Secondly, Another rule to be observed in this case was, that every man should be fixed to some church at his ordination, and not be left at liberty to minister wherever he would, because of several inconveniences that attended that practice. This rule concerned bishops as well as the inferior clergy; for the *nullatenenses* of later ages, as Panormitan calls titular and Utopian bishops, were rarely known in the primitive church. For though every bishop was in some sense ordained bishop of the catholic church, as I have showed before, yet, for order's sake, he was always confined to a certain district in the ordinary

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[49] Conc. Trull. c. 13. [50] Ibid. c. 12.

[51] Ibid. c. 48. [52] Ibid. c. 12.

[1] See chap. 3. sect. 2 and 14.

[2] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 3. Placuit, ut ordinandis episcopis vel clericis prius ab ordinatoribus suis decreta conciliorum auribus eorum inculcentur; ne se aliquid contra statuta concilii fecisse pœniteat.

[3] Cod. Eccles. Afr. c. 18.

[4] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 8. Quod in seipso fieri non debuisse, ut vivo suo episcopo ordinaretur, postea et dixit et scripsit, propter concilii universalis vetitum, quod jam ordinatus didicit: nec quod sibi factum esse doluit, aliis fieri voluit. Unde etiam sategit, ut conciliis constitueretur episcoporum, ab ordinatoribus deberi ordinandis, vel ordinatis, omnium statuta sacerdotum in notitiam esse deferenda.

[5] Justin. Novel. 6. c. 1. n. 8.

[6] Habert. Archieratic. p. 496.

[7] Baron. an. 869. t. 10. p. 433.

exercise of his power. And so presbyters and all other inferior clergy were confined to the diocese of their own bishop, and might not be ordained unless they had some place wherein to exercise their function. This was the ancient custom of the church, which the council of Chalcedon confirmed by a canon, that no presbyter, or deacon, or any other ecclesiastic, should be ordained[8] at large, but be assigned either to the city church, or some church or oratory in the country, or a monastery; otherwise his ordination to be null and void. This the Latins called, *ordinatio localis*, and the persons so ordained, *locales*, from their being fixed to a certain place. As in the council of Valentia[9] in Spain we find a canon, that obliges every priest before his ordination to give a promise, that he will be *localis*; to the intent that no one should be permitted to transgress the rules and discipline of the church with impunity; which they might easily do, if they were allowed to rove about from one place to another. This, in the style of Leo, bishop of Rome, is, ordination[10] founded upon a place, or, as we would say now, a title; without which, he says, the ordination was not to be looked upon as authentic. But it must be observed, that a title then did not always signify a parochial church, or distinct cure; for this was a rule before dioceses were divided into parishes: but the confinement laid upon men at their ordination was, that they should be fixed to their own bishop's diocese, and officiate in the place where he appointed them.

Sect. 3. Exceptions to this rule very rare.

There were indeed some few exceptions to this rule, but very rare, and upon extraordinary occasions. Paulinus and St. Jerom seem to have had the privilege granted them of being ordained without affixing to any church. Paulinus says[11] expressly of himself, that he was ordained presbyter at Barcelona with this condition, that he should not be confined to that church, but remain a priest at large. And St. Jerom gives the same account[12] of his own ordination at Antioch, that he was consecrated presbyter, with licence to continue a monk, and return to his monastery again. Sozomen[13] relates the like of Barses and Eulogius, two monks of Edessa, that they were both ordained bishops, not of any city, but only honorary bishops within their own monasteries, out of respect to their eminent virtues. And it was such a sort of ordination that, Theodoret[14] says, Flavian, bishop of Antioch, gave to Macedonius, the famous Syrian anchoret, whom he drew from his cell in the desert, only to ordain him presbyter, and so let him return to the desert again. These are all the instances of this kind which I remember in ancient history. It was not as yet the custom to ordain bishops *partibus infidelium*, that never meant to see their bishoprics. Though after ages despised this rule, as Zonaras[15] complains of the Greek church, and Habertus[16] cannot but lament it in the Latin; yet the ancient church was more punctual in observing the laws, scarce ever ordaining either bishop or inferior clerk without fixing them to a certain diocese, from which, without the consent of their superiors, they were not to remove to any other.

Sect. 4. No bishop to ordain another man's clerk without his consent.

Thirdly, And from hence arose a third rule about ordinations, That no bishop should ordain, or admit into his church, any clerk belonging to another church, without the consent of the bishop to whom he formerly belonged. The councils[17] are very peremptory in this decree; particularly the great council of Nice,[18] and that of Sardica,[19] and the second of Arles,[20] declare all such ordinations null and void. The first council of Carthage[21] extends the prohibition even to laymen belonging to another diocese: for it decrees, that as no clerk shall be received by another bishop without the letters dimissory of his own bishop; so neither shall any bishop take a layman out of another people, and ordain him, without the consent of that bishop out of whose people he is taken. The reason of which laws was, that every bishop was supposed to have a peculiar right in all the clergy and people of his own diocese; and it was very conducive to the peace and good order of the church to have such rules maintained and observed. Only in the African church the bishop of Carthage was allowed a privilege in this case, as he was exarch or primate of all the African provinces. For by

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[8] Conc. Chalced. c. 6. *μηδένα ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι——εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως, ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ἢ μοναστηρίῳ ἐπικηρύττοιτο.*

[9] Conc. Valentin. c. 6. Nec ullum sacerdotem quispiam ordinet, qui localem se futurum primitus non spoponderit: ut per hoc nullus a regula vel disciplina ecclesiæ deviare permittatur impune.

[10] Leo, Ep. 92. ad Rustic. c. 1. Vana est habenda ordinatio, quæ nec loco fundata est, nec auctoritate munita.

[11] Paulin. Ep. 6. ad. Sever. p. 101. Ea conditione in Barcinonensi ecclesia consecrari adductus sum, ut ipsi ecclesiæ non alligarer; in sacerdotium tantum Domini, non in locum ecclesiæ dedicatus.

[12] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad. Pammach. t. 2. p. 181.

[13] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 34.

[14] Theod. Histor. Relig. c. 13. t. 3.

[15] Zonar. Not. in Conc. Chalced. c. 6.

[16] Habert. Archieratic. p. 351.

[17] Vid. Conc. Carthag. 3. c, 21. Conc. Chalced. c. 20. Arausican. 1. c. 8, 9.

[18] Conc. Nic. c. 16. *ἄκυρος ἔστω ἡ χειροτονία.*

[19] Conc. Sardic. c. 15.

[20] Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 13. Si aliquis, invito episcopo suo, in aliena ecclesia habitans, ab episcopo loci clericus fuerit ordinatus, hujusmodi ordinatio irrita habeatur.

[21] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 5. Non licere clericum alienum ab aliquo suscipi sine literis episcopi sui, neque apud se retinere, nec laicum usurpare sibi de plebe aliena, ut eum ordinet sine conscientia ejus episcopi, de cujus plebe est.

ancient custom, confirmed by a canon in the third council of Carthage,[22] which is also inserted into the African Code,[23] the bishop of Carthage is allowed to take a clerk out of another church, and ordain him for the service of any church under his jurisdiction. But an exception in his particular case confirms the rule in all the rest.

Sect. 5. No bishop to ordain in another man's diocese.

Fourthly, Another rule for the preservation of order in this affair was, that every bishop should confine himself to his own church, and not assume to himself the power of ordaining in the diocese of another man. So the council of Antioch,[24] and those called the Apostolical Canons[25] determined, that a bishop should not presume to ordain out of his own bounds, in cities or countries not subject to him. St. Austin had occasion to insist upon this rule in the case of Pinianus, when the people of Hippo required him to ordain him presbyter against his will, and threatened that, if he would not, they would have another bishop to ordain him: St. Austin told[26] them, that no bishop could ordain him in his church without first asking his leave and permission; and that having given him a promise, that he would not ordain him against his will, he could not in honour consent that any other bishop should come and ordain him. Socrates[27] says, Epiphanius took upon him to ordain a deacon in the diocese of Chrysostom at Constantinople: but Chrysostom told him, that he acted contrary to canon, in ordaining in churches that were not under his jurisdiction. Which shows, that this was a universal law, prevailing both in the Eastern and Western churches. And by the same rule, all metropolitans with their provincial bishops were confined to their own province, and might not ordain any bishop in another province, except they were invited by the bishops of that province to come and give them their assistance. Which rule was made in the general council[28] of Constantinople, and confirmed in the council of Ephesus,[29] upon the controversy that arose between the churches of Cyprus and the patriarch of Antioch, who laid claim to the power of ordinations in those churches, but was rejected in his claim, because they were out of his district, and under another jurisdiction. But it is to be observed, that these rules were only made for ordinary cases, to preserve peace and a good understanding among the bishops of the church, whilst every one acted in his proper sphere, and kept to those bounds and limits which the laws appointed. For otherwise, as I have showed heretofore,[30] every bishop was a bishop of the whole catholic church, and in that capacity authorized to ordain, or perform any other acts of the episcopal office, in any part of the world, upon urgent necessity and extraordinary occasions. As Athanasius and Eusebius Samosatensis did in the times of the great prevalency of the Arian heresy; ordaining bishops and presbyters in any province or diocese, (though contrary to the letter of this law,) in order to preserve the catholic faith, and a succession of orthodox men in the service of the church. So that this was only a rule for common and ordinary cases. And in Cyprus, Epiphanius[31] says, they did not insist upon the rule at all one among another, but any bishop ordained in any other man's diocese, as occasion required, without breach of charity; for they gave a sort of general leave to one another, as finding it most expedient for the church in that province to use such a liberty among themselves; though they stiffly maintained their privilege against the encroachments of all foreign sees, and more especially that of Antioch.

Sect. 6. The original of the four solemn times of ordination

The next things to be noted in this affair, are such as concern the time and place of ordination. Concerning the time, there may several inquiries be made. 1. Whether they had originally any set and constant times of ordination, as the church now has four times a year? 2. Whether Sunday was always the day of ordination? 3. Whether ordinations were always confined to morning service? As to the first inquiry, it does not certainly appear, that the church had any constant annual times of ordination before the fourth century. For Habertus truly observes,[32] that then it was more usual to ordain men singly, as the present occasions of every church required. Pope Leo indeed[33] derives the *jejunia quatuor temporum*, the fasts of the four seasons of the year, which are now commonly called ember-weeks, from apostolical tradition. But, as Mr. Pagi,[34] and Quesnel,[35] in their censures of that author, observe,

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[22] Concil. Carth. 3. c. 45.

[23] Cod. Can. Afric. c. 44. Περὶ τοῦ ἐξεῖναί τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Καρχηδόνος, ὅθεν θέλει, κλήρικον χειροτονεῖν.

[24] Conc. Antioch. c. 22.

[25] Canon. Apost. c. 35. Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ τολμᾷν ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὅρων χειροτονίας ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτῷ πόλεις καὶ χώρας.

[26] Aug. Ep. 225. ad Albinam. Dicebam ego, quibus poteram, qui ad nos in absidem honoratiores et graviores ascenderant, nec a promissi fide me posse dimoveri, nec ab alio episcopo in ecclesia mihi tradita, nisi me interrogato ac permittente, posse ordinari.

[27] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 12 et 14.

[28] Conc. Constant. c. 2.

[29] Conc. Ephes. Act. 7. Decret. de Episc. Cypr.

[30] Book II. chap. 5.

[31] Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hierosolym. t. 2. p. 313. Multi episcopi communionis nostræ presbyteros in nostra ordinaverunt provincia, &c.

[32] Habert. Archieratic. par. 8. Observ. 4. p. 130. Tunc singuli, et quidem rari, non vero tam multi ac hodie ordinabantur.

[33] Leo, Serm. 2. de Jejun. Pentecost. p. 77. It. Serm. 9. de Jejun. 7. Mensis, sive de jejunio quatuor temporum. p. 88. It. Serm. 7.

[34] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 67. n. 15.

[35] Quesnel, ap. Pagi, ibid.

there is nothing more usual with him, than to call every thing an apostolical law, which he found either in the practice of his own church, or decreed in the archives of his predecessors, Damasus and Siricius. So that, all other authors before Leo being silent upon this matter, we can lay no great stress upon his authority for it. Beside, he does not so much as once intimate, that these fasts were appointed upon the account of any set and solemn times of ordinations, but upon other more general reasons. So that it is not certain, that the church had any fixed times of ordination when Leo wrote, anno 450. And in the ages before it is more evident she had not. For as to bishops, it is certain the church never confined herself to any set times for the ordination of them; but as soon as any bishop was dead, another was chosen and ordained in his room with all convenient speed; and in some places this was done within a day or two after his decease, as has been showed in a former book.[36] As to presbyters and deacons, and others below them, it is evident also, that for the three first ages they were ordained at all times, as the occasions of the church required. Cyprian ordained Aurelius a reader upon the 1st of December, as Bishop Pearson[37] computes by the critical rules of calculation; and he ordained Saturus a reader, and Optatus a subdeacon, in the month of August;[38] neither of which were solemn times of ordination. Paulinus, who lived in the fourth century, was ordained on Christmas day, as he himself[39] informs us: yet neither was that one of the four days, which afterwards became the stated times of ordination. The Roman Pontifical, under the name of Damasus, in the life of almost every bishop, takes notice of the ordinations which they made in the Roman province, of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, during their whole life; and always the ordinations are said to be made in the month of December. Which, if that book were of any great authority, would prove, that there was one fixed time of ordination at Rome; but not four. But I confess, the credit of that book cannot much be depended upon for the history of the primitive ages one way or other; it being of much later date than the title pretends; and perhaps the author only spake of ancient things according to the custom of his own times, when one of these four times might be brought into use: which seems to have been before the time of Simplicius, anno 467. For the Pontifical in his life[40] adds February to December; as it does also in the life of Gelasius. And in one of the decrees of Gelasius,[41] there are no less than five stated times of ordination appointed, viz. June, September, December, the beginning of Lent, and the middle of Lent, and Saturday in the evening in all these times to be the precise time of ordination. Amalarius Fortunatus[42] takes notice of the change that was made in the time of Simplicius; telling us, that all the bishops of Rome before Simplicius, made their ordinations always in the month of December, and that he was the first that ordained in February. Which, no doubt, he had from the forementioned passages of the Pontifical, which in some places speaks of one, and in others of two solemn times of ordination, but never of four: which argues, that these four were not as yet determined when that book was written, which, with the interpolations that it has now, was not till after the time of Justinian, as learned men generally agree. So that I leave it to further inquiry, whether there were any such fixed times of ordination in the church of Rome, as these authors mention, for four or five of the first centuries. In other churches we read of none, but the instances that have been produced rather prove the contrary. The inquisitive reader will be able to furnish himself with many other such instances, from which it may be concluded, that the times of ordination were not fixed for four of the first centuries, since no ancient writer within that space makes any mention of them. And therefore there is no necessity, with Baronius[43] and Bellarmine,[44] to make the *jejunia quatuor temporum* an apostolical tradition, but it is sufficient to speak of them as a useful order of the church, founded upon ecclesiastical institution some ages after.

Sect. 7. Ordinations indifferently given on any day of the week for three centuries.

The same must be said in answer to the second question, whether Sunday was always the day of ordination? It is evident, that for the three first centuries it was not. For Mr. Pagi has unanswerably proved[45] against Papebrochius, from the most certain rules of chronology, that before the time of Constantine the ordinations of the bishops of Rome themselves were performed in-

[36] Book II. chap. 11. sect. 2.

[37] Pearson, Annal. Cypr. an. 250. n. 20. p. 25.

[38] Pearson, ibid. n. 15.

[39] Paulin. Ep. 6. ad Sever. p. 101. Die Domini, quo nasci carne dignatus est, repentina vi multitudinis—presbyteratu initiatus sum.

[40] Pontifical. Vit. Gelas. Hic fecit ordinationes in urbe Roma tres, per mensem Decembrem et Februarium.

[41] Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episc. Lucaniæ, c. 11. al. 13. Ordinationes etiam presbyterorum et diaconorum nisi certis temporibus et diebus exerceri non debent, id est, quarti mensis jejunio, septimi, et decimi, sed et etiam quadragesimalis initii, ac mediana quadragesimæ die, sabbati jejunio circa vesperam noverint celebrandas.

[42] Amalar. de Offic. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 1. Primi apostolici semper in Decembrio mense consecrationes ministrabant usque ad Simplicium, qui fuit a B. Petro quadragesimus nonus. Ipse primus sacravit in Februario.

[43] Baron. an. 57. n. 209.

[44] Bellarm. de Verbo Dei non scripto, lib. 4. c. 3. p. 206.

[45] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 67. n. 14 et 16.

differently upon any day of the week, and that the affixing them to the Lord's day and other solemn festivals was the business of the fourth century. So that when Pope Leo[46] says, that such ordinations as were made upon other days than Sundays, were against the canons and the tradition of the fathers, he is to be understood, as before, to mean only the custom of his own times; if yet it was the custom when Leo lived: for there is some reason to doubt of the authority either of Leo's epistle, or that of Gelasius, who lived not long after. For Gelasius says,[47] the ordinations of presbyters and deacons were to be made on Saturday in the evening. So that either one of these epistles is spurious, or else the custom varied in the same century in the church of Rome.

Sect. 8. The ceremony usually performed in the time of the oblation at morning service.

I confess Gelasius is singular in that part of his decree, which fixes ordinations to evening service. For though the ancients were not always precise to a certain day of the year, or a certain day of the week; yet they more punctually observed the time of the day, to give ordinations at morning service. This was a very ancient rule of the church, as we may learn from the objection that was made against Novatian, that among his other irregularities he was ordained at an uncanonical hour, *ὥρᾳ δεκάτῃ*, at ten o'clock, or four in the afternoon, as Cornelius[48] in his epistle to Fabian lays the charge against him. The council of Laodicea is still more punctual to the time, that ordinations should not be given while the hearers or catechumens[49] were present, but at the time of the oblation. The reason of which was, that the person ordained might either consecrate, or at least participate of the eucharist at the time of his ordination. Whence Theodoret, speaking of the ordination of Macedonius the anchoret, says it was done,[50] *τῆς μυστικῆς ἱερουργίας προκειμένης*, in the time of the mystical, that is, the communion service. And so Epiphanius[51] represents the ordination of Paulinianus, St. Jerom's brother, whom he ordained presbyter, whilst he ministered in the holy sacrifice of the altar. But this is to be understood chiefly, if not only, of the three superior orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons: for as to the rest, it was indifferent what time they were ordained, so long as it was in the church in any part of Divine service.

Sect. 9. The church the only regular place of ordination.

But out of the church no ordination could be regularly performed. Though there was this difference between the superior and inferior orders, that the one were conferred within the sanctuary, or altar-part, and the other without; yet they both agreed in this, that the church was still the proper place to give birth to all such orders, as were to be employed in any ecclesiastical service. And therefore Gregory Nazianzen[52] justly upbraids Maximus the cynic, who intruded himself into his see of Constantinople, that being excluded from the church, he was ordained in the house of a minstrel. Which was also objected to Ursinus, who was competitor with Damasus for the see of Rome, that he was not ordained[53] in a church, but in an obscure corner of the hall called Sicona.

Sect. 10. Ordination received kneeling at the altar.

As to the ceremonies used in the act of ordination itself, beside what has been noted before in speaking of each particular order, it will be proper to observe some things of them in general. As, first, That the ordinations of bishops, presbyters, and deacons were always received kneeling before the altar. So the author under the name of Dionysius[54] represents the matter in his Rationale upon the church's service. And Theodoret mentions it[55] as the customary rite, when speaking of the ordination of a bishop, he says, they brought him to the holy table, and made him kneel on his knees by force.

Sect. 11. Given by imposition of hands and prayer.

Secondly, The solemnity itself in giving the superior orders was always performed by imposition of hands and prayer. Which is evident from St. Jerom, who says, that imposition of hands was therefore added to complete the ordinations[56] of the clergy, lest any one by a silent and solitary prayer should be ordained without his knowledge. Gregory Nyssen[57] indeed tells us a very strange story of the ordination of Gregory Thaumaturgus, how Phædimus, bishop of Amasea, ordained him only by prayer without imposition of hands: for he was absent, being fled to the wilderness, to avoid ordination: notwithstanding which Phædimus consecrated him to the bishopric of Neocæsarea, which he afterwards accepted. But as a learned man conjectures,[58] it is most likely that he had another ordination; or if not, this act must pass for a singular instance, con-

[46] Leo, Ep. 81. ad Dioscorum, c. 1.

[47] Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episc. Lucan. c. 11. Ordinationes sabbati jejunio circa vesperam noverint celebrandas.

[48] Ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[49] Conc. Laodic. c. 5. *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὰς χειροτονίας ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ ἀκροωμένων γίνεσθαι.*

[50] Theod. Hist. Relig. c. 13.

[51] Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hierosol. Cum ministraret in sanctis sacrificiis, ordinavimus presbyterum.

[52] Naz. Carm. de Vita, p. 15. *Εἰς γὰρ χοραύλου λυπρὸν οἰκητήριον, κυνῶν τυποῦσι τὸν κάκιστον ποιμένα.*

[53] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 29.

[54] Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccl. c. 5. Contempl. 3. n. 7 et 8.

[55] Theod. lib. 4. c. 15.

[56] Hieron. lib. 16. in Isai. c. 58. p. 265. *Χειροτονία*, id est, ordinatio clericorum non solum ad imprecationem vocis, sed ad impositionem impletur manus: ne scilicet vocis imprecatio clandestina clericos ordinet nescientes.

[57] Nyssen. Vit. Greg. Thaum. t. 3. p. 544.

[58] Cave, Hist. Literar. vol. 1 p. 94.

trary to the common rule and established order of the church. The Greeks call this imposition of hands both χειροτονία, and χειροθεσία, as may be seen in the canons of the council of Nice[59] and Chalcedon. Yet sometimes those words are distinguished, as in the author of the Constitutions, where[60] he says, πρεσβύτερος χειροθετεῖ, οὐ χειροτονεῖ, a presbyter gives imposition of hands, but does not ordain. Where it is plain, that imposition of hands means not ordination, but some other benediction of the church, wherein imposition of hands was used, as well as in ordination. Neither does χειροτονία always signify ordination in ancient writers; though it does most commonly so, as Fronto Ducæus[61] and other learned persons have showed: but sometimes it denotes no more than designation or election; as when Ignatius uses the phrase, χειροτονῆσαι θεοπρεσβύτην,[62] only to signify the election or appointment of a messenger to go upon an errand of the church. Which I note to caution the reader against mistakes committed by some authors, who confound ordinations with elections, for want of distinguishing the critical senses of words, as the subject matter requires.

Sect. 12. The sign of the cross used in ordination.

I must further observe, that as the sign of the cross was used upon many occasions by the primitive Christians, so particularly in their ordinations. Which we learn from Chrysostom, who more than once mentions it upon this occasion. If, says he, we are to be regenerated, the cross is used, viz. in baptism; or if we[63] are to eat the mystical food, the eucharist, or to receive an ordination, we are signed with the sign of the cross. Upon this account, Suicerus[64] notes out of the author under the name of Dionysius, that the imposition of hands in ordination was called σφραγὶς, consignation, and σταυροειδὴς σφραγὶς, consignation in form of a cross,[65] because the sign of the cross was made on the head of him that was ordained.

Sect. 13. But no unction, or the ceremony of delivering vessels into the hands of presbyters and deacons.

As to the ceremony of unction, I have already had occasion to show its novelty[66] in another place; together with the custom of delivering some of the holy vessels into the hands of the person ordained. Which Habertus says was never used in giving any of the superior orders, but only the inferior, by the rule of the fourth council of Carthage, which makes that the chief part of their ordination. Though Habertus[67] and some others question the authority of that very council, and reckon all its canons spurious. But that only by the way.

Sect. 14. Ordinations concluded with the kiss of peace.

When the ceremony of consecration was ended, it was usual for the clergy then present to salute the person newly ordained with the kiss of peace.[68] And so being conducted to his proper station belonging to his office, if he was a bishop or a presbyter, he made his first sermon to the people. But of this, as it relates to bishops, I have given an account before; as it relates to presbyters in the Greek church, where it was more usual for presbyters to preach, the reader may find examples of such sermons among those of Chrysostom,[69] and Gregory Nyssen,[70] which they preached upon the day of their ordination.

Sect. 15. The anniversary day of a bishop's ordination kept a festival.

I cannot omit to mention one thing more, which should have been mentioned in another place, because it was an honour peculiarly paid to the order of bishops; which was, that in many places the day of their ordination was solemnly kept among the anniversary festivals of the church. On these days they had church assemblies, and sermons, and all the other solemnities of a festival. Which appears from St. Austin's sermons, two of which[71] were preached upon the anniversary of his own ordination. And in another,[72] published by Sirmondus, he also mentions the day under the same title of his own anniversary. In a fourth he speaks also of the anniversary of Aurelius,[73] bishop of Carthage, inviting the people to come and keep the festival in Basilica Fausti, which was a noted church in Carthage. Among the homilies also of Leo, bishop of Rome, the three first are upon the anniversary day of his assumption to the pontificate. And a late learned critic[74] has observed, that in St. Jerom's, and some other ancient Martyrologies, there sometimes occur such festivals under the titles of *Ordinatio episcopi*, and *Natale episcopatus* N., that is, the ordination or birth-day of such or such a bishop. Which, doubtless, at first, were the anniversaries of their ordination, which they themselves kept in their life-time; and which were continued

[59] Conc. Nic. c. 19. Chalced. c. 15.

[60] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 28.

[61] Fronto Ducæ. Not. in Chrysost. Hom. 1. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 1.

[62] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 11. It. Ep. ad Philadelph. n. 10. Ep. ad Polycarp. n. 7.

[63] Chrys. Hom. 55. in Matth. Κἂν ἀναγεννηθῆναι δέῃ, σταυρὸς παραγίνεται· κἂν τραφῆναι τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην τροφήν· κἂν χειροτονηθῆναι, &c.

[64] Suicer. Thesaur. Voce σφραγὶς, t. 2. p. 1199.

[65] Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccl. c. 5. p. 312 et 314.

[66] Book II. chap. 19. sect. 17.

[67] Habert. Archieratic. p. 323.

[68] Dionys. Hierarch. Eccl. c. 5. p. 367. Constitut. Apost. lib. 8. c. 5.

[69] Chrys. Homil. cum Presbyter esset designatus. t. 4. p. 953. [70] Nyssen. Hom. in suam Ordinat. t. 2.

[71] Aug. Homil. 24 et 25. ex quinquaginta.

[72] Hom. 39. edit. a Sirmond. t. 10. p. 841.

[73] Hom. 32. de Verb. Domini. Dies anniversarius ordinationis Domini Senis Aurelii crastinus illucescit. Rogat et admonet per humilitatem meam charitatem vestram, ut ad Basilicam Fausti devotissime venire dignemini.

[74] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 67. n. 14.

in memory of them after death: by which means they came to be inserted into the Martyrologies as standing festivals, denoting there neither the day of their natural birth, nor their death, (as some mistake,) but the day of their ordination, or advancement to the episcopal throne. But of this more when we come to speak of the festivals of the church.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CASE OF FORCED ORDINATIONS AND RE-ORDINATIONS CONSIDERED.

Sect. 1. Forced ordinations very frequent in the primitive church.

FOR the close of this book I shall add something concerning forced ordinations, and re-ordinations, which were things that very often happened in the primitive church. For, anciently, while popular elections were indulged, there was nothing more common than for the people to take men by force, and have them ordained even against their wills. For though, as Sulpicius Severus complains, many men were too ambitious in courting the preferments of the church; yet there were some who ran as eagerly from them as others ran to them; and nothing but force could bring such men to submit to an ordination. We have seen an instance or two of this already, in the cases of St. Austin[1] and Paulinus: and ecclesiastical history affords us many others. For not to mention such as only fled or absconded to avoid ordination; such as Cyprian,[2] and Gregory Thaumaturgus,[3] and Athanasius,[4] and Evagrius,[5] and St. Ambrose;[6] there were some who were plainly ordained against their wills: as Nepotian, of whom St. Jerom says, that when his uncle Heliodore ordained him presbyter, he wept[7] and lamented his condition, and could not forbear expressing his anger against his ordainer, though that was the only time he ever had occasion to do it. St. Martin, bishop of Tours, was so averse from taking the bishopric, that he was forced to be drawn out of his cell by craft, and carried under a guard to his ordination, as the sacred historian informs us.[8] And the ordination of Macedonius the anchoret, by Flavian, bishop of Antioch, was so much against his will, that they durst not let him know what they were about, till the ceremony was over; and when he came to understand that he was ordained presbyter, he broke forth into a rage against Flavian, and all that were concerned in the action, as thinking that his ordination would have obliged him to another sort of life, and deprived him of his retirement and return to the mountains. So Theodoret, in his Lives of the Eastern Anchorets,[9] relates the story. And that this was a very common practice in those times, appears from what Epiphanius[10] says of the custom in Cyprus, that it was usual, in that province, for persons that fled to avoid ordination by their own bishop, to be seized by any other bishop, and to be ordained by them, and then be returned to the bishop from whom they were fled. Which argues, that forced ordinations in those times were both practised and allowed.

Sect. 2. No excuse admitted in that case, except a man protested upon oath that he would not be ordained.

Nor was it any kind of remonstrance or solicitation whatsoever, which the party could make, that would prevent his ordination in such cases, except he chanced to protest solemnly upon oath against ordination. For in that case he was to be set at liberty, and not to be ordained against so solemn a protestation. This is evident, from one of the canons of St. Basil, which says, that they who swear they will not be ordained,[11] are not to be compelled to forswear themselves by being ordained. And this, I think, also may be collected from the account which Epiphanius gives of his own transaction with Paulinianus, St. Jerom's brother, upon such an occasion. Paulinianus, he says, was one of those who fled from their bishop for fear of ordination, but providentially coming[12] where Epiphanius was, he caused him to be seized by his deacons, not dreaming or suspecting any thing of ordination; and when he came to it, he caused them to hold his mouth, for fear he should have abjured him by the name of Christ to set him free. Thus he ordained him deacon first, and presbyter some time after in the very same manner. Which seems to imply, that if he had suffered him to have made his protestation in the name of Christ, he could not

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[1] See before, chap. 2. sect. 8. [2] Pontius, Vit. Cypr.

[3] Greg. Nyssen. Vita Greg. Thaumaturg.

[4] Sozomen. lib. 2. c. 17. [5] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23.

[6] Paulin. Vit. Ambros.

[7] Hieron. Ep. 3. Epitaph. Nepotian. Presbyter ordinatur. Jesu bone, qui gemitus, qui ejulatus, quæ cibi interdictio, quæ fuga oculorum omnium? Tunc primum et solum avunculo iratus est.

[8] Sulp. Sever. Vit. St. Martin. lib. 1. p. 224. Dispositis in itinere civium turbis, sub quadam custodia ad civitatem usque deducitur, &c.

[9] Theod. Hist. Relig. c. 13.

[10] Epiph. Ep. ad Johan. Hierosol. Multi episcoporum communionis nostræ et presbyteros in nostra ordinaverunt provincia, quos nos comprehendere non poteramus, et miserunt ad nos diaconos et hypodiaconos, quos suscepimus cum gratia.

[11] Basil. Ep. Canon. ad Amphiloch. c. 10. Οἱ ὀμνύοντες μὴ καταδέχεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, ἐξομνύμενοι μὴ ἀναγκαζέσθωσαν ἐπιορκεῖν.

[12] Epiphan. ibid. Ignorantem eum, et nullam penitus habentem suspicionem, per multos diaconos apprehendi jussimus, et teneri os ejus, ne forte liberari se cupiens, adjuraret nos per nomen Christi, &c.

have proceeded to his ordination. But it seems nothing else but such an adjuration was available to set him free: and that is a further argument, that in those times men might be ordained against their wills, and yet their ordination stand good, and be accounted as valid as any others.

Sect. 3. This practice afterward prohibited by the imperial laws, and canons of the church.

But in the next age this practice was prohibited, because of several inconveniences that were found to attend it. The emperors Leo and Majorian made a law with sanctions and penalties to prevent it. For they decreed, that no one should be ordained[13] against his will. And whereas some bishops did impose the burden of orders upon men against their consent, they granted liberty in that case, either to the party himself, or any other accuser, to bring an action at law against the archdeacon, who was liable to be fined ten pounds of gold, to be paid to the injured party, or to the informers, or to the states of the city; the bishop also was to be censured by his superiors, and the party ordained to be set at liberty, as if he had never been ordained. Pursuant to this law, John, bishop of Ravenna, for a transgression of this kind, was threatened to be deprived of the power of ordination by Simplicius,[14] bishop of Rome, anno 482. And the third council of Orleans,[15] anno 538, made a decree for the French churches, that if any bishop ordained a clerk against his will, he should do penance for the fact a whole year, and remain suspended from his office till that term was expired. So great an alteration was there made in one age in the rules and practice of the church, from what they had been in the former.

Sect. 4. Yet a bishop ordained against his will, had not the privilege to relinquish.

But I must note, that after this correction was made, there was still some difference to be observed between the forced ordination of a bishop, and that of an inferior clerk, presbyter, deacon, or any other. For though the forementioned imperial law gave liberty to all inferiors so ordained, to relinquish their office that was forced upon them, if they pleased, and betake themselves to a secular life again, yet it peremptorily denied[16] this privilege to bishops, decreeing that their ordination should stand good, and that no action brought against their ordainers should be of force to evacuate or disannul their consecration. Which seems to be grounded upon that ancient rule of the church mentioned in the council of Antioch,[17] and confirmed in the council of Chalcedon,[18] that if any bishop was ordained to a church to which he refused to go, he should be excommunicated till he complied, or something were determined in his case by a provincial synod. Which seems to authorize the using a sort of violence in compelling men to undergo the burden of the episcopal function; agreeably to that other law of Leo and Anthemius, in the Justinian Code,[19] which puts this among other qualifications of a bishop, that he shall be so far from ambition, as to be one rather that must be sought for and compelled to take a bishopric. Such were anciently the laws of church and state relating to forced ordinations.

Sect. 5. Re-ordinations generally condemned.

As to re-ordinations, before we can answer to the question about them, we must distinguish between the orders that were given regularly and canonically by persons rightly qualified in the church, and such as were given irregularly by persons unqualified, or by heretics and schismatics out of the church. As to such orders as were given regularly in the church, they were supposed, like baptism, to impress a sort of indelible character, so as that there was no necessity upon any occasion to repeat them, but on the contrary, it was deemed a criminal act so to do. The third council of Carthage, following the steps of the plenary council of Capua, or Capsa, decreed, that it was equally unlawful[20] to re-baptize and re-ordain. And those called the Apostolical Canons[21] make it deposition both for the ordainer and ordained to give or receive a second ordination. St. Austin[22] says it was not the custom of the catholic church to repeat either orders or baptism. For men did not lose their orders,[23] as to the internal character and virtue, though they were suspended from the execution of their office for some misdemeanor. Optatus testifies the same, telling us, that Donatus was condemned in the

[13] Leo. Novel. 2. in Append. Cod. Theod. Nonnullorum persuasio sacerdotum reluctantibus onus istud imponit, &c. Eo ergo licentiam hujus præsumptionis excludimus, ut si quispiam probatus fuerit vi coactus sub contumelia publica clericatus officiis successisse, spontaneis accusatoribus, vel si ipse voluerit allegare perpessam licentiam, commodemus apud judices competentes hujusmodi admissa damnare, ut si inter leges objecta constiterint, decem libras auri archidiaconus cogatur inferre ei qui pertulerit exsolvendas: dehinc si ille desistit, accusatoris censibus et civitatis ordini profuturas: illo suæ reddito voluntati, qui coactus non potuit consecrari, &c.

[14] Simplic. Ep. 2. ad Johan. Ravennatens.

[15] Con. Aurelian. 3. c. 7. Episcopus qui invitum vel reclamantem præsumpserit ordinare, annuali pœnitentiæ subditus missas facere non præsumat.

[16] Leo, Novel. 2. ibid. Si qui sane episcopus invitus fuerit ordinatus, hanc consecrationem nulla violari accusatione permittimus.

[17] Conc. Antioch. c. 17. [18] Conc. Chalced. Act. 11.

[19] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 31. Tantum ab ambitu debet esse sepositus, ut quæratur cogendus, &c.

[20] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 38. In Capsensi plenaria synodo statutum, quod non liceat fieri rebaptizationes, et reordinationes, vel translationes episcoporum.

[21] Canon. Apost. c. 67.

[22] Aug. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. c. 13. In catholica utrumque non licet iterari.

[23] Id. de Bona Conjugal. c. 24. t. 6. Manet in illis ordinatis sacramentum ordinationis; et si aliqua culpa quisquam ab officio removeatur, sacramento Domini semel imposito non carebit, &c.

council of Rome under Melchiades, for re-ordaining such bishops as had lapsed in time of persecution;[24] which was contrary to the custom of the catholic church. And others[25] accuse the Arians upon the same account, for re-ordaining such of the catholic clergy as went over to their party.

Sect. 6. The proposal made by Cæcilian to the Donatists examined.

There is indeed a passage in Optatus concerning Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, which at first view seems to import as if Cæcilian had been willing to have submitted to a re-ordination. For Optatus[26] says, Cæcilian sent this message to the Donatist bishops, That if Felix had given him no true ordination, as they pretended, they should ordain him again, as if he were still only a deacon. But St. Austin, who perhaps best understood Cæcilian's meaning, says[27] he only spoke this ironically to deride them, not that he intended to submit to a second ordination, but because he was certain that Felix and the rest of his ordainers were no traditors, as they accused them. So that we have no instances of re-ordaining such as were regularly ordained in the catholic church: it being esteemed unlawful, as Theodoret[28] words it, to give any man the same ordination twice. Whence neither in the translation of bishops from one church to another do we ever read of a new ordination, but only of an enthronization or instalment; as of a new matriculation of presbyters and deacons, when they were taken out of one church to be settled in another. Cyprian, speaking of his admission of Numidicus into his own church from another, where he was presbyter before, does not say, he gave him a new ordination, but only[29] a name and a seat among the presbyters of Carthage. And this was the constant practice of the church in all such cases, for any thing that appears to the contrary.

Sect. 7. Schismatics sometimes re-ordained.

As to such as were ordained out of the church by schismatical or heretical bishops, the case was a little different. For the church did not always allow of their ordinations, but sometimes, for discipline's sake, and to put a mark of infamy upon their errors, made them take a new ordination. This was decreed by the great council of Nice in the case of those bishops and presbyters, whom Meletius the schismatic ordained in Egypt, after he had been deposed by his metropolitan of Alexandria. They were not to be admitted to serve in the catholic church, till they were first authorized by a more sacred ordination,[30] as that council words it in her synodical epistle or directions to the church of Alexandria. In pursuance of this decree, Theodore, bishop of Oxyrinchus, re-ordained the Meletian presbyters upon their return to the church; as Valesius[31] shows out of Marcellinus and Faustinus's petition to the emperor Theodosius; and other learned men[32] are of the same opinion. Yet in some cases the church consented to receive schismatical bishops and presbyters without obliging them to take a new ordination. As in Africa, St. Austin[33] assures us, it was the custom to allow of the ordinations of the Donatists, and to admit them to officiate in whatever station they served before their return to the unity of the church, without repeating their ordination any more than their baptism. He repeats this in several places of his writings. And that it was so, appears both from the canons of the African councils,[34] and the concessions made in the collation of Carthage,[35] where the proposal was, that the Donatist bishops should enjoy their honours and dignities, if they would return to the unity of the catholic church. This had before been determined in the Roman council under Melchiades, where the Donatists had their first hearing. For there, St. Austin informs us,[36] it was also decreed, that only Donatus the author of the schism should be cashiered; but for all the rest, though they were ordained out of the church, they should be received upon their repentance, in the very same offices and quality, which they enjoyed before. So that the rigour of church discipline was quickened or abated in this respect, according as the benefit or necessities of the church seemed to require.

Sect. 8. And heretics also upon their return to the church, in some places.

And the treatment of persons ordained by heretics was much of the same nature. Some canons require all such without exception to be re-

[24] Optat. lib. 1. p. 44. In Donatum sunt hæ sententiæ latæ: quod confessus sit se rebaptizasse, et episcopis lapsis manum imposuisse: quod ab ecclesia alienum est.

[25] Vid. Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. 6. c. 26. ex Marcellin. Libel. Precum.

[26] Optat. lib. 1. p. 41. A Cæciliano mandatum est, ut si Felix in se, sicut illi arbitrabantur, nihil contulisset, ipsi tanquam adhuc diaconum ordinarent Cæcilianum.

[27] Aug. Brevic. Collat. Die 3. c. 16. Quod quidem si dictum est, ideo dici potuit ad illos deridendos, quibus hoc mandasse perhibetur, quoniam certus erat ordinatores suos non esse traditores.

[28] Theod. Histor. Relig. c. 13. Οὐ δυνατὸν δὶς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιτεθεῖναι χειροτονίαν.

[29] Cypr. Ep. 35. al. 40. Admonitos nos et instructos sciatis dignatione divina, ut Numidicus presbyter adscribatur presbyterorum Cathaginiensium numero, et nobiscum sedeat in clero.

[30] Ep. Synod. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 9. et Theodor. lib. 1. c. 9. Μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιωθέντας, &c.

[31] Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. 1. c. 9.

[32] Du Pin, Biblioth. Cent. 4. p. 251.

[33] Aug. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. c. 13. Si visum est opus esse, ut eadem officia gererent quæ gerebant, non sunt rursus ordinati, sed sicut baptismus in eis, ita ordinatio mansit integra, &c. Vid. cont. Crescon. lib. 2. c. 11. It. Ep. 50. p. 87. Ep. 162. p. 279.

[34] Cod. Can. Afr. c. 69 et 70. [35] Coll. Carth. Die 1. c. 16.

[36] Aug. Ep. 50. ad Bonifac. p. 87. Damnato uno quodam Donato, qui author schismatis fuisse manifestatus est, cæteros correctos, etiamsi extra ecclesiam ordinati essent, in suis honoribus recipiendos esse censuerunt.

ordained. It was so in the Greek church, at the time when those called the Apostolical Canons were made. For the same canon[37] that condemns re-ordinations in the church, makes an exception in the case of such as were ordained by heretics; pronouncing their ordination void, and requiring them to be ordained again. And this was generally the practice of all those churches in the third century, which denied the validity of heretical baptism; for by much stronger reason they denied their ordinations. Therefore Firmilian, who was of this opinion, tells us also, that the council[38] of Iconium, anno 256, decreed, that heretics had no power to minister either baptism, or confirmation, or ordination. Nay, some of those who allowed the baptism of heretics, yet still continued to condemn their ordinations. As Innocent, bishop of Rome, who determines against such as[39] were ordained by the Arians and such other heretics, that they were not to be admitted with their honours in the catholic church; though their baptism might stand good, being administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. In another place[40] he says, it was the ancient rule of the church of Rome to cancel and disannul all such ordinations; though in some places, he owns, they were allowed: for Anisius, bishop of Thessalonica, with a council of his provincial bishops, agreed to receive those whom Bonosus, an heretical bishop of Macedonia, had ordained; that they might not continue to strengthen his party, and thereby bring no small damage upon the church. Liberius not only admitted the Macedonian bishops to communion, but also allowed them to continue in their office, upon their subscription to the Nicene creed, and abjuration of their former heresy; as Socrates,[41] and Sozomen,[42] and St. Basil,[43] and others testify. In France, the custom was in the time of Clodoveus to give a new imposition of hands to the Arian clergy that returned to the catholic faith; as appears from the first council of Orleans, which made a decree[44] about it: but that, perhaps, does not mean a new ordination, but only such a reconciliatory imposition of hands, as was used to be given to penitents in absolution. But if otherwise, it proves that the church had different methods of proceeding in this case, as she judged it most expedient and beneficial for her service; sometimes reversing and disannulling the ordinations of heretics for discipline's sake, and to show her resentments of their errors; and sometimes allowing them to stand good for her own sake, to prevent greater scandals, and to encourage the straying people to return with their leaders to the unity of the catholic faith. Upon which account the general council of Ephesus[45] made an order concerning the Messalian heretics, otherwise called Euchites and Enthusiasts, that if any of their clergy would return to the church, and in writing anathematize their former errors, they should continue in the same station they were in before; otherwise they should be degraded, and enjoy neither clerical promotion nor communion in the church. The council of Nice is thought to have made the like decree[46] in favour of the Novatian clergy, only giving them a reconciliatory imposition of hands by way of absolution, not re-ordination. And there is nothing more certain than that the African fathers so treated the Donatists; particularly St. Austin in all his writings pleads as much for the validity of heretical ordinations, as heretical baptism; and says further, that when the church[47] judged it expedient not to suffer the Donatist bishops to officiate upon their return to the church, she did not thereby intend to deny the reality or validity of their ordination, but supposed that to remain still perfect and entire in them. And this is what St. Austin meant by the sacrament of ordination, as he words it, or the indelible character which was thereby imprinted; that though a man turned apostate, or was suspended or deprived for any crime, yet if upon his repentance and satisfaction the church thought fit to admit him to officiate again, there was no necessity of giving him a new ordination, no more than a new baptism; for the character of both remained entire. This was the doctrine and practice of the African church, and most others, in the time of St. Austin.

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[37] Canon. Apost. c. 67.

[38] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cyprian. p. 221. Hæretico sicut ordinare non licet, nec manum imponere, ita nec baptizare.

[39] Innoc. Ep. 18. ad Alexand. c. 3. Non videtur clericos eorum cum sacerdotii aut ministerii cujuspiam suscipi debere dignitate; quoniam iis solùm baptisma ratum esse permittimus, &c.

[40] Id. Ep. 22. ad Episc. Macedon. c. 5. Anisii quondam fratris nostri, aliorumque consacerdotum summa deliberatio hæc fuit, ut quos Bonosus ordinaverat, ne cum eodem remanerent, ac ne fieret mediocre scandalum, ordinati reciperentur.——Jam ergo quod pro remedio ac necessitate temporis statutum est, constat primitus non fuisse.

[41] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 12. [42] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 10.

[43] Basil. Ep. 74. ad Episcopos Occident.

[44] Conc. Aurel. 1. c. 12. De hæreticis clericis, qui ad fidem catholicam plena fide et voluntate venerint, id censuimus observarii——ut officium, quo eos episcopus dignos esse censuerit, cum impositæ manus benedictione suscipiant.

[45] Conc. Ephes. Act. 7. Decret. cont. Messalian. t. 3. p. 809. Si clerici fuerint, maneant clerici.——Quod si renuerint anathematizare, si presbyteri vel diaconi fuerint, vel in alio quopiam gradu ecclesiæ, excidant et a clero et a gradu et a communione.

[46] Conc. Nic. c. 8.

[47] Aug. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. c. 13. Cum expedire hoc judicatur ecclesiæ, ut præpositi eorum venientes ad catholicam societatem, honores suos ibi non administrent; non eis tamen ipsa ordinationis sacramenta detrahuntur, sed manent super eos.

BOOK V.

OF THE PRIVILEGES, IMMUNITIES, AND REVENUES OF THE CLERGY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

SOME INSTANCES OF RESPECT WHICH THE CLERGY PAID MUTUALLY TO ONE ANOTHER.

Sect. 1. The clergy obliged to give entertainment to their brethren, travelling upon necessary occasions.

Having thus far discoursed of the necessary qualifications of the clergy, and the several customs observed in the designation of them to the ministerial office; it will be proper, in the next place, to speak of the respect and honour that was generally paid them upon the account of their office. Under which head I shall comprise whatever relates to the privileges, exemptions, immunities, and revenues of the ancient clergy. Some particular marks of honour, as they were peculiar to this or that order, have already been mentioned in speaking of those orders: but now I shall treat of those which were more universal, and common to all orders. And here it will not be amiss, in the first place, to say something of that courteous treatment and friendship, wherewith the clergy of the ancient church were obliged to receive and embrace one another. Two or three instances of which it will be sufficient to observe at present. First, That wherever they travelled upon necessary occasions, they were to be entertained by their brethren of the clergy in all places, out of the public revenues of the church: and it was a sort of crime for a bishop or other clerk to refuse the hospitality of the church, and take it from any other. The historians, Socrates and Sozomen,[1] tacitly reflect upon Epiphanius for an action of this nature, that when he came to Constantinople, where Chrysostom showed him all imaginable respect and honour, sending his clergy out to meet him, and inviting him to an apartment, according to custom, in his house, he refused the civility, and took up his habitation in a separate mansion. This was interpreted the same thing as breaking catholic communion with him; as it proved in effect; for he came on purpose, by the instigations of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, to form an accusation against him. On the other hand, to deny any of the clergy the hospitality of the church upon such occasions was a more unpardonable crime, and looked upon as the rudest way of denying communion. Therefore Firmilian[2] smartly reproves the behaviour of Pope Stephen, both as insolent and unchristian, towards the African bishops, who were sent as legates from their churches to him, that he neither admitted them to audience himself, nor suffered any of the brethren to receive them to his house; so not only denying them the peace and communion of the church, but the civility of Christian entertainment also. Which was so much the greater despite and affront to them, because every private Christian travelling with letters of credence from his own church, might have challenged that privilege upon the contesseration of hospitality, as Tertullian[3] words it; and much more the bishops and clergy from one another. By the laws of the African church, every bishop that went as legate of a provincial synod to that which they called a general or plenary synod, was to be provided of all things necessary in his travels from this liberality of the church: as appears from a canon in the third council of Carthage, which orders,[4] that no province should send above two or three legates; that so they might appear with less pomp and envy, and be less charge to their entertainers. This implies that every church was obliged, by custom at least, to give them entertainment in their passage.

Sect. 2. And to give them the honorary privilege of consecrating the eucharist in the church.

Another instance of customary respect, which the clergy were obliged to show to one another, was, that when any bishop or presbyter came to a foreign church, they were to be complimented with the honorary privilege of performing Divine offices, and consecrating the eucharist in the church. This was a very ancient custom, as appears from

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[1] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 12. Sozom. lib. 8. c. 14.

[2] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cypr. p. 228. Ut venientibus non solum pax et communio, sed et tectum et hospitium negaretur.

[3] Tertul. de Præscript. c. 20.

[4] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 2. Ut et minus invidiosi, minusque hospitibus sumptuosi existant.

what Irenæus says of Anicetus, bishop of Rome, that when Polycarp came to settle the paschal controversy with him, παρεχώρησεν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ,[5] which does not barely signify, he gave him the eucharist, as the first translators of Eusebius render it; but, he gave place to him, or liberty to consecrate the eucharist in his church. The council of Arles, which turned this custom into a law, uses the very same expression about it, that in every church they should give place[6] to the bishop that was a stranger, to offer the oblation or sacrifice. And the fourth council of Carthage more plainly, that a bishop or presbyter[7] visiting another church, shall be received each in their own degree, and be invited to preach, and consecrate the oblation. So they were to be admitted to all the honours which the church could show them; the bishop was to seat his fellow bishop in the same throne with himself, and the presbyters to do the same by their fellow presbyter. For that the canon means by receiving them in their own degree. Which custom is referred to by the catholic bishops in the collation of Carthage,[8] where they promise the Donatist bishops, that if they would return to the church, they should be treated by them as fellow bishops, and sit upon the same thrones with them, as strangers were used to do. The author of the Constitutions joins all these things together, saying, Let the bishop that is a stranger sit with the bishop, and be invited to preach; let him also be permitted to offer the eucharist; or if in modesty he refuses it, let him at least be constrained to give the blessing to the people.

Sect. 3. The use of the *literæ formatæ*, or commendatory letters in this respect.

But then it is to be observed, that these honours were not to be showed to strangers, as mere strangers, but as they could someways give proof of their orthodoxy and catholicism to the church to which they came. And in this respect the *literæ systaticæ*, or commendatory letters, as they called them, were of great use and service in the church. For no strange clergyman was to be admitted so much as to communicate, much less to officiate, without these letters of his bishop, in any church where he was a perfect stranger, for fear of surreptitious or passive communion, as the canons[9] call it. And bishops were under the same obligations to take the letters of their metropolitan, if they had occasion to travel into a foreign country, where they could not otherwise be known. The third council of Carthage has a canon[10] to this purpose, that no bishop should go beyond sea without consulting the primate of his province, that he might have his *formatæ*, or letters of commendation. And that the same discipline was observed in all churches, seems clear from one of those canons of the Greek church, among those which go by the name of Apostolical, which says, no strange bishops,[11] presbyters, or deacons shall be received ἄνευ συστατικῶν, unless they bring commendatory letters with them: but without them they shall only be provided of necessaries, and not be admitted to communicate, because many things are surreptitiously obtained. The translation of Dionysius Exiguus indeed denies them necessaries also: but that is a manifest corruption of the Greek text, which allows them to communicate in outward good things, but not in the communion of the church. And this is what some think the ancients meant by *communio peregrina*, the communion of strangers, when such as travelled without letters of credence, were hospitably entertained, and provided of sustenance, but not admitted to participate of the eucharist, because they had no testimonials of their life and conversation. But others give a different account of this, which I shall more nicely examine, when I come to speak of the discipline of the church, under which head the *communio peregrina* will come to be considered, as a species of ecclesiastical censure.

Sect. 4. The clergy obliged to end all their own controversies among themselves.

A third instance of respect which the clergy showed to one another, was, that if any controversies happened among themselves, they freely consented to have them determined by their bishops and councils, without having recourse to the secular magistrate for justice. Bishops, as I have had occasion to show before,[12] were anciently authorized by the imperial laws to hear and determine secular pecuniary causes even among laymen, when both the litigants would agree upon compromise to take them for arbitrators: but among the clergy there needed no such particular compromise, but by the rules and canons of the church they were brought under a general obligation not to molest one another before a secular magistrate, but to end all their controversies under the cognizance of an ecclesiastical tribunal. The case was somewhat different when a layman and a clergyman had occa-

[5] Iren. Ep. ad Victor. ap. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24.

[6] Conc. Arelat. 1. c. 20. Ut peregrino episcopo locus sacrificandi detur.

[7] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 33. Ut episcopi vel presbyteri, si causa visendæ ecclesiæ alterius episcopi, ad ecclesiam venerint, et in gradu suo suscipiantur, et tam ad verbum faciendum, quam ad oblationem consecrandam invitentur.

[8] Collat. Carthag. Die I. c. 16. Sicut peregrino episcopo juxta considente collega.

[9] Conc. Carthag. 1. c. 7. Clericus vel laicus non communicet in aliena plebe sine literis episcopi sui. Nisi hoc observatum fuerit, communio fiet passiva. Vid. Conc. Laodicen. c. 41. Conc. Antioch. c. 7. Agathens. c. 38. Chalcedon. c. 11.

[10] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 28. Ut episcopi trans mare non proficiscantur, nisi consulto primæ sedis episcopo, ut ab episcopo præcipuè (leg. præcipuo) possint sumere formatam vel commendationem.

[11] Canon. Apost. c. 11.

[12] Book II. chap. 7.

sion to go to law together: for then the layman was at liberty to choose his court, and was not obliged to refer his cause to any ecclesiastical judge, unless by compromise he brought himself under such an obligation. For so the imperial laws[13] in this case had provided. Though in France in the time of the Gothic kings it was otherwise: for laymen there were not to sue a clerk in a secular court without the bishop's permission; as appears from a canon of the council[14] of Agde, made under Alaric, anno 506, which equally forbids a clergyman to sue a layman in a secular court, or to answer to any action brought against him there, without the bishop's permission. But whatever difference there was betwixt the Roman and Gothic laws in this particular, it is evident, that as to any controversies arising among the clergy themselves, they were to be determined before ecclesiastical judges; as appears from a canon of the council of Chalcedon, which is in these words: If any clergyman hath a controversy with another, he shall not leave his own bishop, and betake himself[15] to any secular court, but first have a hearing before his own bishop, or such arbitrators as both parties should choose with the bishop's approbation. Otherwise he should be liable to canonical censure. Which censure in the African church was the loss of his place, whether he were bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other inferior clerk, that declined the sentence of an ecclesiastical court, either in a civil or criminal cause, and betook himself to a secular court for justice: though he carried his cause, and sentence were given on his side, in a criminal action, yet he was to be deposed; or if it was a civil cause, he must lose whatever advantage he gained by the action, as the third council of Carthage[16] in this case determined, because he despised the whole church, in that he could not confide in any ecclesiastical persons to be his judges. Many other councils determined the same thing, as that of Vannes,[17] Chalons,[18] and Mascon.[19] And the council of Milevis[20] decreed, that no one should petition the emperor to assign him secular judges, but only ecclesiastical,[21] under pain of deprivation. So great confidence did the clergy generally place in one another, and pay such a deference to the wisdom, integrity, and judgment of their brethren, that it was then thought they had no need to have recourse to secular courts for justice, but they were willing to determine all controversies of their own among themselves: and as the imperial laws did not hinder this, but encourage it; so we seldom find any ecclesiastics inclined to oppose it, but either some factious and turbulent men, or such whose crimes had made them so obnoxious, that they had reason to dread an ecclesiastical censure.

Sect. 5. What care was taken in receiving accusations against the bishops and clergy of the church.

I shall but observe one thing more upon this head, which is, the great care the clergy had of the reputation and character of one another; which being a sacred and necessary thing in persons of their function, they did not think fit to let it be exposed to the malicious calumnies and slanders of every base and false accuser. But first, in all accusations, especially against bishops, the testimony of two or three witnesses was required, according to the rule of the apostle. Therefore when the synod of Antioch proceeded to condemn Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, upon a single testimony, the historian censures it[22] as an arbitrary proceeding in them against that apostolical canon, "Receive not an accusation against an elder, but before two or three witnesses." Secondly, The character of the witnesses was to be examined, before their testimony was to be allowed of. A heretic was not to give evidence against a bishop, as may be collected from those canons which bear the name of the Apostles', one of which joins these two things together: Receive[23] not a heretic to testify against a bishop; nor a single witness, though he be one of the faithful: for the law saith, "In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established." Athanasius pleaded the privilege of this law, when he was accused for suffering Macarius his presbyter to break the communion cup; he urged,[24] that his accusers were Meletians, who ought not to be credited, being schismatics, and enemies of the church. By the second council of Carthage, not only heretics, but any others that were known to be guilty[25] of scandalous crimes, were to be rejected from giving tes-

[13] Valentin. Novel. 12. ad calcem Cod. Th. In clerico petitore consequens erit, ut secundum leges pulsati forum sequatur, si adversarius suus ad episcopi vel presbyteri audientiam non præstat adsensum.

[14] Conc. Agathens. c. 32. Clericus nec quenquam præsumat apud sæcularem judicem, episcopo non permittente, pulsare. Sed si pulsatus fuerit, non respondeat, nec proponat, nec audeat criminale negotium in judicio seculari proponere.

[15] Conc. Chalced. c. 9. Εἴ τις κληρικὸς πρὸς κληρικὸν πρᾶγμα ἔχει, μὴ ἐγκαταλιμπανέτω τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἐπὶ κοσμικὰ δικαστήρια κατατρεχέτω. &c.

[16] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 9. Quisquis episcoporum, presbyterorum, et diaconorum seu clericorum, cum in ecclesia ei crimen fuerit intentatum, vel civilis causa fuerit commota, si derelicto ecclesiastico judicio publicis judiciis purgari voluerit, etiamsi pro ipso prolata fuerit sententia, locum suum amittat, et hoc in criminali actione. In civili vero perdat quod evicerit, si locum suum obtinere maluerit, &c.

[17] Conc. Venetic. c. 9. [18] Conc. Cabillon. c. 11.

[19] Conc. Matiscon. c. 8. [20] Conc. Milev. c. 19.

[21] Conc. Milev. c. 19. Quicunque ab imperatore cognitionem judiciorum publicorum petierit, honore proprio privetur: si autem episcopale judicium ab imperatore postulaverit, nihil ei obsit.

[22] Theod. Hist. lib. 1. c. 20. [23] Canon. Apost. c. 75.

[24] Athan. Apol. ad Constant. t. 1. p. 731.

[25] Conc. Carth. 2. c. 6. Qui aliquibus sceleribus irretitus est, vocem adversus majores natu non habeat accusandi. Vid. Cod. Can. Afric. c. 8.

timony against any elder of the church. The first general council of Constantinople distinguishes the causes, upon which an accusation might be brought against a bishop: for a man might have a private cause of complaint against him, as that he was defrauded in his property, or in any the like case injured by him; in which case his accusation was to be heard, without considering at all the quality of the person or his religion. For a bishop was to keep a good conscience, and any man that complained of being injured by him, was to have justice done him, whatever religion he was of. But if the crime was purely ecclesiastical that was alleged against him, then the personal qualities of the accusers were to be examined; so that no heretics should be allowed to accuse[26] orthodox bishops in causes ecclesiastical; nor any excommunicate persons, before they had first made satisfaction for their own crimes; nor any who were impeached of crimes, of which they had not proved themselves innocent. The council of Chalcedon[27] adds, that no clergyman or layman should be admitted to impeach a bishop or a clerk, till his own reputation and character were first inquired into and fully examined. So careful were they in this matter not to expose the credit of the clergy to the malicious designs or wicked conspiracies of any profligate wretches, whom malice or bribery might induce to accuse them. Thirdly, In case of false accusation, whether public or private, the penalty against the offender was very severe. If any clergyman, says one[28] of the Apostolical Canons, unjustly reproach a bishop, he shall be deposed: for it is written, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." And by a canon[29] of the council of Eliberis, for any man to charge a bishop, presbyter, or deacon with a false crime, which he could not make good against them, was excommunication, without hopes of reconciliation at the hour of death. Which was the usual penalty that was inflicted by that council upon very great and notorious offenders; for which some have censured the Spanish church as guilty of Novatianism, but without reason, as I shall show when I come to discourse of the discipline of the church. Here it may be sufficient to observe, that they thought this crime one of the first magnitude, since they refused to give the external peace of the church to such offenders, even at their last hour. Many other instances of the like respect might here be added, but by these few the reader will be able to judge, with what candour and civility the clergy of the primitive church were obliged to receive and treat one another. And it would have been happy for all ages, had they walked in the same steps, and copied after so good an example.

CHAPTER II.

INSTANCES OF RESPECT SHOWED TO THE CLERGY BY THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT. WHERE PARTICULARLY OF THEIR EXEMPTION FROM THE COGNIZANCE OF THE SECULAR COURTS IN ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES.

Sect. 1. Bishops not to be called into any secular court to give their testimony.

Next to the respect which the clergy showed to one another, it will be proper to speak of the honours which were done them by the civil magistrates, which were more or less, according as either the inclination and piety of the emperors led them, or as the state of the times required. These honours chiefly consisted in exempting them from some sort of obligations to which others were liable, and in granting them certain privileges and immunities which others did not enjoy. Of this kind was that instance of respect, which by the laws of Justinian was granted to all bishops, that no secular judge should compel[1] them to appear in a public court to give their testimony before him, but he should send one of his officers to take it from their mouth in private. This law is also repeated in the Justinian Code,[2] and there said to be enacted first by Theodosius the Great, a law of whose is still extant in the same words in the Theodosian Code.[3] But Gothofred will have it, that this law, as first enacted by Theodosius, meant no more than to exempt the clergy from being bound to give an account to the civil magistrates, of what judgments or sentences they passed upon any secular causes that were referred to their arbitration. And indeed it is evident, that the law terms, *ad testimonium devocari*, and εἰς μαρτυρίαν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, are taken in this sense by the African fathers in the fifth council of Carthage, where it was agreed[4] to petition the emperors to make a decree, that if any persons referred a civil cause to the arbitration of the church, and one of the parties chanced to be displeased with the de-

[26] Conc. Constant. Gen. 1. c. 6.

[27] Conc. Chalced. c. 21. [28] Canon. Apost. c. 47.

[29] Conc. Eliber. c. 75. Si quis episcopum, presbyterum, vel diaconum falsis criminibus appetierit, et probare non potuerit, nec in fine dandam ei communionem.

[1] Justin. Novel. 123. c. 7. Nulli judicum licebit Deo amabiles episcopos cogere ad judicium venire pro exhibendo testimonio; sed judex mittat ad eos quosdam ex personis ministrantium sibi, &c.

[2] Cod. Just. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 7. Imperator Theodosius dixit, Nec honore nec legibus episcopus ad testimonium dicendum flagitetur.

[3] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 39. de Fide Testium, Leg. 8.

[4] Conc. Carth. 5. c. 1. It. Cod. Can. Afr. c. 59. Et Conc. vulgo dict. Africanum. c. 26. Petendum ut statuere dignentur, ut si qui forte in ecclesia quamlibet causam, jure apostolico ecclesiis imposito, agere voluerint, et fortasse decisio clericorum uni parti displicuerit; non liceat cleri-

cision or sentence that was given against him; it should not be lawful to draw the clergyman, who was judge in the cause, into any secular court, to make him give any testimony or account of his determination. This was not intended to exempt clergymen in general from being called to be witnesses in a secular court, but only to free them from the prosecutions of vexatious and troublesome men, who, when they had chosen them for their arbitrators, would not stand to their arbitration, but prosecuted them in the civil courts, as if they had given a partial sentence against them: and though it was contrary to the law to give them any such trouble; because, as I have showed[5] in another place, all such determinations were to be absolutely decisive and final without appeal; yet it is probable some secular judges in Africa might give encouragement to such prosecutions: which made the African fathers complain of the grievance, and desire to have it redressed, in the forementioned canon, to which Gothofred thinks the law of Theodosius refers. But whether the law of Theodosius be thus to be limited, is a matter that may admit of further inquiry. Gothofred himself confesses that Justinian took it in a larger sense; and that is enough for me to found this privilege of bishops upon, that they were not to be called into a secular court, to give their testimony there in any case whatsoever.

Sect. 2. Nor obliged to give their testimony upon oath, by the laws of Justinian.

Another privilege of this kind, which also argued great respect paid to bishops, was, that when their testimony was taken in private, they were not obliged to give it upon oath, as other witnesses were, but only upon their word, as became the priests of God, laying the holy Gospels before them. For the same law of Justinian[6] which grants them the former privilege, enacted this in their favour and behalf also. And in pursuance of that law probably the council of Tribur some ages after[7] decreed, that no presbyter should be questioned upon oath, but instead of that only be interrogated upon his consecration; because it did not become a priest to swear upon a light cause. But it does not appear, that this indulgence was granted to bishops before the time of Justinian. For the council of Chalcedon[8] exacted an oath in a certain case of the Egyptian bishops; and the council of Tyre[9] required the same of Ibas, bishop of Edessa. And there are many other instances of the like nature.

Sect. 3. Whether the single evidence of one bishop was good in law against the testimony of many others.

Constantine the Great granted many privileges to the clergy; but there are some that go under his name, which were certainly never granted by him: as his famed donation to the bishops of Rome, which Baronius[10] himself gives up for a forgery, and De Marca[11] and Pagi[12] prove it to be a spurious fiction of the ninth century, invented most probably by the same Isidore Mercator, who forged the decretal epistles of the ancient bishops of Rome. There are other privileges fathered upon Constantine, which though not such manifest forgeries as the former, are yet by learned men reputed of a doubtful nature; such as that which is comprised in a law under the name of Constantine[13] at the end of the Theodosian Code, where all judges are commanded to take the single evidence of one bishop as good in law, against all others whatsoever. Gothofred is of opinion, that this whole title in the Theodosian Code is spurious; and for this law in particular, there are two arguments that seem to prove it not genuine. First, Because Constantine himself in another law says,[14] the testimony of a single witness shall not be heard in any case, no, not though the witness be a senator. Secondly, Because the ecclesiastical laws, as well as the civil, require two witnesses, as has been noted in the last chapter. Which, I think, are sufficient arguments to prove, that no such extravagant privilege could be granted to bishops by Constantine: but I leave the reader to judge for himself, if he can find better arguments to the contrary.

Sect. 4. Presbyters privileged against being questioned by torture, as other witnesses were.

We have better proof for another privilege that we find granted to presbyters, which was, that if any of them were called to give testimony in a public court, they should not be examined by scourging or torture, as the law directed in other cases. For by the Roman laws witnesses might be examined upon the rack in some cases, to make them declare the whole truth: as we learn not only from the laws[15] themselves, but from St. Austin,[16] and Synesius,[17] who mentions several new sorts of

cum in judicium ad testimonium devocari eum, qui cognitor vel præsens (forsan præses) fuerit. Et nulla ad testimonium dicendum ecclesiastici cujuslibet persona pulsetur.

[5] Book II. chap. 7. sect. 3 and 4.

[6] Justin. Novel. 123. c. 7. Propositis SS. evangeliis, secundum quod decet sacerdotes, dicant quod noverint, non tamen jurent.

[7] Conc. Tribur. c. 21. Presbyter vice juramenti per sanctam consecrationem interrogetur; quia sacerdotes ex levi causa jurare non debent, &c.

[8] Conc. Chalced. Act. 4. t. 4. p. 518.

[9] Conc. Tyr. in Act. 9. Concil. Chalced. p. 629.

[10] Baron. an. 324. n. 118.

[11] Marca, de Concord. lib. 6. c. 6. n. 6.

[12] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 324. n. 13.

[13] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 12. de Episc. Audient. Leg. 1. Testimonium etiam ab uno licet episcopo perhibitum, omnes judices indubitanter accipiant, nec alius audiatur, cum testimonium episcopi a qualibet parte fuerit repromissum.

[14] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 39. de Fide Testium, Leg. 3. Sancimus, ut unius omnino testis responsio non audiatur, etiamsi præclaræ curiæ honore præfulgeat.

[15] Vid. Cod. Justin. lib. 9. Tit. 41. de Quæstionibus. It. Cod. Theod. lib. 13. Tit. 9. de Naufragiis, Leg. 2.

[16] Aug. Serm. 49. de Divers. t. 10. p. 520.

[17] Synes. Ep. 58.

torture, which Andronicus, the tyrannical prefect of Ptolemais, invented, beyond what the law directed. But now nothing of this kind could be imposed upon any presbyter of the church: for they were exempted from it by a law of Theodosius the Great, which is still extant in both the Codes,[18] by which it also appears that it was a peculiar privilege granted to bishops and presbyters, but to none below them: for the rest of the clergy are excepted, and left to the common way of examination, which in other cases the law directed to be used.

Sect. 5. The clergy exempt from the ordinary cognizance of the secular courts in all ecclesiastical causes.

But the next privilege I am to mention, was a more universal one, that extended to all the clergy; which was their exemption from the ordinary cognizance of the secular courts in several sorts of causes. To understand this matter aright, we must carefully distinguish two things. First, The different kinds of causes in which the clergy might be concerned; and, secondly, The different powers of the inferior courts from that of the supreme magistrate, who was invested with a peculiar prerogative power above them. The want of attending to which distinctions is the thing that has bred so much confusion in modern authors upon this subject, and especially in the Romish writers, many of which are intolerably partial in their accounts, and highly injurious to the civil magistrates, under pretence of asserting and maintaining the rights and liberties of the church. In the first place, therefore, to have a right understanding in this matter, we must distinguish the several sorts of causes in which ecclesiastical persons might be concerned. Now these were of four kinds. First, Such as related to matters purely eccclesiastical, as crimes committed against the faith, or canons, and discipline, and good order of the church, which were to be punished with ecclesiastical censures. Secondly, Such as related to mere civil and pecuniary matters between a clergyman and a layman. Thirdly, Such as related to political matters, as gross and scandalous crimes committed against the laws, and to the detriment of the commonwealth, as treason, rebellion, robbery, murder, and the like, which in the laws are called *atrocia delicta*. Fourthly, Such as related to lesser crimes of the same nature, which the law calls *levia delicta*, small or petty offences. Now, according to this distinction of causes, the clergy were, or were not, exempt from the cognizance of the civil courts by the laws of the Roman empire. In all matters that were purely ecclesiastical they were absolutely exempt, as Gothofred,[19] the great civilian, scruples not to own. For all causes of that nature were reserved to the hearing of bishops and their councils, not only by the canons of the church, but the laws of the state also.

Sect. 6. This evidenced from the laws of Constantius:

This may be evidenced from the rescripts of several emperors successively one after another, most of which are extant in both the Codes. Constantius, anno 355, published a law,[20] wherein he prohibited any accusation to be brought against a bishop before a secular magistrate; but if any one had any complaint against him, his cause should be heard and tried by a synod of bishops. This at least must signify in ecclesiastical causes; though Gothofred and some others say it extended also to civil and criminal causes; and that though it looked like a privilege, yet it was intended as a snare to the catholic bishops, to oppress them by his Arian synods, in those times when the majority of bishops in any synod were commonly such as favoured the Arian party; and a catholic bishop might expect more favour and justice from a secular court than from them. But whether this law extended to all civil and criminal causes is not very easy to determine: thus much is certain, that if it did, it was not long after in that part revoked, whilst in the other part it stood good, and was confirmed by the laws of the succeeding emperors.

Sect. 7. And those of Valentinian and Gratian:

For Valentinian granted the clergy the same immunity in all ecclesiastical causes. As appears from what St. Ambrose writes to the younger Valentinian concerning his father, saying, Your father, of august memory,[21] did not only say it in words, but enacted it into a law, that in matters of faith and ecclesiastical order they ought to judge who were qualified by their office, and of the same order. For those are the words of his rescript. That is, he would have priests to judge of priests. This law is not now extant in the Code, but there is another of Valentinian and Gratian to the same purpose; wherein it is decreed,[22] that the same custom should be observed in ecclesiastical business, as was in civil

[18] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 39. de Fide Testium, Leg. 10. Presbyteri citra injuriam quæstionis testimonium dicant; ita tamen ut falsa non simulent. Cæteri vero clerici, qui eorum gradum vel ordinem subsequuntur, si ad testimonium dicendum petiti fuerint, prout leges præcipiunt, audiantur. Vid. Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. Leg. 8.

[19] Gothofr. Comment. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 23.

[20] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 12. Mansuetudinis nostræ lege prohibemus in judiciis episcopos accusari. ——Si quid est igitur querelarum, quod quispiam defert, apud alios potissimum episcopos convenit explorari, &c.

[21] Ambros. Ep. 32. Augustæ memoriæ pater tuus non solum sermone respondit, sed etiam legibus suis sanxit, in causa fidei, vel ecclesiastici alicujus ordinis eum judicare debere, qui nec munere impar, nec jure dissimilis. Hæc enim verba rescripti sunt. Hoc est, sacerdotes de sacerdotibus voluit judicare.

[22] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 23. Qui mos est causarum civilium, iidem in negotiis ecclesiasticis obtinendi sunt: ut siqua sunt ex quibusdam dissensionibus, levibusque delictis, ad religionis observantiam pertinentia, locis suis, et a suæ diœceseos synodis audiantur: exceptis quæ

causes: that if there arose any controversies about matters of religion, either from the dissensions of men, or other small offences, they should be heard and determined in the places where they arose, or in the synod of the whole diocese, except only such criminal actions as were reserved to the hearing of the ordinary judges, the proconsuls and prefects of every province, or the extraordinary judges of the emperor's own appointing, or the illustrious powers, viz. the *præfectus-prætorio* of the diocese. Here it is plain, that though criminal actions against the state-laws are excepted, yet all matters ecclesiastical were to be heard by ecclesiastical judges, and no other.

Sect. 8. And Theodosius the Great: In the last title of the Theodosian Code, there is a law under the name of Theodosius the Great to the same purpose, wherein it is decreed, that no bishop,[23] or any other minister of the church, shall be drawn into the civil courts of any ordinary or extraordinary judges, about matters or causes of an ecclesiastical nature; because they have judges of their own, and laws distinct from those of the state. This law is cited in Gratian's decree, but the words, *quantum ad causas ecclesiasticas tamen pertinet*, are there[24] fraudulently left out, to serve the current doctrine and hypothesis of his own times, and make the reader believe, that the clergy anciently enjoyed an exemption not only in ecclesiastical causes, but all others. I the rather mention this corruption, because none of the correctors of Gratian have taken any notice of it. The Roman censors silently pass it over, and it has escaped the diligence of Antonius Augustinus and Baluzius also. Gothofred indeed questions the authority of the law itself; but I shall not stand to dispute that, since there is nothing in it contrary to the preceding laws, or those that followed after.

Sect. 9. And Arcadius and Honorius: For Arcadius and Honorius continued the same privilege to the clergy, confirming the ancient laws, that whenever any cause relating to religion was debated, the bishops[25] were to be judges; but other causes, belonging to the cognizance of the ordinary judges, and the use of the common laws, were to be heard by them only.

Sect. 10. And Valentinian III. and Justinian. Theodosius junior and Valentinian III. refer to this law of Honorius, as the standing law then in force concerning the immunities and liberties of the clergy, saying in one of their decrees, that[26] bishops and presbyters had no court of secular laws, nor any power to judge of other causes, except such as related to religion, according to the constitutions of Arcadius and Honorius inserted into the Theodosian Code. So that all the same laws which denied them power in secular causes, allowed them the privilege of judging in ecclesiastical causes; and the very excepting of other causes is a manifest proof, that there was no contest made about these to the time of Justinian, who confirmed the privilege which so many of his predecessors had granted before him. For in one of his Novels[27] we find it enacted, That all ecclesiastical crimes, which were to be punished with ecclesiastical penalties and censures, should be judged by the bishop; the provincial judges not intermeddling with them. For, saith he, it is our pleasure that such matters shall not be heard by the civil judges.

Sect. 11. The clergy also exempt in lesser criminal causes. Gothofred is also of opinion,[28] that some of the lesser criminal causes of ecclesiastics were to be determined by the bishops and their synods likewise. For in the forementioned law of Gratian, (see before, sect. 7,) the *levia delicta*, or lesser crimes, are reserved to the hearing of bishops. And St. Ambrose having spoken of the decree of Valentinian, that orders all ecclesiastical causes to be judged by bishops only, adds also, that if in other respects a bishop was to be censured, and his morals[29] came under examination, such causes as those likewise should appertain to the episcopal judgment. Which seems to put some distinction between ecclesiastical and civil criminal causes, and reserve both to the hearing of bishops and their synods. But then, as Gothofred rightly observes, this must only be understood of lesser criminal causes: for in greater criminal actions the clergy were liable to the cognizance of the secular judges as well as all others. Which is freely owned by De Marca, and some other ingenuous writers of the Romish church. For De Marca[30] quits the positions of Baronius and the canonists, and confesses,

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actio criminalis ab ordinariis extraordinariisque judicibus, aut illustribus potestatibus audientia (leg. audienda) constituit.

[23] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 12. de Episc. Judicio. Leg. 3. Continua lege sancimus, ut nullus episcoporum, vel eorum qui ecclesiæ necessitatibus serviunt, ad judicia sive ordinariorum sive extraordinariorum judicum (quantum tamen ad causas ecclesiasticas pertinet) pertrahatur, &c.

[24] Gratian. Caus. 11. Quæst. 1. c. 5.

[25] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 11. de Religione, Leg. 1. Quotiens de religione agitur, episcopos convenit judicare: cæteras vero causas, quæ ad ordinarios cognitores, vel ad usum publici juris pertinent, legibus oportet audiri.

[26] Valentin. Novel. 12 ad calcem Cod. Theod. Constat episcopos et presbyteros forum legibus non habere: nec de aliis causis, secundum Arcadii et Honorii divalia constituta, quæ Theodosianum corpus ostendit, præter religionem posse cognoscere.

[27] Justin. Novel. 83. Si vero ecclesiasticum sit delictum, egens castigatione ecclesiastica et multa, Deo amabilis episcopus hoc discernat, nihil communicantibus clarissimis provinciæ judicibus. Neque enim volumus talia negotia omnino scire civiles judices.

[28] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 23.

[29] Ambr. Ep. 32. Quinetiam si alias quoque argueretur episcopus, et morum esset examinanda causa, etiam hanc voluit ad episcopale judicium pertinere.

[30] Marca, Dissert. in Cap. Clericus, ad calcem Antonii Au-

that as it appears from the Theodosian Code, that the ecclesiastical crimes, and lesser civil crimes of the clergy, were left to the hearing of bishops, and the synods of every diocese or province; so the greater civil crimes of the clergy, which he reckons five in number, were reserved to the hearing of the public courts and civil judges; which, he says, appears from the laws published by Sirmondus in his Appendix to the Theodosian Code.

Sect. 12. But not in greater criminal cases.

Some reckon those laws to be of no very great authority, and therefore I shall rather choose to confirm this position from the undoubted laws which occur in the body of the Theodosian Code. Such as that of Theodosius and Gratian, which particularly excepts these greater criminal actions,[31] and reserves them to the hearing of the ordinary or extraordinary judges, or the *præfectus-prætorio* of the diocese; and those other laws of Theodosius, and Arcadius, and Honorius, and Valentinian III., which have been cited in the foregoing sections,[32] and need not here be repeated. To which we may add that law of the elder Valentinian, which orders[33] all such ecclesiastics to be prosecuted in the civil courts, that were found guilty of creeping into the houses of widows and orphans, and so insinuating into their affections, as to prevail upon them to disinherit their relations, and make them their heirs. And that other law of the emperor Marcian, which in criminal causes exempts the clergy of Constantinople[34] from the cognizance of all inferior courts, but not from the high court of the *præfectus-prætorio* of the royal city. Which appears also to have been the practice at Rome. For Socrates[35] observes, that when, in the conflict which happened at the election of Pope Damasus, some persons were slain, many both of the laity and clergy upon that account were punished by Maximinus, who was then *præfectus-prætorio* at Rome. It appears further from the Novels[36] of Valentinian III., that in such criminal actions as those of murder, robbing of graves, or the like, bishops, as well as any other clerks, were bound to answer before the civil magistrate by their proctors. But Justinian a little enlarged the privilege with respect to bishops, making a decree,[37] that no one should draw a bishop in any pecuniary or criminal cause before a secular magistrate against his will, unless the emperor gave particular order to do it. This was the plain state of the matter, as to what concerned the exemption of the clergy in this sort of criminal causes, notwithstanding what Baronius or any others of that strain have said to the contrary. Nay, some ages after, such crimes as murder, theft, and witchcraft were brought before the secular judges in France, as appears from the council of Mascon,[38] anno 581.

Sect. 13. Nor in pecuniary causes with laymen.

The case was much the same in all civil pecuniary controversies which the clergy had with laymen. For though they might end all such causes which they had one with another, in their own courts, or before a synod of bishops; and the canons obliged them so to do, as has been noted in the last chapter;[39] yet if their controversy happened to be with a layman, the layman was not bound to refer the hearing of his cause to an ecclesiastical court, unless he voluntarily consented by way of compromise to take some ecclesiastical persons for his arbitrators. This is evident from one of the Constitutions of Valentinian III., which says, That if the plaintiff was a layman, he might compel any clergyman, with whom he had a civil contest, to answer in a civil court, if he[40] rather chose it. And the council of Epone,[41] according to the reading of Sirmond's edition, says the same, that the clergy, if they were sued in a secular court, should make no scruple to follow the plaintiff thither. But Justinian, at the instance of Mennas, patriarch of Constantinople,

gustini de Emendat. Gratiani, p. 577. In Codice Theodosiano controversiæ quæ ad religionem pertinent, in quibus sunt crimina ecclesiastica, et minora delicta e civilium numero, episcopis et cujusque diœceseos sive provinciæ synodis relinquuntur: servatâ judiciis publicis atrocium criminum, quæ numero quinque, adversus clericos cognitione; ut docent leges aliquot editæ cura Sirmondi in Appendice Codicis Theodosiani.

[31] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 23. Exceptis quæ actio criminalis ab ordinariis extraordinariisque judicibus, aut illustribus potestatibus audienda constituit.

[32] See sect. 8, 9, 10.

[33] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 20. Ecclesiastici—viduarum ac pupillarum domos non adeant: sed publicis exterminentur judiciis, si posthac eos affines earum vel propinqui putaverint deferendos.

[34] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 25. Actor in nullo alio foro, vel apud quenquam alterum judicem eosdem clericos litibus irretire, et civilibus vel criminalibus negotiis tentet innectere.

[35] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 29. Διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς λαϊκούς τε καὶ κληρικοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ἐπάρχου Μαξιμίνου τιμωρηθῆναι.

[36] Valent. Novel. 5. de Sepulcr. Violat. ad calcem Cod. Theod. It. Novel. 12. Quam formam etiam circa episcoporum personam observari oportere censemus. Ut si in hujusmodi ordinis homines actionem pervasionis et atrocium injuriarum dirigi necesse fuerit, per procuratorem solemniter ordinatum, apud judicem publicum inter leges et jura confligant.

[37] Justin. Novel. 123. n. 8. Sed neque ut episcopus pro pecuniaria aliqua aut criminali causa ad civilem militaremve magistratum invitus perducatur, sistaturve sine imperiali jussione concedimus.

[38] Conc. Matiscon. 1. can. 7.

[39] Chap. 1. sect. 4.

[40] Valent. Novel. 12. Petitor laicus, seu in civili seu in criminali causa, cujuslibet loci clericum adversarium suum, si id magis eligat, per auctoritatem legitimam in publico judicio respondere compellat.

[41] Conc. Epaunens. c. 11. Si pulsati fuerint, sequi ad seculare judicium non morentur. Yet note that other editions, as that of Crab and Binius, read it to a contrary sense sequi ad seculare judicium non præsumant.

granted the clergy of the royal city a peculiar privilege, that in all pecuniary matters[42] their cause should first be brought before the bishop; and if the nature of the cause happened to be such that he could not determine it, then recourse might be had to the civil judges, but not otherwise. From all which it appears, that anciently exemptions of this nature were not challenged as matters of Divine right, but depended wholly upon the will and pleasure of Christian princes, however after ages came to put another kind of gloss upon them.

Sect. 14. Of the necessary distinction between the supreme and subordinate magistrates in this business of exemptions.

Nay, it must be observed, that even in ecclesiastical causes, a great difference was always observed between the power of the prince or supreme magistrate, and that of the subordinate and inferior judges. For though the ordinary judges were bound by the laws not to intermeddle with ecclesiastical causes; yet in some cases, the prince himself interposed and appointed extraordinary judges, and sometimes heard and decided the causes himself, or reversed the decisions of ecclesiastics by his sovereign power, which no ordinary judges were qualified to do. But this belongs to another subject, that will have a more proper place in this work, when we come to speak of the power of Christian princes.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE IMMUNITIES OF THE CLERGY IN REFERENCE TO TAXES AND CIVIL OFFICES, AND OTHER BURDENSOME EMPLOYMENTS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Sect. 1. No Divine right pleaded by the ancient clergy to exempt themselves from taxes.

ANOTHER privilege which the clergy enjoyed by the favour of Christian princes, was, that in some certain cases, according to the exigence of times and places, they were exempt from some of the taxes that were laid upon the rest of the Roman empire. But whatever they enjoyed of this kind, they did not pretend to as matter of Divine right, but freely acknowledged it to be owing to the pious munificence and favour of Christian emperors. Therefore[1] Baronius does them great injustice, and is guilty of very great prevarication, in pretending that they claimed a freedom from tribute by the law of Christ; and that no emperor ever imposed any tax upon them, except only Julian the apostate, and Valens the Arian, and the younger Valentinian, who was wholly governed by his mother Justina, an Arian empress; that when St. Ambrose paid tribute under this Valentinian, he did it only out of his Christian meekness, not that he was otherwise under any obligation to have done it. How true this representation is, the reader may judge in part from the words of St. Ambrose, which are these:[2] If the emperor demands tribute of us, we do not deny it: the lands of the church pay tribute. We pay to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's. Tribute is Cæsar's, and therefore we do not refuse to pay it. This is so far from challenging any exemption by Divine right, that it plainly asserts the contrary. As in another place he argues, that all men are under an obligation to pay tribute, because[3] the Son of God himself paid it, Matt. xvii. 27. And yet Baronius cites[4] that very passage of the evangelist to prove that the clergy are *jure Divino* exempt, because our Saviour says, " Then are the children free." For if, says he, the children be free, much more so are the fathers, that is, the pastors, under whose care princes are. Bellarmine is much more ingenuous in handling this question; for he asserts[5] against the canonists, (whose opinion Baronius labours to maintain,) that the exemption of the clergy in political matters, whether relating to their persons or their goods, was introduced by human right only, and not Divine: and that, in fact, they were never exempted from any other but personal tribute, till the time of Justinian, when they were freed from taxes upon their estates and possessions also. So little agreement is there betwixt these two great cardinals of the Romish church in their accounts of this matter, either as to fact or right, that in every thing their assertions are point blank contrary to one another.

Sect. 2. Yet generally excused from personal taxes, or head-money.

To set the matter in a clear light, it will be necessary for me to give the reader a distinct account of the several sorts of tribute that were imposed upon subjects in the Roman empire, and to show how far the clergy were concerned in each of them; which will be best done by having recourse to the Theodosian Code, where most of the laws relating to this affair are still extant. And this I shall the rather do, because Baronius makes use of the same authority, but with great partiality, dis-

[42] Justin. Novel. 83.

[1] Baron. an. 387. t. 4. p. 538.

[2] Ambr. Orat. cont. Auxent. de tradend. basilicis post Ep. 32. Si tributum petit imperator, non negamus; agri ecclesiæ solvunt tributum.——Solvimus quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo. Tributum Cæsaris est, non negatur.

[3] Ambr. lib. 4. in Luc. v. et ap. Gratian. Caus. 11. qu. 1. c. 28. Si censum filius Dei solvit, quis tu tantus es, qui non putes esse solvendum?

[4] Baron. an. 387. n. 12. p. 538.

[5] Bellarm. de Clericis, lib. 1. c. 28. Exceptio clericorum in rebus politicis, tam quoad personas, quam quoad bona, jure humano introducta est, non Divino. Hæc propositio est contra canonistas.

sembling every thing that would not serve the hypothesis he had undertaken to maintain.

Now, the first sort of tribute I shall take notice of, is that which is commonly called *census capitum*, or personal tribute, to distinguish it from the *census agrorum*, or tribute arising from men's estates and possessions. That the clergy were generally freed from this sort of tribute is agreed on all hands, only Gothofred has a very singular notion about it. For he asserts[6] that under the Christian emperors there was no such tribute as this paid by any men; so that the exemption of the clergy in this case was no peculiar privilege belonging to them, but only what they enjoyed in common with all other subjects of the Roman empire. But in this that learned man seems evidently to be mistaken. For, first, he owns there was such a tribute under the heathen emperors, from which, as Ulpian[7] relates, none were excused, save only minors under fourteen, and persons superannuated, that is, above sixty-five: nor does he produce any law to show when or by whom that tribute was ordered to be laid aside. Secondly, Theodosius junior, the author of the Theodosian Code, makes express mention of it, when, in one of his Novels,[8] he distinguishes betwixt the *census capitum* and *census agrorum*. Thirdly, there are several laws in the Theodosian Code, exempting the clergy from tribute, which cannot fairly be understood of any other tribute but this sort of capitation. As when Constantius grants the clergy the same immunity from tribute as minors had, he plainly refers to the old law about minors mentioned by Ulpian, and puts the clergy upon the same foot with them, granting them this privilege, that not only they themselves, but[9] their wives and children, their men-servants and their maid-servants, should all be free from tribute; meaning personal tribute, or that sort of capitation called *capitis census*. After the same manner we are to understand those two laws of Valentinian,[10] where he grants to devoted virgins, and widows, and orphans under twenty years of age, the same immunity from tribute, or, as it is there called, the capitation of the vulgar. As also that other law[11] of his, where he grants the like privilege to painters, together with their wives and children. From all which we may very reasonably conclude, that this exemption from personal taxes was not a thing then common to all, but a peculiar privilege of some certain arts and professions, among which the most honourable was that of the clergy.

This may be further confirmed from an observation or two out of Gregory Nazianzen and Basil. Nazianzen, in one of his epistles[12] to Amphilochius, complains, that the officers of the government had made an illegal attempt upon one Euthalius a deacon, to oblige him to pay taxes: therefore he desires Amphilochius not to permit this injury to be done him; since otherwise[13] he would suffer a hardship above other men, not being allowed to enjoy the favour of the times, and the honour which the emperors had granted to the clergy. Here he plainly refers to some immunity from tribute, which the imperial laws granted particularly to the clergy; which could not be any exemption of their estates from tribute, for there was no such law then in force to be appealed to: it must therefore mean their exemption from personal taxes, from which they were freed by the laws of Valentinian and Constantius already mentioned. This will still receive greater light and confirmation from the testimony of St. Basil, who had occasion to make a like complaint to Modestus, (who was *præfectus-prætorio Orientis* under Valens,) of some who had infringed the privilege of the clergy in exacting tribute of them against the laws. The ancient way of taxing, says he, excused such as were consecrated to God,[14] presbyters and deacons, from paying tribute: but now they who are set over this affair, pretending to have no warrant from your Eminency to excuse them, have taxed them all, except such as could claim a privilege from their age. Therefore his request to him was, *συγχωρηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον τῆς συντελείας τοὺς ἱερατεύοντας*, that the clergy might be exempt from tribute according to the ancient laws. St.

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[6] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 1. de Annon. et Tribut. Leg. 15. It. Com. in lib. 13. Tit. 10. de Censu, Leg. 4.

[7] Digest. lib. 50. Tit. 15. de Censibus, Leg. 3. Quibusdam ætas tribuit, ne tributo onerentur. Veluti in Syriis a quatuordecim annis masculi, a duodecim fœminæ usque ad sexagesimum quintum annum tributo capitis onerentur.

[8] Theodos. Novel. 21.

[9] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 10 et 14. Clericis ac juvenibus præbeatur immunitas—Quod et conjugibus et liberis eorum et ministeriis majoribus pariter ac fœminis indulgemus; quos a censibus etiam jubemus perseverare immunes.

[10] Cod. Th. lib. 13. Tit. 10. de Censu, Leg. 4. In virginitate perpetua viventes, et eam viduam de qua ipsa maturitas pollicetur ætatis nulli jam eam esse nupturam, a plebeiæ capitationis injuria vindicandas esse decernimus: item pupillos in virili sexu usque ad viginti annos ab istius modi functione immunes esse debere; mulieres autem donec virum unaquæque sortitur. Ibid. Leg. 6. Nulla vidua, nemo pupillus exactionem plebis agnoscat, &c.

[11] Cod. Th. lib. 13. Tit. 4. de Excusat. Artific. Leg. 4. Picturæ professores, si modo ingenui sunt, placuit, neque sui capitis censione, neque uxorum, aut etiam liberorum nomine, tributis esse munificos.

[12] Naz. Ep. 159. Διαγράφειν ἐπιχειροῦσι χρυσὸν οἱ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς τάξεως.

[13] Ibid. Δεινότατα ἂν πάθοι, μόνος ἀνθρώπων μὴ τυγχάνον τῆς τῶν καιρῶν φιλανθρωπίας, καὶ τῆς δεδομένης τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τιμῆς.

[14] Basil. Ep. 279. ad. Modest. Τοὺς τῷ Θεῷ ἱερωμένους, πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους ὁ παλαιὸς κῆνσος ἀτελεῖς ἀφῆκεν· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀπογραψάμενοι, ὡς οὐ λαβόντες παρὰ τῆς ὑπερφυοῦς σου ἐξουσίας πρόσταγμα, ἀπεγράψαντο, πλὴν εἰ μή που τινὲς ἄλλως εἶχον ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας τὴν ἄφεσιν.

Basil in this passage refers to two sorts of laws exempting persons from tribute; the one, those ancient laws of the heathen emperors, which only excused minors and superannuates from personal tribute; the other, those laws of Constantius and Valentinian, which exempted the clergy also, granting them that immunity which only minors enjoyed before. And this is the thing he complains of, that the clergy were not allowed the benefit of Christian laws, but only those laws of the heathen emperors, whereby, if they chanced to be minors or superannuated, that is, under twenty, or above sixty-five, they were excused, but not otherwise. From all which it evidently appears, that the clergy might claim a peculiar privilege by the laws to be exempted from personal tribute, and that this was not common to all the subjects of the empire, whatever Gothofred and Pagi[15] from him have suggested to the contrary.

Sect. 3. But not excused for their lands and possessions.

The next sort of tribute was that which was exacted of men for their lands and possessions, which goes by several names in the civil law and ancient writers. Sometimes it is called *κανὼν*, as by Athanasius,[16] where he complains how he was unjustly accused of imposing a tax upon Egypt for the use of the church of Alexandria. So in the Theodosian Code[17] there is a whole title, *De canone frumentario urbis Romæ*, which signifies the tribute of corn that was exacted of the African provinces for the use of the city of Rome. It is otherwise called *jugatio*, from *juga*, which, as Gothofred notes,[18] signifies as much land as a yoke of oxen could plough in a year: and, because the taxation was made according to that rate, it had, therefore, the name of *jugatio* and *juga*. It has also frequently the name of *capitatio* and *capita*: and because men's servants and cattle were reckoned into their taxable possessions as well as their lands, therefore, in some laws[19] the one is called *capitatio terrena*, and the other *capitatio humana et animalium*, or *animarum descriptio*. These taxes were usually paid three times a year, once every four months; whence Sidonius Apollinaris[20] styles them *tria capita*, or the monster with three heads, which he desired the emperor Majorianus to free him from, that he might live and subsist the better: for thus he addresses himself to him in his poetical way:

> Geryones nos esse puta, monstrumque tributum:
> Hic capita, ut vivam, tu mihi tolle tria.

In which words, which none of the commentators rightly understood, he refers to a law[21] of Valentinian's, and several others in the Theodosian Code, where this sort of tribute is required to be paid by three certain portions in a year, or once in four months, which, in his phrase, is the *tria capita*, or monster with three heads. The collectors of this tax were also hence called *cephaleotæ*, collectors of the capitation,[22] in some laws of the Theodosian Code. And because this tribute was commonly paid in specie, as in corn, wine, oil, iron, brass, &c., for the emperor's service, therefore it is often called *specierum collatio*. And, being the ordinary standing tax of the empire, it is no less frequently styled *indictio canonica*,[23] in opposition to the *superindicta et extraordinaria*, that is, such taxes as were levied upon extraordinary occasions. I have noted these things here all together, that I may not be put to explain the terms at every turn hereafter, as I have occasion to make use of them, which are indeed a little uncommon, and not easily understood, but by such as are conversant in the civil law.

Now to the question in hand, whether the clergy in general were exempt from this ordinary canonical tribute laid upon men's goods and possessions? I answer in the negative, against Baronius, who asserts the contrary. Some particular churches, indeed, had special favours granted them by indulgent princes, to exempt them from all tribute of this kind: but those very exceptions prove, that what was matter of grace to some particular churches, could not be the common privilege of all churches. Theodosius junior granted a special exemption to the church of Thessalonica, that she should pay no capitation for her own estate,[24] provided she did not take other lands into her protection, to the detriment of the commonwealth, under the pretence of an ecclesiastical title. He also allowed the churches of Constantinople and Alexandria the same privilege,[25] upon the like condition, that they should not take any villages, great or small, into

[15] Pagi, Crit. in Baron. an. 353. n. 10.

[16] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 778. Ὡς ἐμοῦ κανόνα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιβάλλοντος, &c.

[17] Cod. Th. lib. 14. Tit. 15.

[18] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. 13. Tit. 10. de Censu, Leg. 2. p. 118. Ego juga putem dicta terræ modum, cui colendo per annum jugo boum opus est.

[19] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 20. de Conlat. Donat. Leg. 6.

[20] Sidon. Carm. 13. ad Majorian.

[21] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 1. de Annona et Tribut. Leg. 15. Unusquisque annonarias species, pro modo capitationis et sortium, præbiturus, per quaternos menses anni curriculo distributo, tribus vicibus summam conlationis implebit.

[22] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 24. de Patrocin. Vicor. Leg. 5.

[23] Cod. Th. lib. 6. Tit. 26. de Proximis Comitib. &c. Leg. 14.

[24] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 1. de Annona et Tribut. Leg. 33. Sacrosancta Thessalonicensis ecclesia civitatis excepta: ita tamen ut aperte sciat, propriæ tantummodo capitationis modum beneficio mei numinis sublevandum: nec externorum gravamine tributorum rempublicam ecclesiastici nominis abusione lædendam.

[25] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 24. de Patrocin. Vicorum, Leg. 5. Quicquid ecclesiæ venerabiles, (id est, Constantinopolitana et Alexandrina,) possedisse deteguntur, id pro intuitu religionis ab his præcipimus firmiter retineri: sub ea videlicet

their patronage, to excuse them from paying their ancient capitation. Gothofred is also of opinion, that in the beginning of Constantine's reign, while the church was poor, and her standing revenues but small, her estates and possessions were universally excused from tribute: for there is a law in the Theodosian Code which may be interpreted to this purpose; though the words are so obscure,[26] that, without the help of so wise an interpreter, one would hardly find out the sense of them. However, admitting them to signify such a privilege, it is certain it lasted not many years: for in the next reign, under Constantius, when the church was grown pretty wealthy, all the clergy that were possessed of lands, were obliged to pay tribute, in the same manner as all others did: as appears from a law of Constantius, directed to Taurus, *præfectus-prætorio*, which is still extant in both the Codes.[27] This is further evident from the testimony of Valentinian, who, in an epistle to the bishops of Asia, recorded by Theodoret,[28] says, all good bishops thought themselves obliged to pay tribute, and did not resist the imperial power. And thus matters continued to the time of Honorius, and Theodosius junior, in one of whose laws[29] the church lands are still made liable to this ordinary or canonical tribute, as it is there worded, though excused from all other. So little reason had Baronius to assert with that confidence, that no prince, except Julian the apostate, and Valens the Arian, and the younger Valentinian, who was under the conduct of an Arian woman, ever exacted any tribute of the clergy; whenas it appears, that every emperor after Constantine did exact it; and Baronius could not be ignorant of this, having viewed and perused the Theodosian Code, where these things are recorded.

Sect. 4. Of the tribute called, *aurum tironicum, equi canonici, &c.*

If in any thing of this tribute they were exempt, it must be from the obligation some provinces lay under to furnish the emperors with new soldiers, called *tirones*, and fresh horses for the wars, which, because they were exhibited by way of tribute, they are called in the law *equi canonici*, from the civil law term canon, and *canonica*, which, as I observed before, signifies the tribute that was laid upon men's lands and possessions. Sometimes this tribute was exacted in money instead of horses, and then it was called[30] *equorum canonicorum adæratio*, horse-money: in like manner as the sum that was paid instead of the *tirones* was called *aurum tironicum, et stratioticum*, soldiers' money, which we find mentioned in Synesius, where, speaking[31] of Andronicus, governor of Ptolemais, he says, He set one Thoas to collect this *aurum tironicum*, which the editor by mistake says was so called, *quia solvebatur tironibus*, because it was paid to the *tirones*, whereas indeed it was the money that was paid instead of the *tirones* by way of tribute into the treasury of the empire. Now, that some bishops, at least in Africa, were excused from this tribute, is concluded by some learned men from a law[32] of Theodosius junior, which excuses certain persons from it under the title of *sacerdotales* in the proconsular Africa, and that because they were otherwise obliged to be at great expenses in that province. But now the question is, who are meant by the name *sacerdotales*. The learned Petit[33] says it denotes Christian bishops; and if so, the case would be clear as to their exemption: but Gothofred rather inclines[34] to think it means the high priests among the heathens, who were still in being, and obliged by their office to be at great expenses in exhibiting the *ludi sacerdotales* to the people. I will not venture to decide so nice a dispute betwixt two such learned men, but think, however, I may safely infer even from Gothofred's notion, that if the Christian emperors were so liberal to the heathen high priests, they would at least be as liberal to their own bishops, and grant them the same immunity. But I leave this matter to further inquiry.

Sect. 5. The church obliged to such burdens as lands were tied to before their donation.

One thing is more certain, that whatever burdens any lands were originally encumbered with, they were liable to the same even after their do-

sorte, ut in futurum functiones omnes quæ metrocomiæ debent, et publici vici pro antiquæ capitationis professione debent, sciant subeundas.

[26] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 1. de Annon. et Tribut. Leg. 1. Præter privatas res nostras, et ecclesias catholicas, et domum clarissimæ memoriæ Eusebii ex-consule, et Arsacis regis Armeniorum, nemo ex nostra jussione præcipuis emolumentis familiaris juvetur substantiæ.

[27] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 15. De his sane clericis qui prædia possident, sublimis auctoritas tua non solum eos aliena juga nequaquam statuet excusare, sed etiam his quæ ipsi possident eosdem ad pensitanda fiscalia perurgeri: universos namque clericos possessores duntaxat provinciales pensitationes recognoscere jubemus. Vid. Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. Leg. 3.

[28] Theod. lib. 4. c. 8. Τὰ δημόσια κατὰ νόμους εἰσκομίζειν ἴσασι, καὶ οὐκ ἀντιλέγουσι τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐξουσίᾳ.

[29] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 40. Nihil præter canonicam inlationem——ejus functionibus adscribatur.

[30] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 17. de Equor. Conlat. Leg. 3. Equos canonicos militaris diœceseos Africanæ——jussimus adærari, &c.

[31] Synes. Ep. 79. ad Anastas. p. 293. Ταῖς ἀπαιτήσεσιν ἔταξε τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ χρυσίου τοῦ καλουμένου Τιρωνικοῦ.

[32] Cod. Th. lib. 7. Tit. 13. de Tironibus, Leg. 22. Præcipimus proconsularis provinciæ non eandem sacerdotalium, quæ est de cæteris, in præbendis tironibus habendam esse rationem: non inique siquidem ea potissimum ab hoc officio provincia videtur excepta, quæ omnium intra Africam provinciarum obtinet principatum, cujusque majoribus fatigantur expensis.

[33] Petit. Variar. Lection. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 28.

[34] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. 7. Tit. 13. Leg. 22.

nation to the church, unless discharged of them by some particular grant and favour of the emperors. This we learn from a memorable instance in a particular case wherein St. Austin was concerned, the account of which we have from his own relation. For the right understanding of which I must first acquaint the reader, that by the laws of the Roman polity many times a company of tradesmen were so incorporated into a society for the service of the empire, that their estates were tied to that office and duty, so that whoever had the propriety of them, he was bound to the duty annexed to them. Thus it was particularly with the incorporated company of the *navicularii* of Africa and Egypt, who were concerned in transporting the yearly tribute of corn from those provinces to Rome and Constantinople. Their estates were tied to the performance of this service, as appears from a title in the Theodosian Code,[35] which is *De prædiis naviculariorum:* and they were so tied, that if any ship chanced to be lost in the passage, the whole body was obliged to make good the effects to the emperor's coffers; and the master of the ship was obliged[36] to give up his men that escaped the shipwreck, to be examined by torture afterwards; otherwise he must have borne the whole burden himself alone, on presumption that he was guilty of some fraud in the matter against the rest of his society. Now it happened while St. Austin was bishop of Hippo, that one of these *navicularii*, Boniface, a master of a ship, left his whole estate to the church; which yet St. Austin refused to receive, because of these burdens that lay upon it. For, says he,[37] I was not willing to have the church of Christ concerned in the business of transportation. It is true indeed there are many who get estates by shipping: yet there is one temptation in it, if a ship should chance to go and be lost, then we should be required to give up our men to the rack, to be examined by torture according to law about the drowning of the ship, and the poor wretches that had escaped the waves must undergo a new severity from the hands of the judge: but we could not thus deliver them up; for it would not become the church so to do. Therefore she must answer the whole debt to the exchequer. But whence should she do this? For our circumstances do not allow us to keep a treasury. A bishop ought not to lay up gold in bank, and meanwhile refuse to relieve the poor. These words of St. Austin do plainly evince what has been observed, that the donation of an estate to the church did not ordinarily free it from the tribute or duty, that the public otherwise demanded of it; but if the church would receive it, she must take it with the usual burdens that lay upon it. I confess, indeed, the sense of the passage, as it lies in St. Austin without a comment, is not very easy to be understood; nor have any of his editors, no, not the last Benedictins, thought fit to expound it; but for that reason, as well as to make good my own observation, I have recited it in this place, and explained it from those laws and customs of the empire, to which it manifestly refers. And such a digression, if it were a digression, I presume would not be unacceptable to the curious reader.

Sect. 6. Of the *chrysargyrum*, or lustral tax, and the exemption of the clergy from it.

But now to proceed. Another sort of tribute, in which the clergy had some concern, was the tax upon trade and commerce. This in ancient writers[38] is known by the name of *χρυσάργυρον*, *chrysargyrum*, the silver and gold tax, because it was paid in those coins. Zosimus[39] indeed makes the *chrysargyrum* another thing, viz. a scandalous tax exacted of lewd men and women; and in his spite to Christianity he represents Constantine as the author of it; in which his groundless calumny he is abundantly refuted by Baronius,[40] and more especially by the learned Gothofred, and Pagi,[41] whom the curious reader may consult. Here I take the *chrysargyrum* in the common notion only, for the tax upon lawful trade and commerce, which St. Basil calls[42] *πραγματευτικὸν χρυσίον*, commerce-money. In the civil law it is known by the name of *lustralis collatio*, the lustral tax, because it was exacted at the return of every *lustrum*, or four years' end. It was indeed a very grievous tax, especially upon the poor; for not the meanest tradesman was exempted from it. Evagrius[43] says it was exacted even of those who made begging their trade, *ἐξ ἐράνου τὴν τροφὴν πορίζουσι.* Whence Libanius[44] calls it the intolerable tax of silver and gold, that made men dread the terrible *pentaeteris*, or return of every fifth year. And for the same reason, as the author under the name of St. Austin takes notice, it

[35] Cod. Th. lib. 13. Tit. 6.

[36] Cod. Th. lib. 13. Tit. 9. de Naufragiis, Leg. 2. Si quando causatio est de impetu procellarum, medium ex his nautis numerum navicularius exhibeat quæstioni——Quo eorum tormentis plenior veritas possit inquiri.

[37] Aug. Serm. 49. de Diversis. t. 10. p. 520. Bonifacii hæreditatem suscipere nolui; non misericordia, sed timore. Navicularium nolui esse ecclesiam Christi. Multi sunt quidem qui etiam de navibus acquirunt: tamen una tentatio est, si iret navis et naufragaret, homines ad tormenta daturi eramus, et de submersione navis secundum consuetudinem quæreretur: et torquerentur a judice qui essent a fluctibus liberati: sed non eos daremus: nullo enim pacto hoc facere deceret ecclesiam. Onus ergo fiscale persolveret. Sed unde persolveret? Enthecam nobis habere non licet, &c.

[38] Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 39.

[39] Zosim. lib. 2.

[40] Baron. an. 330. n. 36.

[41] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 13. Tit. 1. de lustrali Collatione, Leg. 1. Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 330. n. 6.

[42] Basil. Ep. 243.

[43] Evagr. lib. 3. c. 39.

[44] Liban. Orat. 14. cont. Florent. t. 2. p. 427. *Φόρος ἀφόρητος, ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς, φρίττειν προσιούσας ποιῶν τὰς δεινὰς πεντετηρίδας.*

was commonly called, *aurum pannosum*,[45] the poor man's tax, or, as some editions read it, *aurum pœnosum*, the cruel tax, because it was exacted of the poor. But now a particular respect was paid to the church in this matter; for when her revenues were scanty, and not sufficient to give all the clergy a decent maintenance, the inferior orders, the *clerici*, were allowed to traffic to support themselves, without paying any tribute of this nature. This indulgence was first granted by Constantius without any restriction, That if any of them[46] was minded to follow a calling to maintain themselves, they should be freed from custom. But, that none of them might abuse this privilege to covetousness, they were confined afterwards by several laws to trade within a certain sum, which if they exceeded, they were to pay custom for it. This appears from a second law of the same Constantius,[47] and another of Gratian's,[48] where the Italian and Illyrican *clerici* are confined to the sum of ten solids, and the Gallican to fifteen. Yet if any would trade further, only with a charitable design, to raise funds and *Monte-Pio's* for the use of the poor, they were allowed by two[49] other laws of Constantius to employ what sums they pleased, and pay none of this tribute for them. It is to be noted further, that this immunity was granted by Honorius to the catholic clergy only,[50] and to no others. And the privilege was esteemed so great, that some covetous tradesmen would use means to get themselves admitted to a titular office among the inferior clergy of the church, with no other design but to enjoy this immunity, and to follow their trade without paying the lustral duty. Against whose fraudulency and corruptions the emperor Arcadius made a severe law,[51] commanding all such, if they followed their merchandise, to be deprived of this immunity of the clergy; or if they would devote themselves to the sacred service, then they should abstain from all such fraudulent and crafty ways of gain: for, saith he, the wages of religion and craft are very different from one another. And for this reason, probably, when the revenues of the church were become sufficient to maintain all the clergy, Valentinian III.[52] enacted a law, that none of the clergy should negociate as formerly; otherwise they should come under the cognizance of the secular judges, and not enjoy the privilege of the clergy. Evagrius[53] adds, that the emperor Anastasius quite abolished the *chrysargyrum*, or lustral tax, itself; and that is the reason why there is no mention at all made of it afterward in the Justinian Code.

Sect. 7. Of the *metatum*. What meant thereby, and the exemption of the clergy from it.

Another sort of duty incumbent on the subjects of the empire, was the burden and charge of giving entertainment to the emperor's court and retinue, when they had occasion to travel; or to the judges, or soldiers, as they passed from one place to another. This the civil law calls *metatum*,[54] and the Greeks *μιτάτον*, from the word, *metatores*, which signifies the emperor's harbingers or forerunners, which were sent before to provide lodging and entertainment for them. In allusion to which, Cyprian,[55] speaking of Rogatian, an eminent presbyter of Carthage, who was the first martyr that was sent to prison in the Decian persecution, says, he was *metator* to the rest, their harbinger, that went before them to prepare a place in prison for them. And in the same sense Lucian, the martyr in Cyprian, elegantly styles Decius himself[56] *metatorem antichristi*, the harbinger of antichrist, who by that terrible persecution made preparation for his coming into the world. From this notion of the word, *metator*, that duty of yielding entertainment to the emperor's retinue, &c. has the name of *metatum* in the two Codes of the civil law. But the clergy were

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[45] Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. c. 75. Didrachma capitum vel tributi exactio intelligitur; quod nunc pannosum aurum appellatur, quia et pauperes exiguntur.

[46] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 8. Si qui de vobis alimoniæ causa negotiationem exercere volunt, immunitate potientur. It. Cod. lib. 13. Tit. 1. de lustrali Collatione, Leg. 1. Negotiatores omnes protinus convenit aurum argentumque præbere: clericos excipi tantum, (et) qui copiatæ appellantur, nec alium quenquam esse immunem.

[47] Ibid. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 15. Clerici vero, vel hi quos copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari, ita a sordidis muneribus debent immunes atque a conlatione præstari, si exiguis admodum mercimoniis tenuem sibi victum vestitumque conquirent.

[48] Cod. Th. lib. 13. Tit. 1. de lustrali Collat. Leg. 11. Etsi omnes mercatores spectat lustralis auri depensio, clerici tamen intra Illyricum et Italiam in denis solidis; intra Galliam in quinis denis solidis immunem usum conversationis exerceant. Quicquid autem supra hunc modum negotiationis versabitur, id oportet ad functionem aurariam devocari.

[49] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 10. Negotiatorum dispendiis minime obligentur (clerici), cum certum sit, quæstus quos ex tabernaculis (leg. tabernis) atque ergasteriis colligunt, pauperibus profuturos. Ibid. Leg. 14. Si quid mercatura congesserint, in usum pauperum atque egentium ministrari, oportet, &c.

[50] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 36. Catholicæ religionis clerici,——ab auraria pensione habeantur immunes.

[51] Ibid. lib. 13. Tit. 1. de lustrali Collat. Leg. 16. Omnes corporatos—præcipimus conveniri, ut aut commoda negotiatorum sequentes, a clericorum excusatione discedant: aut sacratissimo numini servientes, versutis quæstibus abstineant; distincta enim stipendia sunt religionis et calliditatis.

[52] Valentin. Novel. 12. ad calcem Cod. Theod. Jubemus ut clerici nihil prorsus negotiationis exerceant. Si velint negotiari, sciant se judicibus subditos, clericorum privilegio non muniti.

[53] Evagr. lib. 3. c. 39.

[54] Cod. Th. lib. 7. Tit. 8. de Onere Metati. Cod. Justin. lib. 12. Tit. 41. de Metatis.

[55] Cypr. Ep. 81. al. 6. edit. Oxon. Primum hospitium vobis in carcere præparavit, et metator quodammodo vester nunc quoque vos antecedit.

[56] Lucian. ap. Cypr. Ep. 20. al. 22.

excused from this by a law of Constantius,[57] where he says they should not be obliged to entertain strangers; by which he cannot be supposed to excuse them from the Christian duty of hospitality to the indigent, but from this civil duty of the Roman state, to which other subjects were obliged. Whence Gothofred[58] very truly observes, that the clergy in this respect had equal privileges with senators' houses, and Jewish synagogues, and Christian churches; all which were exempt from this duty of entertaining. And if the Greek collector of the ecclesiastical constitutions out of the Code, published by Fabrottus, mistake not, this immunity extended to their servants also. For he says[59] neither the clergy nor their servants were subject to any new impositions, or to this burden called the *metatum*.

Sect. 8. Of the *superindicta* and *extraordinaria*. The clergy exempt from them.

And hence it appears further, that they were freed from all exactions which went by the name of *superindicta*, and *extraordinaria*, that is, such impositions as the emperors thought necessary to lay upon the empire, or any part of it, beyond the ordinary canonical taxes, upon great exigences and extraordinary occasions. For as the ordinary taxes were called indictions, so these extraordinary were called superindictions.[60] From these the clergy were universally exempted by several laws of Christian emperors. As by that of Constantius[61] in the Theodosian Code, where he refers to a preceding law to the same purpose. According to the decree, says he, which you are said to have obtained heretofore, no one shall impose any new taxes upon you or your servants, but you shall enjoy a perfect immunity in that respect. Gothofred upon the place says, by this law they were freed from all extraordinary tribute, and only bound to the ordinary and canonical taxes. And so it was in the time of Honorius and Theodosius junior, anno 412, when by a law granting many other privileges to the church relating to her possessions, they insert this among the rest, that no extraordinary tribute or superindiction, but only the common[62] canonical tax, should be required of her. Which was finally confirmed by Justinian,[63] and made the standing law of the Roman empire.

Sect. 9. The clergy sometimes exempt from contributing to the reparation of high ways and bridges.

As to some other duties and burdens, the laws a little varied: for sometimes the clergy were exempted, and sometimes not; as particularly in the case of contributing to the maintenance and reparation of public ways and bridges. By the forementioned law of Honorius, anno 412, all church lands are excused[64] from those duties, and it is called an injury to bind them to any contribution toward them. Yet not long after, anno 423, Theodosius junior made a law for the Eastern empire, which excepts no order of men from bearing a share in this matter, but obliges as well his own possessions (called *domus divinæ*, in the style and language of those times) as churches[65] to take their proportion in it. And about the same time Valentinian III. made a law[66] to the same effect in the West. ustinian confirmed the law of Theodosius, by inserting it[67] into his Code, and added another law of his own among his Novels, where,[68] though he grants the clergy an immunity from extraordinary taxes, yet he adds, that if there was occasion to make a way, or build or repair a bridge, then churches as well as other possessors should contribute to those works, if they had possessions in any city where such works were to be done.

Sect. 10. As also from the duty called *angariæ*, and *parangariæ*, &c.

The laws varied likewise in another instance of duty required of the subjects, which was to furnish out horses and carriages for conveying of corn for the soldiers, and such other things as belonged to the emperor's exchequer. This duty in the civil law[69] goes by the name of *cursus publicus*, and *angariæ*, and *parangariæ*, and *translatio*, and *evectio*;

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[57] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 8. Præterea neque hospites suscipietis.

[58] Gothofred. Paratitlon ad Cod. Th. lib. 7. Tit. 8. de Onere Metati, t. 2. p. 264. Immunes erant a metato clerici, senatorum domus, synagogæ Judæorum, et religionum loca.

[59] Collat. Constit. Eccles. ex Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 3. sect. 1. Οἱ κληρικοὶ καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑποκειυνται καιναῖς εἰσφοραῖς ἢ μετάτοις.

[60] Vid. Cod. Theod. lib. 11. Tit. 6. de Superindicto, et Cod. Justin. lib. 10. Tit. 18. de eodem.

[61] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 8. Juxta sanctionem quam dudum meruisse perhibemini, et vos et mancipia vestra nullus novis collationibus obligavit (id est, obligabit,) sed vacatione gaudebitis. Gothofred. in loc. Ab extraordinariis collationibus immunes facti fuerunt, at nondum ab ordinariis et canonicis.

[62] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 40. Nihil extraordinarium ab hac superindictitiumve flagitetur.—Nihil præter canonicam inlationem ejus functionibus ascribatur.

[63] Justin. Novel. 131. c. 5. Sancimus omnium sanctarum ecclesiarum possessiones, neque sordidas functiones, neque extraordinarias descriptiones sustinere.

[64] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 40. Nullam jugationem, quæ talium privilegiorum sorte gratulatur, muniendi itineris constringat injuria.—Nulla pontium instauratio: nulla translationum sollicitudo gignatur.

[65] Cod. Th. lib. 15. Tit. 3. De Itin. muniendo, Leg. 6. Ad instructiones reparationesque itinerum pontiumque nullum genus hominum—cessare oportet. Domos etiam divinas, ac venerandas ecclesias tam laudabili titulo libenter adscribimus.

[66] Valentin. Novel. 21. ad calcem Cod. Th.

[67] Cod. Just. lib. 1. Tit. 2. Leg. 7.

[68] Just. Novel. 131. c. 5. Si tamen itineris sternendi aut pontium ædificii vel reparationis opus fuerit, ad instar aliorum possessorum, hujusmodi opus et sanctas ecclesias et venerabiles domos complere, dum sub illa possident civitate, sub qua tale fit opus.

[69] Cod. Th. lib. 8. Tit. 5. de Cursu Publico, Angariis, et Parangariis. Cod. Justin. lib. 12. Tit. 51.

and the horses used in this service are particularly called *paraveredi*, and *equi cursuales*. Now, the clergy at first were exempt from this service by two laws of Constantius,[70] made in the former part of his reign, which expressly excuse both their persons and their estates from the duty of the *parangariæ*. But by another law made in the last year of his reign, anno 360, he revoked this privilege, obliging the clergy to the duty of translation, as it is there worded,[71] by which he means this duty of furnishing horses and carriages for the emperor's service. And this he did, notwithstanding that the council of Ariminum had petitioned for an immunity, being at a time when Constantius was displeased with them. However, this law continued in force, not only under Julian, but under Valentinian and Theodosius, till by a contrary[72] law about twenty years after, anno 382, they restored the clergy to their ancient privilege. Which was further confirmed to them by Honorius, anno 412, whose law is still extant[73] in both the Codes. Yet Theodosius junior and Valentinian III., anno 440, took away their privilege again, and by two laws[74] made church lands liable to these burdens of the *angariæ*, *parangariæ*, &c., (whenever the emperor should be upon any march or expedition,) as well as all others. From all which it appears, that there was no certain rule observed in this matter, but the clergy had or had not this privilege, according as the state of affairs would bear, or as the emperors were inclined to grant it.

Sect. 11. Of the tribute called *denarismus*, *unciæ*, and *descriptio lucrativorum*: and the church's exemption from it.

Besides these public taxes and duties, there was also one private tax, from which all lands given to the church, or to any charitable use, were exempt by the laws of the empire. This, in the civil law, is called *denarismus*, or *unciæ*, and *descriptio lucrativorum*. The reason of which names will be understood by explaining the nature of the tribute. It was a sort of tax paid, not to the emperors, but to the *curia* or *curiales* of every city, that is, to that body of men who were obliged, by virtue of their estates, to be members of the court or common council, and bear the offices of their country. Now, it sometimes happened, that one of these *curiales* left his estate to another that was not of the *curia*; and an estate so descending was said to come to him *ex causa lucrativa*, which being opposed to *causa onerosa*, is when a man enjoys an estate by gift or legacy, and not by purchase. But now, lest in this case the giving away an estate from the *curia* might have brought a greater burden upon the remaining part of the *curiales*, the person so enjoying it was obliged to pay an annual tribute to the *curia* of the city, which, from the nature of his tenure, was called *descriptio lucrativorum*, the lucrative tax. And because every head of land, every *jugum* or *caput*, as the law terms it, was obliged to pay annually a *denarius*, or ounce of silver, therefore the tax itself was called *unciæ*, and *denarismus*: as in the laws of Theodosius M.,[75] cited in the margin. Theodosius junior and Valentinian III. made this tax double, laying four *siliquæ*,[76] which is two ounces of silver, upon every head of land. According to which rate, every possessor who held any estate by the aforesaid tenure, was obliged to pay tribute out of it to the *curia* of the city to which it belonged. But if any such estate was given to the church, it was exempt from this tribute, if not before, yet at least in the time of Justinian. For there are two laws of his to this purpose,[77] the one in his Code, the other in his Novels, in both which such lands as any of the *curiales* gave to a church, or a monastery, or hospital of any kind,

[70] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 10. Parangariarum quoque parili modo (a clericis) cesset exactio. Ibid. Leg. 14. Ad parangariarum quoque præstationem non vocentur, nec eorundem facultates atque substantiæ.

[71] Cod. Th. ibid. Leg. 15. Ut præterea ad universa munia sustinenda, translationesque faciendas, omnes clerici debeant adtineri.

[72] Cod. Theod. lib. 11. Tit. 16. de Extraord. et Sordidis Muner. Leg. 15. Circa ecclesias, rhetores, atque grammaticos eruditionis utriusque, vetusto more durante.—Ne paraveredorum hujusmodi viris aut parangariarum præbitio mandetur, &c.

[73] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epis. et Cler. Leg. 40. Nulla translationum sollicitudo gignatur, &c. al. signetur, as it is in the Justin. Code, lib. 1. Tit. 2. de Sacrosanct. Eccl. Leg. 5.

[74] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 2. Leg. 11. Neminem ab angariis, vel parangariis, vel plaustris, vel quolibet munere excusari præcipimus, cum ad felicissimam expeditionem nostri numinis, omnium provincialium per loca, qua iter arripimus, debeant solita nobis ministeria exhiberi: licet ad sacrosanctas ecclesias possessiones pertineant. It. lib. 12. Tit. 51. de Cursu Publico, Leg. 21. Nullus penitus cujuslibet ordinis seu dignitatis, vel sacrosancta ecclesia, vel domus regia tempore expeditionis excusationem angariarum seu parangariarum habeat.

[75] Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurionibus, Leg. 107. Quicunque hæres curiali—vel si quem liberalitas locupletaverit forte viventis, quos a curiæ nexu conditio solet dirimere, sciant, pecuniariis descriptionibus—ad denarismum sive uncias, sese auctoris sui nomine retinendum. It. Leg. 123. ibid.

[76] Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 4. de Imponenda Lucrativis Descriptione, Leg. unic. Hi qui ex lucrativa causa possessiones detinent, quæ aliquando curialium fuerint, pro singulis earum jugis et capitibus quaternas siliquas annuæ (leg. annuas) ordinibus nomine descriptionis exsolvant.

[77] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 2. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. Leg. 22. Sancimus res ad venerabiles ecclesias, vel xenones, vel monasteria, vel orphanotrophia, vel gerontocomia, vel ptochotrophia, &c., descendentes ex qualicunque curiali liberalitate—a lucrativorum inscriptionibus liberas immunesque esse.—Cur enim non faciamus discrimen inter res Divinas et humanas? Id. Novel. 131. c. 5. Si quæ vero res ex curialium substantiis ad quamlibet sacrosanctam ecclesiam, aut aliam venerabilem domum secundum leges venerunt, aut postea venerint, liberas eas esse sancimus descriptione lucrativorum.

are particularly excepted from this lucrative tax; and that *pietatis intuitu*, as it is there worded, in regard to religion, and because it was fit to put some difference between things human and Divine. But whether the church enjoyed this immunity under any other prince before Justinian, is what I leave the curious to make the subject of a further inquiry; whilst I proceed to consider another sort of immunity of the clergy, which was their exemption from civil offices in the Roman empire.

Sect. 12. The clergy exempt from all civil personal offices.

Of these offices some were personal, and others predial, that is, such as were tied to men's estates and possessions: some, again, were called *honores*, honourable offices; and others, *munera sordida*, mean and sordid offices. Now, from all these, as well patrimonial as personal, honourable as well as sordid, by the first laws of Constantine the clergy were universally and entirely exempt: but after ages made a little distinction as to such of the clergy who enjoyed patrimonial secular estates of their own, distinct from those of the church: for such of the clergy were sometimes forced to leave their ecclesiastical employment, and bear the civil offices of the empire; of which more by and by. But as to offices which were purely personal, the clergy were entirely exempt from them; as appears from a law of Valentinian and Gratian,[78] still extant in both the Codes, where every order of the clergy, not only presbyters and deacons, but subdeacons, exorcists, readers, door-keepers, and acolythists, are specified as exempt from personal offices. And that is the meaning of that law of Constantius, mentioned both by Athanasius,[79] and Socrates,[80] and Sozomen,[81] where they say he granted the clergy of Egypt *ἀλειτουργησίαν*, and *ἀτέλειαν λειτουργημάτων*, exemption from such offices as had been forced upon them in the Arian persecution.

Sect. 13. And from sordid offices both predial and personal.

Again, for those called sordid offices, not only the persons of the clergy, but the estates of the church, were discharged of all burdens of that nature. Constantius made two laws[82] to this purpose, which Valentinian and Theodosius confirmed, granting the clergy, and some other orders of men, the same immunity in this respect, as they did to the chief officers and dignitaries of the empire: and they intimate[83] also, that this was no new privilege, but what by ancient custom they had always enjoyed. The same is said by Honorius, that this was an ancient privilege of the church, conferred upon her by his royal ancestors, and that it ought not to be diminished: therefore he made two laws particularly in behalf[84] of the bishop of Rome, that no extraordinary office or sordid function should be imposed upon him. Nor do we ever find the clergy called to bear any such office in the empire. For though Gothofred, in his notes upon the forementioned law[85] of Theodosius, where several of these offices are specified, reckons the *angariæ*, and building and repairing of ways and bridges, among sordid offices; yet I have showed before, that what was exacted of the clergy in reference to those two things, was under the notion of a tribute, and not an office: and the laws which require the clergy to contribute toward them say expressly,[86] that they are not to be looked upon as sordid offices, nor any duty to be exacted under that notion.

Sect. 14. Also from curial or municipal offices.

As to the other sort of offices, called *honores*, honourable or municipal offices, which are otherwise termed curial offices, because they who bare them were called *curiales et decuriones*, men of the court or *curia* of every city; all the clergy, who had no lands of their own, but lived upon the revenues and possessions of the church, were entirely exempt from them; because the duties of the church and state were not thought well consistent in one and the same person; and it was deemed unreasonable to burden the lands of the church with the civil duties of the empire. When Constantine was first quietly settled in his government, immediately after the great decennial, commonly called the Diocletian persecution, he seems to have granted a full and unlimited immunity in this respect to all the clergy, as well those who had lands or patrimony of their own, as those who lived wholly upon the revenues of the church. For thus he expresses himself in a law directed to Anulinus, proconsul of Africa, recorded by Eusebius, which bears date anno 312, or 313: Our pleasure is, that all those in your province, who minister in the catholic church, over which

[78] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. et Cler. Leg. 24. Presbyteros, diaconos, subdiaconos, exorcistas, lectores, ostiarios etiam, et omnes perinde qui primi sunt, personalium munerum expertes esse præcipimus. The Justinian Code, lib. 1. Tit. 3. Leg. 6, has the same, only instead of the words, omnes qui primi sunt, it reads acolythos.

[79] Athan. Apol. 2. t. 1. p. 772. [80] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 23.

[81] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 21.

[82] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 10 et 14. Repellatur ab his exactio munerum sordidorum.

[83] Ibid. lib. 11. Tit. 16. de Extraord. et Sordid. Muner. Leg. 15. Maximarum culmina dignitatum—ab omnibus sordidis muneribus vindicentur. — Circa ecclesias, rhetores, atque grammaticos eruditionis utriusque vetusto more durante, &c.

[84] Ibid. Leg. 21 et 22. Privilegia venerabilis ecclesiæ, quæ divi principes contulerunt, imminui non oportet: pro inde etiam quæ circa urbis Romæ episcopum, observatio intemerata custodiet: ita ut nihil extraordinarii muneris vel sordidæ functionis agnoscat.

[85] Gothofred. in Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 16. Leg. 15.

[86] Cod. Th. lib. 15. Tit. 3. de Itin. muniendo, Leg. 6. Honor. et Theodos. jun. Absit ut nos instructionem viæ publicæ, et pontium, stratarumque operam—inter sordida munera numeremus, &c. Vid. Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 2. de SS. Eccles. Leg. 7. Ejusdem Honorii et Theodos.

Cæcilian presides, who are commonly called the clergy, be exempted[87] from all public offices whatsoever, that they may not be let or hindered in the performance of Divine service by any sacrilegious distraction. Anulinus has also an epistle still extant in St. Austin,[88] written to Constantine not long after, wherein he mentions this grant as sent to him, to be intimated to Cæcilian and the catholic clergy, viz. That by the kind indulgence of his Majesty they were exempt from all manner of offices, that they might with due reverence attend Divine service. And this epistle of Anulinus is also related, but not so correctly, in the collation[89] of Carthage. In this grant it is very observable, that this privilege was only allowed to the catholic clergy: which made the Donatists very uneasy, because they could not enjoy the same favour: and upon this they became tumultuous and troublesome to the catholics, procuring the clergy in some places to be nominated to public offices, and to be made receivers of the public revenues, &c. But complaint hereof being made to Constantine, it occasioned the publishing of a new order in Africa, pursuant to the former, that whereas he was given to understand, that the clergy of the catholic church were[90] molested by the heretical faction, and by their procurement nominated to public offices, and made susceptors or receivers of tribute, in derogation of the privileges which he had formerly granted them; he now signified his pleasure again, that if the magistrates found any persons so aggrieved, they should substitute another in his room, and take care for the future that no such injuries should be offered to the men of that profession. This law was published anno 313, and it is the first of this kind that is extant in the Theodosian Code. About six years after, anno 319, he put forth another, upon a like complaint made in Italy, that the clergy were called away from their proper function to serve in public offices; and in this he grants them the same[91] general immunity as before. So again, anno 330, a complaint being made against the Donatists in Numidia, that when they could not have their will upon the superior clergy by reason of the former immunity that was granted them, they, notwithstanding, forced the inferior clergy to bear offices *in curia*, upon pretence that the exemption did not extend to them: Constantine, to cut off all dispute, published another law, wherein[92] he particularly exempts the inferior clergy, readers, subdeacons, and the rest, from bearing offices *in curia;* and orders, that they should enjoy in Africa the same perfect immunity as they did in the Oriental churches.

Sect. 15. But this last privilege confined to such of the clergy as had no estates but what belonged to the church, by the laws of Constantine.

Now, this immunity was so great a privilege, that it not only became the envy of heretics, but also provoked some catholic laymen (who were possessed of estates qualifying them to bear the offices of their country) to get a sort of titular ordination to some of the inferior offices of the church, on purpose to enjoy this immunity, when yet they neither designed to do the duty of that office, nor to arise to any higher order in the church. Which being interpreted a mere fraudulent collusion to deprive the state of fit men to serve the commonwealth, and no ways benefit the church, it was presently resented by Constantine as an abuse, and various laws were made both by him and his successors, as occasion required, to restrain and correct it. Constantine at first, as I observed before, granted this immunity indifferently to all the clergy, as well possessors as not possessors of private estates, whom he found actually engaged in the service of the church when he came to the quiet possession of the empire; nor did he for some years after perhaps restrain any sorts of men from taking orders in the church: but when he found this indulgence to the church, by the artifice of cunning men, only turned to the detriment of the state, and that rich men sheltered themselves under an ecclesiastical title, only to avoid the offices of their country, he then made a law, that no rich plebeian who was qualified by his estate to serve *in curia*, and bear civil offices in any city, should become an ecclesiastic; or if he did, he should be liable from the time that law was made to be fetched back and returned *in curiam*, to bear the offices of his country as a layman. What year that law was made is not very certain, save only that it was before anno 320, when a

[87] Const. Ep. ad Anulin. ap. Euseb. lib. 10. c. 7. *Οὔσπερ κληρικὲς ἐπονομάζειν εἰώθασιν, ἀπὸ πάντων ἁπαξαπλῶς τῶν λειτεργιῶν βέλομαι ἀλειτεργήτες διαφυλαχθῆναι*, &c.

[88] Anulin. Ep. ad Constant. ap. Aug. Ep. 68. Scripta cœlestia majestatis vestræ accepta atque adorata, Cæciliano et his qui sub eodem agunt, quique clerici appellantur, devotio parvitatis meæ insinuare curavit, eosdemque hortata est, ut unitate consensu omnium facta, cum *omni omnino munere* indulgentia majestatis vestræ liberati esse videantur catholici, custodita sanctitate legis, debita reverentia Divinis rebus inserviant.

[89] Collat. Carth. Die 3. c. 216 et 220.

[90] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 1. Hæreticorum factione comperimus ecclesiæ catholicæ clericos ita vexari, ut nominationibus seu susceptionibus aliquibus, quas publicus mos exposcit, contra indulta sibi privilegia, prægraventur. Ideoque placet, si quem tua gravitas invenerit ita vexatum, eidem alium subrogari, et deinceps a supradictæ religionis hominibus hujusmodi injurias prohiberi.

[91] Cod. Th. ibid. Leg. 2. Qui divino cultui ministeria religionis impendunt, id est, hi qui clerici appellantur, ab omnibus omnino muneribus excusentur: ne sacrilego livore quorundam a divinis obsequiis avocentur.

[92] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 7. Lectores divinorum apicum, et hypodiaconi, cæterique clerici, qui per injuriam hæreticorum ad curiam devocati sunt, absolvantur: et de cætero ad similitudinem Orientis minime ad curias devocentur, sed immunitate plenissima potiantur.

second law was made upon the same subject, referring to the first. And from this we learn what was the import of both; that it was Constantine's design to put a distinction betwixt such of the clergy as were ordained before that first law, and such as were ordained afterward; the former he exempted from civil offices, though they were possessed of estates, but not the latter; which plainly appears from the words of the second law, which are these:[93] Whereas by a former law we ordained, that from henceforward no counsellor, or counsellor's son, or any one who by his estate was sufficiently qualified to bear public offices, should take upon him the name or function of the clergy, but only such whose fortune is small, and they not tied to any civil offices; we are now given to understand, that such of the clergy who were ordained before the promulgation of that law, are molested upon that account: wherefore our command is, that those be discharged of all further trouble; and that such only as entered themselves among the clergy since the law was made, with intention to decline public offices, shall be returned to the *curia* and states of their city, to serve in the civil offices of their country. There is another law of Constantine's published after this,[94] anno 326, a year after the council of Nice, which speaks to the same effect, and shows that this was the standing rule of the latter part of Constantine's reign, to exempt none among the clergy, who were qualified by estates of their own, from bearing personally the public offices of the empire.

Sect. 16. Constantine's laws a little altered by the succeeding emperors in favour of the church.

But however this might be well designed at first by him to prevent some abuses, yet in process of time it became very prejudicial to the church. For by this means sometimes presbyters and deacons, after they had been twenty or thirty years in the church's service, were called upon by litigious men to bear civil offices inconsistent with the spiritual, and thereupon they were forced to forsake their ecclesiastical function. This was so great an inconvenience, that it well became the wisdom of the following emperors to find out some suitable remedy for it: which they did by new-modifying Constantine's law, and abating something of the rigour of it. For they did not lay the burden of civil offices upon the persons of the clergy, but only upon their patrimonial estates, not belonging to the church, and in some cases they excused those also. Constantius acquitted all bishops of this burden both as to their estates and persons; for by his laws[95] they might keep their estates to themselves, and neither be obliged to bear civil offices in person, nor substitute any other in their room. And he allowed the same privilege to presbyters and deacons and all others, provided they were ordained by the consent of the civil court or *curia*, and the general request of the people. But if they were not so ordained, all that they were obliged to do was only to part with two-thirds of their estate to their children or next relations, and substitute them in their room: or, in defect of such relations, to give up two parts of their estate to the *curia*, and retain the third to themselves. Valentinian, in the first year of his reign, anno 364, made the law a little stricter, that such persons,[96] when they were ordained, should give all their estate to one of their relations, and substitute him as a *curialis* in their room, or else give it up to the *curia* itself: otherwise they should be liable to be called back to serve in civil offices as laymen. But he extended this obligation no further than to the beginning of his own reign; for by another law made seven years after, anno 371, he exempted all such as were in the service of the church[97] when he came to the crown, though they had estates of their own qualifying them to bear civil offices. Valens exempted all such as had been ten years[98] in the church's service; so that if they were not called upon by the civil courts within that term, they were for ever after to be excused. Valentinian II. exempted them,[99] provided they put a substitute in their room. Theodosius exempted all that were ordained[100] before the year 388,

[93] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 3. Cum constitutio emissa præcipiat, nullum deinceps decurionem, vel ex decurione progenitum, vel etiam instructum idoneis facultatibus, atque obeundis publicis muneribus opportunum, ad clericorum nomen obsequiumque confugere; sed eos—qui fortuna tenues, neque muneribus civilibus teneantur obstricti: cognovimus illos etiam inquietari, qui ante legis promulgationem clericorum se consortio sociaverint: ideoque præcipimus, his ab omni molestia liberatis, illos qui post legem latam obsequia publica declinantes, ad clericorum numerum confugerunt, curiæ ordinibusque restitui, et civilibus obsequiis inservire.

[94] Ibid. Leg. 6. Si inter civitatem et clericos super alicujus nomine dubitetur, si eum æquitas ad publica trahat munera, et progenie municeps, vel patrimonio idoneus dignoscetur, exemptus clericis civitati tradatur: opulentos enim sæculi subire necessitates oportet, pauperes ecclesiarum divitiis sustentari.

[95] Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurion. Leg. 49. Episcopum facultates suas curiæ, sicut ante fuerat constitutum, nullus adigat mancipare, sed antistes maneat, nec faciat substantiæ cessionem, &c.

[96] Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurion. Leg. 59. Qui partes eligit ecclesiæ, aut in propinquum bona propria conferendo eum pro se faciet curialem, aut facultatibus curiæ cedat, quam reliquit; ex necessitate revocando eo qui neutrum fecit, cum clericus esse cœpisset, &c.

[97] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 21. Qui ecclesiæ juge obsequium deputarunt, curiis habeantur immunes, si tamen ante ortum imperii nostri ad cultum se legis nostræ contulisse constiterit.

[98] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 19. Si in consortio clericatus decennium quietis impleverit, cum patrimonio suo habeatur immunis: si vero intra finitos annos fuerit a curia revocatus, cum substantia sua functionibus subjaceat civitatis.

[99] Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurion. Leg. 99.

[100] Ibid. Leg. 121 et 123.

which was the tenth year of his reign: and of those that were ordained afterward he only required[101] the aforesaid conditions, that they should either provide a proper substitute, or give up their estates to the court at their ordination. Which is also taken notice of by St. Ambrose in his answer to Symmachus, where he shows[102] how unreasonable it was for him to plead for the exemption of the heathen priests in this respect, when the laws did not grant it to the Christian clergy but upon such conditions. Arcadius indeed, by the instigation of Eutropius, anno 398, cancelled all these favourable laws, and brought the clergy again to the hard rule of Constantine, that if any[103] of the *curiales* were ordained in the church, they should by force be returned to the civil courts again in person, and not enjoy the benefit of those laws, which allowed them to take orders, provided they disposed of their estates to proper substitutes, who might bear offices in their stead. But this law was but very short-lived; for Chrysostom and some others very justly declaiming against it, Arcadius disannulled it the year following by a new law, wherein[104] he granted such of the clergy as were taken and ordained out of the body of the *curiales*, the same privilege that they had under his father Theodosius, which was, That all that were ordained before the second consulship of Theodosius, anno 388, should enjoy a perfect immunity without any molestation: and such as were ordained after that term, if they were of the superior clergy, bishops, presbyters, or deacons, they might continue in the church's service, either providing a substitute to bear the offices of the *curia* for them, or giving up their estates to the *curia*, as former laws in that case had directed. Only it was required that the inferior clergy, readers, subdeacons, &c., should be returned to the *curia* again, and obliged to bear offices in person. And the same was determined by Theodosius junior,[105] and Valentinian III.,[106] and Majorian,[107] whose laws are extant at the end of the Theodosian Code. Justinian also has a Novel to the same purpose, wherein[108] he orders such of the inferior clergy, as were taken out of any *curia*, to be returned thither again, unless they had lived fifteen years a monastic life; and then they were to give three parts of their patrimony to the *curia*, and retain one for themselves: but he allowed bishops to put in a substitute, and be free from bearing civil offices in person, as Julianus Antecessor[109] in his Epitome of the Authentics understands him. Though I confess there is something to incline a man to think Justinian at first was a little more severe to such bishops, because he revived that antiquated law of Arcadius[110] in his Code. But however this be, upon the whole matter it appears, that the Christian princes from first to last always made a wide difference between the public patrimony of the church, which was properly ecclesiastical, and the private estates of such of the clergy as had lands of a civil or secular tenure; for the one the clergy were obliged to no duty or burden of civil offices, but for the other they were, and could not be excused from them, but either by parting with some portion of their estates, or providing proper substitutes to officiate for them. The reason of which was, that such of the clergy were looked upon as irregularly promoted; it being as much against the rules of the church, as the laws of the state, to admit any of the *curiales* to an ecclesiastical function, without first giving satisfaction to the *curia* whence they were taken, as has been showed in another place. I have been the more curious in searching to the bottom this business about tribute and civil offices, and given a particular and distinct account of them from the grounds of the civil law, because but few men have recourse to those fountains, whence this matter is to be cleared; and the reader will scarce find this subject handled, but either very imperfectly, or with some partiality, or some confusion, in modern authors.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE REVENUES OF THE ANCIENT CLERGY.

Sect. 1. Several ways of providing a fund for the maintenance of the clergy. 1st, by oblations. Some of which were weekly.

The next thing that comes in order to be considered, is the maintenance of the ancient clergy. Where it will be proper first to inquire into the ways and methods that were taken for raising of funds for their subsistence. And here, to set aside a little the consideration of tithes, which will be spoken of in the next chapter, we find other

[101] Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurion. Leg. 104 et 115.

[102] Ambros. cont. Symmach.

[103] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccles. confug. Leg. 3. Decuriones manu mox injecta revocentur: quibus ulterius legem prodesse non patimur, quæ cessione patrimonii subsecuta, decuriones esse clericos non vetabat.

[104] Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurion. Leg. 163. Si qui ex secundo divi patris nostri consulatu curiam relinquentes, clericorum se consortio manciparunt, si jam episcopi, vel presbyteri, vel diaconi esse meruerunt, in sacris quidem et secretioribus Dei mysteriis perseverent, sed aut substitutum pro se curiæ offerre cogantur, aut juxta legem dudum latum tradant curiæ facultates. Residui omnes, lectores, subdiaconi, vel hi clerici quibus clericorum privilegia non debentur, debitis mox patriæ muneribus præsententur.

[105] Theod. Novel. 26 et 38. [106] Valentin. Novel. 12.

[107] Majorian. Novel. 1.

[108] Justin. Novel. 123. c. 15. Ex. Epitom. Julian. Antecess.

[109] Vid. Julian. Epit. Novel. 123. c. 4. post Leg. 38. Cod. de Episc. Episcopalis ordo liberat a fortuna servili, sed non a curiali sive officiali; nam et post ordinationem durat; ita ut per subjectam vel interpositam personam officium adimpleatur, &c.

[110] Cod. Just. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 12.

ways, by which in ancient times a decent provision was made for them. As, first, by the voluntary oblations of the people, of which some learned persons think there were two sorts; 1. The weekly or daily oblations that were made at the altar; 2. The monthly oblations that were cast into the treasury of the church. The first sort of oblations were such as every rich and able communicant made at his coming to partake of the eucharist; where they offered not only bread and wine, out of which the eucharist was taken, but also other necessaries, and sometimes sums of money for the maintenance of the church and relief of the poor. As is evident from those words of St. Jerom in his Comments upon Ezekiel,[1] where he tells us, that thieves and oppressors made their oblations among others, out of their ill-gotten goods, that they might glory in their wickedness, while the deacon in the church publicly recited the names of those that offered: Such a one offers so much, such a one hath promised so much: and so they please themselves with the applause of the people, while their own conscience lashes and torments them. Those called the Apostolical Canons[2] speak also of the oblation of fruits, and fowls, and beasts, but order such to be sent home to the bishop and presbyters, who were to divide them with the deacons and the rest of the clergy.

Sect. 2. And others monthly.

Another sort of oblations were made monthly, when it was usual for persons that were able and willing, to give as they thought fit something to the ark or treasury of the church. Which sort of collation is particularly taken notice of by Tertullian,[3] who says, it was made *menstrua die*, once a month, or when every one pleased, and as they pleased; for no man was compelled to it: it was not any stated sum, but a voluntary oblation. Baronius[4] thinks this ark or treasury was called the *corban* of the church, because Cyprian[5] uses that word when he speaks of the offerings of the people; rebuking a rich and wealthy matron for coming to celebrate the eucharist without any regard to the *corban*, and partaking of the Lord's supper without any sacrifice of her own. Others[6] conceive, that *corban* is not a name for the treasury, but signifies the gift or oblation itself; and that Cyprian so uses it, making it the same with the sacrifices or offerings of the people. But the evangelist, Matt. xxvii. 6, seems rather to favour the opinion of Baronius: for when he says the chief priests did not think it lawful to put Judas his money εἰς τὸν κορβανᾶν, it is evident, he there by *corban* means the treasury, as most translators render it.

Sect. 3. Whence came the custom of a monthly division among the clergy.

But however this be, it is very probable, that hence came the custom of dividing these oblations once a month among the clergy. For as Tertullian speaks of a monthly collation, so Cyprian frequently mentions[7] a monthly division, in which the presbyters had their shares by equal portions, and other orders after the same manner. Whence the clergy are also styled in his language,[8] *sportulantes fratres*, partakers of the distribution; and what we now call, *suspensio a beneficio*, is in his style,[9] *suspensio a divisione mensurna*, suspension from the monthly division. Which plainly implies, that this sort of church revenues was usually divided once a month among the clergy. And perhaps in conformity to this custom it was, that the Theodotian heretics having persuaded one Natalius, a confessor, to be ordained a bishop among them, promised him a monthly salary of one hundred and fifty *denarii*, μηνιαῖα δηνάρια ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, as Eusebius words it,[10] referring to the usual way of distribution once a month among the clergy.

Sect. 4. 2dly, Other revenues arising from the lands and possessions of the church.

Another sort of revenues which the clergy enjoyed, were such as arose annually from the lands and possessions which were given to the church. These, indeed, at first were but small, by reason of the continual vexations and persecutions which the church underwent for the three first ages, when immovable goods were always most exposed to danger. It was the custom of the church of Rome therefore never to keep any immovable possessions, no, not for many ages, if we may credit Theodorus Lector,[11] who speaks of it as customary in his own time, anno 520. But if any such were given to the church, they immediately sold them, and divided

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[1] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. xviii. p. 537. Multos conspicimus, qui opprimunt per potentiam, vel furta committunt, ut de multis parva pauperibus tribuant, et in suis sceleribus glorientur, publiceque diaconus in ecclesia recitet offerentium nomina: tantum offert ille, tantum ille pollicitus est; placentque sibi ad plausum populi, torquente conscientia.

[2] Canon. Apost. c. 3, 4, 5.

[3] Tertul. Apol. c. 39. Si quod arcæ genus est, non de ordinaria summa, quasi redemptæ religionis congregatur: modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit, apponit: nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert.

[4] Baron. an. 44. n. 69.

[5] Cypr. de Oper. et Eleemos. p. 203. Locuples et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corbonam omnino non respicis; quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?

[6] Basnag. Exercit. in Baron. p. 597.

[7] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. Ut et sportulis iisdem cum presbyteris honorentur, et divisiones mensurnas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur.

[8] Id. Ep. 66. al. 1. Sportulantes fratres, tanquam decimas ex fructibus accipientes.

[9] Id. Ep. 28. al. 34. Interim se a divisione mensurna tantum contineant, &c.

[10] Euseb. lib. 5. c. 28.

[11] Theodor. Lect. Collectan. lib. 2. p. 567. Ἔθος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀκίνητα μὴ κρατεῖν δίκαια, &c.

the price into three parts, giving one to the church, another to the bishop, and the third to the rest of the clergy. And Valesius finds no exception to this till near the time of Gregory the Great. But if this was the custom of the church of Rome, it was a very singular one. For other churches had their immovables, both houses and lands, even in the times of persecution: as appears from the edicts of Maximinus, wherein he revoked his former decrees that had raised the persecution, and in these latter edicts granted the Christians liberty not only to rebuild their churches, but also ordered, that if any houses or lands belonging to them had been confiscated, or sold, or given away,[12] they should be restored to them again. That this was meant of houses and lands belonging to the church, as well as private Christians, is evident from the decree of Constantine and Licinius published the same year, anno 313. Wherein they give orders, that whereas the Christians were known to have not only places of assembly, but also other places belonging not to any private man, but to the whole body, all such places[13] should be restored to the body and to every particular assembly among them. Which is repeated again in Constantine's letter to Anulinus,[14] and other public acts of his recorded by Eusebius[15] in his Life, where he makes mention of houses, gardens, lands, and other possessions belonging to the church, of which she had been plundered and despoiled in the late persecutions. These are undeniable evidences, that some part of the ecclesiastical revenues were anciently raised from houses and lands settled upon the church, even before any Christian emperors could give encouragement to them.

Sect. 5. These very much augmented by the laws of Constantine.

But when Constantine was quietly settled upon the throne, the church revenues received great augmentations in this kind. For he enacted a law at Rome, which is still extant in both the Codes,[16] that any one whatsoever should have liberty at his death to bequeath by will what part of his goods he pleased to the holy catholic church. By which means, the liberality of pious persons was very much encouraged, and great additions were made to the standing revenues of the church. Therefore Baronius is very injurious[17] to the memory of Constantine, and justly corrected by Gothofred[18] and Mr. Pagi[19] for it, in that he insinuates as if Constantine had relapsed toward heathenism at this very time, anno 321, when he published this law so much in favour of the church.

Sect. 6. Whose laws were confirmed, and not revoked by the succeeding emperors, as some mistake.

Others are no less injurious to some of his successors, when they represent them as injurious to the church, in forbidding widows and orphans to leave any legacies to the church. Baronius cannot help complaining also upon this point, though he contradicts himself about it. For in one place[20] he says, the foresaid law of Constantine did so augment the church's wealth, that the following emperors began to dread the consequences of it, that it would turn to the detriment and poverty of the commonwealth; and therefore they made laws to restrain the faithful from being so profuse in their donations to the church. Yet when he comes to speak particularly of those laws, he owns they were not designed[21] against the church, but only to correct the scandalous practices of some sordid monks and ecclesiastics, who being of an avaricious and parasitical temper, made a gain of godliness, and under pretence of religion, so screwed themselves into the favour and affections of some rich widows and orphans, that they prevailed upon them to leave them great legacies, and sometimes their whole estates, to the prejudice of the right heirs and next relations. Which was so dishonest and unbecoming a practice in such persons, that Valentinian made a law to prevent it; decreeing, that[22] no ecclesiastics, or any that professed the monastic life, should frequent the houses of widows or orphans; nor be qualified to receive any gift or legacy from the donation or last will of any such persons. Which law, as Gothofred[23] rightly observes, did not prohibit them from leaving any thing to the church; though some learned men so misunderstand it; but only tended to correct this unworthy practice of some particular persons, which is equally complained of by the ancient writers of the church. St. Ambrose, and St. Jerom, and others mention this law, but they do not at all inveigh against it, but against those vices that occasioned it. I do not complain of the law, says St. Jerom,[24] but am grieved that we should deserve such a law; that when idol-

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12 Euseb. lib. 9. c. 10. 13 Ap. Euseb. lib. 10. c. 5.

14 Constant. Ep. ad Anulin. ap. Euseb. ibid.

15 Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 2. c. 37 et 39.

16 Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 4. It. Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 2. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. Leg. 1. Habeat unusquisque licentiam sanctissimo catholico venerabilique concilio, decedens bonorum quod optaverit relinquere.

17 Baron. an. 321. n. 18.

18 Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 10. de Paganis, Leg. 1.

19 Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 321. n. 4 et 5.

20 Baron. an. 321. n. 17.

21 Baron. an. 371. t. 4. p. 270. Qua quidem sanctione nequaquam prohibentur ecclesiæ hæreditates accipere vel legata, sed ecclesiasticæ personæ, sive clerici, sive monachi. —ut plane intelligas hosce nebulones, tanquam harpyas quasdam inhiantes matronarum divitiis, &c.

22 Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 20. Ecclesiastici, vel qui continentium se volunt nomine nuncupari, viduarum aut pupillarum domos non adeant.—Censemus etiam, ut memorati nihil de ejus mulieris liberalitate quacunque vel extremo judicio possint adipisci.

23 Gothofred. in loc.

24 Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Sacerdotes, dicere pudet,

priests, and stage-players, and carters, and harlots may inherit, only clerks and monks are prohibited; and that not by persecuting emperors, but Christian princes. He adds, that it was a very prudent caution in the law, but yet it did not restrain the avarice of such persons, who found out an artifice to elude the law, *per fidei-commissa*, by getting others to receive in trust for them. Which shows us the sense St. Jerom had of this matter, that he did not think the emperors were injurious to the church in making such a law, but those persons were only to be blamed, whose avarice and sordid flatteries compelled them to make it. And any one that will consult St. Ambrose,[25] or the author under his name,[26] will find that they give the same account of it. Theodosius indeed some years after made a law, relating particularly to such deaconesses of the church as were of noble families, that they should not[27] dispose of their jewels, or plate, or furniture, or any other such things as were the ancient marks of honour in their families, under pretence of religion, while they lived; nor make any church, or clerk, or poor, their heirs when they died. But as this law was made upon some particular reasons of state, so it did no harm to the church; for within two months the same emperor recalled[28] it by a contrary law, which granted liberty to such deaconesses to dispose of their goods in their life-time to any church or clerk whatsoever. And Marcian made the law a little more extensive, allowing[29] deaconesses and all other religious women, to dispose of any part of their estate, by will or codicil, to any church, or oratory, or clerk, or monk, or poor whatsoever. Which law Justinian also confirmed and inserted it into his Code.[30] So that Constantine's law continued always in its full force, and the succeeding princes did not derogate from the privilege which he had granted the church in this respect, for fear (as Baronius pretends) lest the liberality of the subject to the church should impoverish the commonwealth. Men were very liberal indeed in their gifts and donations to the church in this age, but yet not so profuse as to need statutes of mortmain to restrain them.

Sect. 7. 3rdly, Another part of church revenues raised by allowances out of the emperor's exchequer.

For besides the liberality of the subjects, the emperors in these ages found it necessary to make the clergy an allowance out of the public revenues of the empire; which was another way of providing a maintenance for them. Constantine both gave the clergy particular largesses, as their occasions required, and also settled upon them a standing allowance out of the exchequer. In one of his epistles to Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, recorded by Eusebius,[31] he acquaints Cæcilian with his orders which he had given to Ursus, his general receiver in Africa, to pay him three thousand *polles*, τρισχιλίας φόλλεις, to be divided at his discretion among the clergy of the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and the two Mauritanias. And if this sum would not answer all their present necessities, he gave him further orders to demand of his procurator Heraclides whatever he desired more. I need not stand here to inquire critically what this sum of three thousand *polles* was, (though it may be computed above twenty thousand pounds,) since Constantine gave the bishop unlimited orders, to demand as much as the needs of the clergy should require. But he not only supplied their present necessities, but also gave orders for a standing allowance to be made them out of the public treasury. For Theodoret[32] and Sozomen[33] say, he made a law requiring the chief magistrates in every province to grant the clergy, and virgins, and widows of the church, an annual allowance of corn, ἐτήσια σιτηρέσια, out of the yearly tribute of every city. And thus it continued to the time of Julian, who withdrew the whole allowance. But Jovian restored it again in some measure, granting them a third part of the former allowance only, because at that time the public income was very low, by reason of a severe famine; but he promised them the whole, so soon as the famine was ended, and the public storehouses were better replenished. But either Jovian's death prevented his design, or the necessities of the clergy did not afterward require it. For though Sozomen seems to say the whole was restored; yet Theodoret, who is more accurate, affirms, that it was only τριτημόριον, a third part; and that so it continued to his own times. In this sense therefore we are to understand that law of the emperor Marcian, which Justinian has inserted into his

idolorum, mimi, et aurigæ, et scorta hæreditates capiunt; solis clericis et monachis prohibetur: et prohibetur non a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo cur meruimus hanc legem, &c.

[25] Ambros. Ep. 31. ad Valentin. p. 145.

[26] Idem, Homil. 7.

[27] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 27. Nihil de monilibus et supellectili, nihil de auro, argento, cæterisque claræ domus insignibus, sub religionis defensione consumat. —Ac si quando diem obierit, nullam ecclesiam, nullum clericum, nullum pauperem scribat hæredes, &c.

[28] Ibid. Leg. 28. Legem, quæ diaconissis vel viduis nuper est promulgata, ne quis videlicet clericus, neve sub ecclesiæ nomine, mancipia, prædam, velut infirmi sexus despoliator, et remotis adfinibus et propinquis, ipse sub prætextu catholicæ disciplinæ se ageret viventis hæredem, eatenus animadvertat esse revocatam.

[29] Marcian. Novel. 5. ad calcem Cod. Th. Generali lege sancimus, sive vidua, sive diaconissa, sive virgo Deo dicata, vel sanctimonialis mulier, sive quocunque alio nomine religiosi honoris vel dignitatis fœmina nuncupetur, testamento vel codicillo suo—ecclesiæ, vel martyrio, vel clerico, vel monacho, vel pauperibus aliquid vel ex integro vel ex parte, in quacunque re vel specie credidit relinquendum, id modis omnibus ratum firmumque constet.

[30] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 2. de Sacrosanct. Eccl. Leg. 13.

[31] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 6.

[32] Theod. lib. 1. c. 11.

[33] Sozomen, lib. 5. c. 5.

Code,[34] decreeing, that the salaries which had been always given to the churches in divers sorts of grain out of the public treasures, should be allowed them, without any diminution. This did not entitle them to the whole allowance first made them by Constantine, (as some may be apt to imagine from the general words of the law,) but only to the third part, which had been the customary allowance from the time of Jovian.

Sect. 8. 4thly, The estates of martyrs and confessors dying without heirs settled upon the church by Constantine.

Another way by which some small addition was made to the revenues of the church, was from a law of Constantine mentioned by Eusebius[35] in his Life, where he tells us, that as he ordered all the estates of martyrs and confessors, and whoever had suffered in time of persecution, to be restored to their next relations; so if any of them died without relations, the church should become their heir, and in every place where they lived, succeeded to their inheritance.

Sect. 9. 5thly, The estates of clergymen dying without heirs and will, settled in like manner.

Theodosius junior and Valentinian III. made such another law in reference to the temporal possessions of the clergy: That if any presbyter, or deacon,[36] or deaconess, or subdeacon, or other clerk, or any man or woman professing a monastic life, died without will and without heirs, the estates and goods they were possessed of should fall to the church or monastery to which they belonged, unless they were antecedently tied to some civil service. This implies that the clergy were at liberty to dispose of their own temporal estates as they pleased; and they fell to the church only in case they died intestate. But the council of Agde, in France, under Alaric the Goth, anno 506, went a little further, and decreed, that every bishop,[37] who had no children or nephews, should make the church his heir, and no other: as Caranza's edition, and Gratian, and some others, read it. And the council of Seville[38] made a like decree for the Spanish churches; upon which Caranza[39] makes this remark, That the canon was fit to be renewed in council, that the church should be the bishop's heir, and not the pope. And that it was against the mind of those fathers, that bishops should set up primogenitures, or enrich their kindred out of the revenues of the church. Which reflection, among other things, might perhaps contribute towards his being brought into the Spanish inquisition, though he was archbishop of Toledo; after which he underwent a ten years' imprisonment at Rome, and had some of his books prohibited in the Roman Index, of which Spondanus,[40] in his Annals, will give the reader a further account. But I return to the primitive church.

Sect. 10. 6thly, Heathen temples and their revenues sometimes given to the church.

Where we may observe another addition made to the revenues of the clergy, by the donation of heathen temples, and sometimes the revenues that were settled upon them. For though the greatest part of these went commonly to the emperor's coffers, or to favourites that begged them, upon the demolishing of the temples; as appears from the laws of Honorius[41] and Gratian, and several others in the Theodosian Code; yet some of them were given to the church: for Honorius[42] takes notice of several orders and decrees of his own, whereby such settlements had been made upon the church, which were to continue the church's property and patrimony for ever. And it is probable some other emperors might convert the revenues of the temples to the same use. At least the fabrics themselves, and the silver and golden statues that were in them, were sometimes so disposed of. For Sozomen[43] says, the μίθριον, or temple of the sun at Alexandria, was given to the church by Constantius. And we learn from Socrates,[44] that in the time of Theodosius, the statues of Serapis, and many other idols at Alexandria, were melted down for the use of the church; the emperor giving orders that the gods should help to maintain the poor.

Sect. 11. 7thly, As also heretical conventicles and their revenues.

Honorius made a like decree, anno 412, in reference to all the revenues belonging to heretical conventicles, that both the churches or conventicles themselves, and all the lands[45] that were settled upon them, should be forfeited, and become the possession and property of the catholic church, as by former decrees he had appointed. And I suppose it was by virtue of these laws, that Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, shut up all the Novatian churches, and seized

[34] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 2. de SS. Eccles. Leg. 12. Salaria quæ sacrosanctis ecclesiis in diversis speciebus de publico hactenus ministrata sunt, jubemus nunc quoque inconcussa, et a nullo prorsus imminuta præstari.

[35] Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 2. c. 36.

[36] Cod. Th. lib. 5. Tit. 3. de Bonis Clericor. Leg. 1. Cod. Just. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 20.

[37] Conc. Agathen. c. 24. al. 33. ap. Gratian. Caus. 12. qu. 2. c. 34. Episcopus qui filios aut nepotes non habuerit, alium quam ecclesiam non relinquat hæredem.

[38] Conc. Hispalens. 1. c. 1.

[39] Caranz. in loc. Hic canon erat renovandus in concilio, ut hæres defuncti episcopi esset ecclesia, non tamen papa. Secundo alienum est a sententia horum patrum licere episcopo instituere primogenituras, vel locupletare consanguineos.

[40] Spondan. Annal. Eccl. an. 1559. n. 29.

[41] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 10. de Paganis, Leg. 19 et 20.

[42] Ibid. Leg. 20. Ea autem quæ multiplicibus constitutis ad venerabilem ecclesiam voluimus pertinere, Christiana sibi merito religio vindicavit, id est, vindicabit.

[43] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 7.

[44] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 16.

[45] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæret. Leg. 52. Ecclesiis eorum vel conventiculis, prædiisque, siqua in eorum ecclesias hæreticorum largitas prava contulit, proprietati potestatique catholicæ, sicut jamdudum statuimus, vindicatis.

upon all their revenues, and deprived Theonas, their bishop, of his substance; though Socrates,[46] in telling the story, represents the matter a little more invidiously, as if Cyril had done all this by his own private usurped authority and arbitrary power: which will hardly gain credit with any one that considers, that those laws of Honorius were published before Cyril came to the episcopal throne, which was not till the year 412, when those laws were re-enforced by the imperial power.

Sect. 12. 8thly. The estates of clerks deserting the church, to be forfeited to the church.

While I am upon this head, it will not be improper to observe further, that, by Justinian's laws,[47] if any clergymen or monks, who were possessed of temporal estates, forsook their church or monastery, and turned seculars again, all their substance was forfeited to the church or monastery to which they belonged. These were the several methods that were anciently taken for augmenting and improving the revenues of the church, besides those of first-fruits and tithes, of which more hereafter.

Sect. 13. No disreputable ways of augmenting church-revenues encouraged. Fathers not to disinherit their children to make the church their heirs.

But I must observe, that as these methods were generally reputed legal and allowable, so there were some other as generally disallowed and condemned. Particularly we find in St. Austin's time, that it was become a rule in the African church, to receive no estates that were given to the church to the great detriment and prejudice of the common rights of any others. As if a father disinherited his children to make the church his heir, in that case no bishop would receive his donation. Possidius tells[48] us St. Austin refused some estates so given, because he thought it more just and equal, that they should be possessed by the children, or parents, or next kindred of the deceased persons. And that he did so, is evident from his own words in his discourse de Vita Clericorum,[49] where he says he had returned an estate to a son, which an angry father at his death had taken from him: and he thought he did well in it; professing for his own part, that if any disinherited his son, to make the church his heir, he should seek some one else to receive his donation, and not Austin; and he hoped by the grace of God there would be none that would receive it. He adds in the same place a very remarkable and laudable instance of great generosity and equity in Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, in a case of the like nature. A certain man[50] having no children, nor hopes of any, gave away his whole estate to the church, only reserving to himself the use of it for life. Now it happened afterwards, that he had children born to him; upon which the bishop generously returned him his estate, when he did not at all expect it. The bishop indeed, says St. Austin, had it in his power to have kept it, *sed jure fori, non jure poli,* only by the laws of man, but not by the laws of Heaven. And therefore he thought himself obliged in conscience to return it. This shows how tender they were of augmenting the revenues of the church by any methods that might be thought unequitable, or such as were not reputable, honest, or of good report; herein observing the apostle's rule, to let their moderation, τὸ ἐπιεικὲς, their equity, be known to all men; not doing any hard thing for lucre's sake, nor taking advantages by rigour of law, when conscience and charity were against them.

Sect. 14. Nothing to be demanded for administering the sacraments of the church, nor for consecrating churches, nor interment of the dead.

To avoid scandal also, and to provide things honest in the sight of all men, they forbade any thing to be demanded for administering the sacraments of the church. The council of Eliberis seems to intimate, that it was customary with some persons at their baptism to cast money into a bason, by way of gratuity to the minister; but even this is there forbidden by the canon, lest the priest[51] should seem to sell what he freely received. Whence we may conclude, that if the people might not offer, the priest might much less exact or demand any thing for administering the sacrament of baptism. In other churches a voluntary oblation was allowed of, from persons that were able and willing to make it; but all exactions of that nature from the poor were still prohibited, for fear of discouraging them from offering themselves or their children to baptism. Thus it was in the Roman church in the time of Gelasius, as we learn from his epistles;[52] and in the Greek church in the time of Gregory Nazianzen, who takes occasion to answer this objection which poor men made against

[46] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 7.

[47] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 53. Si illi monasteria aut ecclesias relinquant, atque mundani fiant; omne ipsorum jus ad monasterium aut ecclesiam pertinet. Vid. Novel. 5. c. 4 et 6. It. Novel. 123. c. 42.

[48] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 24.

[49] Aug. Serm. 49. de Diversis, t. 10. p. 520. Quando donavi filio, quod iratus pater moriens abstulit, bene feci. —Quid plura, fratres mei? Quicunque vult exhæredato filio hæredem facere ecclesiam, quærat alterum qui suscipiat, non Augustinum; imo Deo propitio neminem inveniat.

[50] Id. ibid. Quidam cum filios non haberet, neque speraret, res suas omnes, retento sibi usufructu, donavit ecclesiæ. Nati sunt illi filii, et reddidit episcopus nec opinanti quæ ille donaverat. In potestate habebat episcopus non reddere; sed jure fori, non jure poli.

[51] Conc. Eliber. c. 48. Emendari placuit, ut hi qui baptizantur (ut fieri solebat) nummos in concham non mittant; ne sacerdos, quod gratis accepit, pretio distrahere videatur.

[52] Gelas. Ep. 1. al. 9. ad Episc. Lucaniæ, c. 5. Baptizandis consignandisque fidelibus pretia nulla presbyteri præfigant, nec illationibus quibusdam impositis exagitare cupiant renascentes; quoniam quod gratis accipimus, gratis dare mandamur. Et ideo nihil a prædictis exigere moliantur, quo vel paupertate cogente deterriti, vel indignatione revocati, redemptionis suæ causas adire despiciant

coming immediately to baptism,[53] because they had not wherewith to make the usual present that was then to be offered, or to purchase the splendid robe that was then to be worn, or to provide a treat for the minister that baptized them. He tells them, no such things would be expected or exacted of them: they need only make a present of themselves to Christ, and entertain the minister with their own good life and conversation, which would be more acceptable to him than any other offerings. This implies, that it was then the custom for the people to make a voluntary oblation at their baptism; but not the custom for ministers to demand it, as a matter of right, for fear of giving scandal. Some editions of Gratian[54] and Vicecomes[55] allege a canon of the third or fourth council of Carthage to the same purpose; which, if the allegation were true, would prove that the same custom obtained in the African church. But, as Antonius Augustinus[56] and the Roman correctors of Gratian[57] have observed, there is no such canon to be found in any African council; but it is a canon of the second council of Bracara in Spain, which finding a corrupt practice crept in among the clergy, (notwithstanding the former prohibition of the Eliberitan council,) that ministers did exact pledges of the poor, who had not ability to make any offering, endeavoured to redress this corruption, by passing a new order, that though[58] voluntary oblations might be received, yet no pledge should be extorted from the poor who were not able to offer, because many of the poor for fear of this kept back their children from baptism. The same council of Bracara made a decree, that no bishop should exact[59] any thing as a due of any founders of churches for their consecration; but if any thing was voluntarily offered, he might receive it. And so in like manner for confirmation,[60] and administering the eucharist,[61] all bishops and presbyters are strictly enjoined not to exact any thing of the receivers, because the grace of God was not to be set to sale, nor the sanctification of the Spirit to be imparted for money. St. Jerom assures us further, that it was not very honourable in his time to exact any thing for the burying-places of the dead, for he censures those that practised it, as falling short[62] of the merit of Ephron the Hittite, whom Abraham forced to receive money for the burying-place which he bought of him: but now, says he, there are some who sell burying-places and take money for them, not by compulsion, as Ephron did, but by extortion rather from those that were unwilling to pay. By which we may understand, that in his time it was hardly allowable to demand any thing for the use of a public or private cemetery: nor was this any part of the church revenues in those days, when as yet the custom of burying in churches was not generally brought in, but was the practice of later ages; of which more when we come to speak of the funeral rites of the church.

Sect. 15. The oblations of the people anciently one of the most valuable parts of church revenues.

If any one is desirous to know what part of the church revenues was anciently most serviceable and beneficial to the church, he may be informed from St. Chrysostom and St. Austin, who give the greatest commendations to the offerings and oblations of the people, and seem to say, that the church was never better provided than when her maintenance was raised chiefly from them. For then men's zeal prompted them to be very liberal in their daily offerings; but as lands and possessions were settled upon the church, this zeal sensibly abated; and so the church came to be worse provided for under the notion of growing richer. Which is the thing that St. Chrysostom complains of in his own times, when the ancient revenue arising from oblations was in a great measure sunk, and the church, with all her lands, left in a worse condition than she was before. For now her ministers were forced to submit to secular cares, to the management of lands and houses, and the business of buying and selling, for fear the orphans, and virgins, and widows of the church should starve. He exhorts the people therefore to return to their ancient liberality of oblations, which would at once ease the ministry of all such cares, and make a good provision for the poor, and take off all the little scoffs and objections that some were so ready to make and cast upon the clergy, that they were too much given to secular cares and employments, when indeed it was not choice, but necessity, that forced them to it. There are, says he, in this place, (at Antioch he means,) by the grace of God a hundred thousand persons that come to church. Now, if every one[63] of these would but give one loaf of bread

[53] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. t. 1. p. 655.

[54] Gratian. Caus. 1. qu. 1. c. 108.

[55] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 4. c. 2.

[56] Anton. Aug. de Emend. Gratiani, lib. 1. Dial. 14.

[57] Gratian. ibid. Edit. Rom. an. 1582.

[58] Conc. Bracar. 2. c. 7. edit. Crab. al. 3. Bracar. Ed. Labbe. Qui infantes suos ad baptismum offerunt, si quid voluntarie pro suo offerunt voto, suscipiatur ab eis; si vero per necessitatem paupertatis aliquid non habent quod offerant, nullum illis pignus violenter tollatur a clericis. Nam multi pauperes hoc timentes, filios suos a baptismo retrahunt.

[59] Ibid. can. 5.

[60] Gelas. Ep. 1. al. 9. ad Episc. Lucan. c. 10.

[61] Conc. Trul. c. 23.

[62] Hieron. Quæst. Hebraic. in Gen. xxiii. t. 3. p. 214. Postquam pretio victus est, ut sepulcrum venderet, &c., appellatus est Ephran: significante scriptura, non eum fuisse consummatæ perfectæque virtutis, qui potuerit memorias vendere mortuorum. Sciant igitur qui sepulcra venditant, et non coguntur ut accipiant pretium, sed a nolentibus etiam extorquent, immutari nomen suum, et perire quid de merito eorum, &c.

[63] Chrys. Hom. 86. in Matth.

daily to the poor, the poor would live in plenty. If every one would contribute but one halfpenny, no man would want; neither should we undergo so many reproaches and derisions, as if we were too intent upon our possessions. By this discourse of Chrysostom's it plainly appears, that he thought the oblations of the people in populous cities, when men were acted with their primitive zeal, was a better provision for the clergy than even the lands and possessions of the church. And St. Austin seems to have had the same sense of this matter. For Possidius[64] tells us in his Life, that when he found the possessions of the church were become a little invidious, he was used to tell the laity, that he had rather live upon the oblations of the people of God than undergo the care and trouble of those possessions; and that he was ready to part with them, provided all the servants and ministers of God might live as they did under the Old Testament, when, as we read, they that served at the altar were made partakers of the altar. But though he made this proposal to the people, they would never accept of it. Which is an argument, that the people also thought, that the reducing the clergy's maintenance to the precise model of the Old Testament would have been a more chargeable way to them than the other; since the oblations of the Old Testament included tithes and first-fruits; concerning the state and original of which, as to what concerns the Christian church, I come now to make a more particular inquiry.

CHAPTER V.

OF TITHES AND FIRST-FRUITS IN PARTICULAR.

Sect. 1. Tithes anciently reckoned to be due by Divine right.

CONCERNING tithes, so far as relates to the ancient church, it will be proper to make three inquiries. First, Whether the primitive fathers esteemed them to be due by Divine right? Secondly, If they did, why they were not always strictly demanded? Thirdly, In what age they were first generally settled upon the church? As to the first inquiry, it is generally agreed by learned men, that the ancients accounted tithes to be due by Divine right. Bellarmine indeed,[1] and Rivet,[2] and Mr. Selden,[3] place them upon another foot: but our learned Bishop Andrews[4] and Bishop Carleton,[5] who wrote before Mr. Selden, and Bishop Montague[6] and Tillesly,[7] who wrote in answer to him, (not to mention many others who have written since,) have clearly proved, that the ancients believed the law about tithes not to be merely a ceremonial or political command, but of moral and perpetual obligation. It will be sufficient for me in this place to present the reader with two or three of their allegations. Origen, in one of his homilies[8] on Numbers, thus delivers his opinion about it: How does our righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, if they dare not taste of the fruits of the earth, before they offer the first-fruits to the priests, and separate the tithes for the Levites? Whilst I do nothing of this, but only so abuse the fruits of the earth, that neither the priest, nor the Levite, nor the altar of God shall see any of them? St. Jerom[9] says expressly, that the law about tithes and first-fruits was to be understood to continue in its full force in the Christian church; where men were commanded not only to give tithes, but to sell all that they had, and give to the poor. But, says he, if we will not proceed so far, let us at least imitate the Jewish practice, and give part of the whole to the poor, and the honour that is due to the priests and Levites. Which he that does not, defrauds God, and makes himself liable to a curse. St. Austin as plainly favours the same opinion, telling men,[10] that they ought to separate something out of their yearly fruits, or daily income; and that a tenth to a Christian was but a small proportion. Because it

[64] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 23. Dum forte (ut adsolet) de possessionibus ipsis invidia clericis fieret, alloquebatur plebem Dei, malle se ex collationibus plebis Dei vivere quam illarum possessionum curam vel gubernationem pati; et paratum se illis cedere, ut eo modo omnes Dei servi et ministri viverent, quo in Veteri Testamento leguntur altari deservientes de eodem comparticipari. Sed nunquam id laici suscipere voluerunt.

[1] Bellarmin. de Clericis, lib. 1. c. 25.

[2] Rivet, Exerc. 80. in Gen. xiv. p. 386.

[3] Selden, Hist. of Tithes, c. 4.

[4] Andrews, de Decimis, inter Opuscula.

[5] Carleton, Divine Right of Tithes, c. 4.

[6] Montague, Diatribæ, &c. [7] Tillesly, Answ. to Selden.

[8] Orig. Hom. 11. in Num. xviii. t. 1. p. 210. Quomodo ergo abundat justitia nostra plusquam scribarum et Pharisæorum, si illi de fructibus terræ suæ gustare non audent, priusquam primitias suas sacerdotibus offerant et Levitis decimæ separentur? Et ego nihil horum faciens, fructibus terræ ita abutar, ut sacerdos nesciat, Levites ignoret, Divinum altare non sentiat?

[9] Hieron. Com. in Mal. iii. Quod de decimis primitiisque diximus, quæ olim dabantur a populo sacerdotibus ac Levitis, in ecclesiæ quoque populis intelligite: Quibus præceptum est, non solum decimas dare et primitias, sed et vendere omnia quæ habent et dare pauperibus, et sequi Dominum salvatorem. Quod si facere nolumus, saltem Judæorum imitemur exordia, ut pauperibus partem demus ex toto, et sacerdotibus et Levitis honorem debitum deferamus. Quod qui non fecerit, Deum fraudare et supplantare convincitur, &c.

[10] Aug. Com. in Psal. cxlvi. t. 8. p. 698. Præcidite ergo aliquid, et deputate aliquid fixum vel ex annuis fructibus, vel ex quotidianis quæstibus vestris.—Decimas vis? Decimas exime, quanquam parum sit. Dictum est enim, quia Pharisæi decimas dabant, &c. Et quid ait Dominus? Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam scribarum et Pharisæorum, non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum. Et ille, super quem debet abundare justitia tua, decimas dat: tu autem nec millesimam das. Quomodo superabis eum, cui non æquaris?

is said, the Pharisees gave tithes: "I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess." And our Lord saith, "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." But if he, whose righteousness you are to exceed, give tithes; and you give not a thousandth part; how can you be said to exceed him, whom you do not so much as equal? By these few allegations the reader may be able to judge, what notion the ancients had of tithes, as due by Divine right under the gospel, as well as under the law; and that the precept concerning them was not a mere ceremonial or political command given to the Jews only.

Sect. 2. Why not exacted in the apostolical age and those that immediately followed.

But why, then, it may be said, were not tithes exacted by the apostles at first, or by the fathers in the ages immediately following? For it is generally believed that tithes were not the original maintenance of ministers under the gospel. To this Bishop Carleton[11] has returned several very satisfactory answers, which the reader may take in his own words. First, That tithes were paid to the priests and Levites in the time of Christ and his apostles: now, the synagogue must first be buried, before these things could be orderly brought into use in the church. Secondly, In the times of the New Testament, and somewhat after, there was an extraordinary maintenance by a community of all things, which supplied the want of tithes: but this community was extraordinary, and not to last always. Thirdly, The use of paying tithes, as the church then stood, was so incommodious and cumbersome, that it could not well be practised. And therefore, as circumcision was laid aside for a time, whilst Israel travelled through the wilderness, not because the people of right ought not then also to have used it, but because it was so incommodious for that estate and time of the church, that it could not without great trouble be practised; even so the use of tithes in the time of Christ and his apostles was laid aside, not because it ought not, but because it could not, without great encumbrance, be done. And as circumcision was resumed, as soon as the estate of the church could bear it; so tithes were re-established, as soon as the condition of the church could suffer it. For tithes cannot well be paid, but where some whole state or kingdom receiveth Christianity, and where the magistrate doth favour the church, which was not in the time of the apostles. To these reasons some other learned persons[12] have added a fourth, which is also worth noting, That the tithes of fruits were not so early paid to Christian priests, because the inhabitants of the country were the latest converts; whence also the name pagans stuck by the heathens, because the greatest relics of them were in country villages.

Sect. 3. In what age they were first generally settled upon the church.

As to the last inquiry, when tithes began first to be generally settled upon the church? the common opinion is, that it was in the fourth century, when magistrates began to favour the church, and the world was generally converted from heathenism. Some think[13] Constantine settled them by law upon the church: so Alsted, who cites Hermannus Gigas for the same opinion. But there is no law of Constantine's now extant that makes express mention of any such thing. That which comes the nearest to it, seems to be the law about an annual allowance of corn to the clergy in all cities out of the public treasuries, which has been spoken of in the last chapter: but this was not so much as a tenth of the yearly product; for the whole tribute itself seems to have been no more: for in some laws of the Theodosian Code[14] the emperor's tribute is called *decimæ*, tithes; and the publicans, who collected it, are, upon that account, by Tully[15] called *decumani*; and in Hesychius, the word δεκατεύειν, to tithe, is explained by τελωνεῖν and δεκάτην εἰσπράττεσθαι, to pay tribute, or pay their tithes to the collectors of the tribute. Unless, therefore, we can suppose that Constantine settled the whole tribute of the empire upon the church, (which it is evident he did not,) we cannot take that law for a settlement of tithes upon the clergy. Yet it might be a step towards it: for before the end of the fourth century, as Mr. Selden[16] himself not only confesses, but proves out of Cassian, Eugippius, and others, tithes were paid to the church. St. Austin lived in this age, and he says, tithes were paid before his time, and much better than they were in his own time, for he makes a great complaint of the nonpayment of them. Our forefathers, says he,[17] abounded in all things, because they gave tithes to God, and tribute to Cæsar. But now, because our devotion to God is sunk, the taxes of the state are raised upon us. We would not give God his part in the tithes, and therefore the whole is taken away from us. The exchequer devours what we would not give to Christ. St. Chrysostom,[18] and the author of the *Opus Imperfectum*[19] on St. Matthew, that goes under his name, testify for the practice of other

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[11] Carlton, Div. Right of Tithes, cap. 4. p 21.

[12] Bishop Fell, Not. in Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 1.

[13] Alsted, Supplement. Chamier de Membris Eccles. c. 10.

[14] Cod. Th. lib. 10. Tit. 19. de Metallis, Leg. 10 et 11.

[15] Vid. Cicer. Orat. 3. in Ver. n. 21 et 22.

[16] Selden, Hist. of Tith. c. 5. p. 47, &c.

[17] Aug. Hom. 48. ex 50. t. 10. p. 201. Majores nostri ideo copiis omnibus abundabant, quia Deo decimas dabant, et Cæsari censum reddebant. Modo autem quia decessit devotio Dei, accessit indictio fisci. Nolumus partiri cum Deo decimas, modo totum tollitur. Hoc tollit fiscus, quod non accipit Christus.

[18] Chyrs. Hom. 4. in Ephes. p. 1058.

[19] Opus Imperf. in Matt. Hom. 44. Si populus decimas non obtulerit, murmurant omnes: at si peccantem populum viderint, nemo murmurat contra eum.

churches about the same time. And it were easy to add a list of many other fathers and councils of the next age, which speak of tithes[20] as then actually settled upon the church: but since they who dispute most against the Divine right of them, do not deny this as to fact, it is needless to prosecute this matter any further; which they that please may see historically deduced through many centuries by Mr. Selden.[21]

Sect. 4. The original of first-fruits, and the manner of offering them.

There is one part more of church revenues, whose original remains to be inquired into, and that is first-fruits, which are frequently mentioned in the primitive writers. For not only those called the Apostolical Canons[22] and Constitutions[23] speak of them as part of the maintenance of the clergy; but writers more ancient and more authentic, as Origen and Irenæus, mention them also as oblations made to God. Celsus, says Origen,[24] would have us dedicate first-fruits to demons; but we dedicate them to him, who said, "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind." To whom we give our first-fruits, to him also we send up our prayers, having a great High Priest that is entered into heaven, &c. In like manner Irenæus says,[25] Christ taught his disciples to offer the first-fruits of the creatures to God, and that this was the church's continual oblation with thanksgiving for the enjoyment of all the rest. Which implies, either that they had a particular form of thanksgiving, as there is in both the Greek and Latin rituals; or else that these first-fruits were offered with other oblations at the time of the eucharist. However this be, it is evident, that as they were principally designed for agnizing the Creator, so they were secondarily intended for the use of his servants. And therefore we find the Eustathian heretics censured by the synod of Gangra, anno 324, for that they took the first-fruits, which were anciently given to the church, and divided them among the saints of their own party;[26] in opposition to which practice there are two canons made by that council,[27] forbidding any one to receive or distribute such oblations out of the church, otherwise than by the directions of the bishop, under pain of excommunication. Some other rules are also given by one of the councils[28] of Carthage, inserted into the African Code, concerning these first-fruits, that they should be only of grapes and corn; which shows that it was also the practice of the African church. Nazianzen likewise mentions the first-fruits of the winepress and the floor, which were to be dedicated to God.[29] And the author of the Constitutions has a form of prayer,[30] ἐπίκλησις ἐπὶ ἀπαρχῶν, an invocation upon the first-fruits, to be used at their dedication. So that it seems very clear, that the offering of first-fruits was a very ancient and general custom in the Christian church, and that this also contributed something toward the maintenance of the clergy; whose revenues I have now considered so far as concerns the several kinds and first original of them.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE MANAGEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE REVENUES OF THE ANCIENT CLERGY.

Sect. 1. The revenues of the whole diocese anciently in the hands of the bishop.

The next thing to be considered is, the ancient way of managing and distributing these revenues among the clergy, and such others as were dependants upon the church. Which being a little different from the ways of later ages, since settlements were made upon parochial churches; for the right understanding of it we are in the first place to observe, that anciently the revenues of the whole diocese were all in the hands of the bishop; who, with the advice and consent of his senate of presbyters, distributed them as the occasions of the church required. This will appear evident to any one that will consider these two things (which will hereafter be proved, when we come to speak of parochial churches and their original): first, That there were anciently no presbyters or other clergy fixed upon particular churches or congregations in the same city or diocese; but they were served indifferently by any presbyter from the *ecclesia matrix*, the mother or cathedral church, to which all the clergy of the city or diocese belonged, and not to any particular congregation. Secondly, That when presbyters were fixed to particular churches or assemblies in some cities, yet still those churches had no separate revenues; but the maintenance of the clergy officiating in them was from the common stock of the mother church, into which all the oblations of particular churches were put, as into a common fund, that from thence there might be

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[20] Conc. Aurelian. 1. an. 511. can. 17. Conc. Matiscon. 2. an. 588. c. 5.

[21] Selden, Hist. of Tithes, c. 5, &c. [22] Canon. Apost. c. 4.

[23] Constit. lib. 2. c. 25. lib. 8. c. 30.

[24] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 8. p. 400.

[25] Iren. lib. 4. c. 32. Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, &c. Ibid. c. 34. Offerre igitur oportet Deo primitias ejus creaturæ, &c.

[26] Conc. Gangr. in Præfat. Καρποφορίας τε τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς τὰς ἀνέκαθεν διδομένας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἁγίοις, τὰς διαδόσεις ποιούμενοι.

[27] Ibid. can. 7 et 8.

[28] Cod. Can. Afr. c. 37. al. 40. Conc. African. c. 4.

[29] Naz. Ep. 80. [30] Constit. lib. 8. c. 40.

made a general distribution. That thus it was at Constantinople till the middle of the fifth century, is evident from what we find in Theodorus Lector, who says,[1] that Marcian, the *œconomus* or guardian of that church under Gennadius, anno 460, was the first that ordered the clergy of every particular church to receive the offerings of their own church, whereas before the great church received them all.

Sect. 2. And by his care distributed among the clergy.

Now, this being the ancient custom, it gives us a clear account how all the revenues of the church came to be in the hands of the bishop, and how it was made one part of his office and duty by the canons to concern himself in the care and distribution of them. Of which because I have already spoken elsewhere,[2] I shall say no more in this place, save only that the bishop himself, to avoid suspicion and prevent mismanagement, was obliged to give an account of his administration in a provincial synod;[3] as also at his election to exhibit a list of his own goods and estate, that such things as belonged to him[4] might be distinguished from those that belonged to God and the church. And for the same reason the great council of Chalcedon[5] ordered, that every bishop should have an *œconomus*, or guardian of the church, and he to be chosen by the vote of all the clergy, as has been noted in another place. See Book III. chap. 12. sect. 4.

Sect. 3. Rules about the division of church revenues.

As to the distribution itself, in the most primitive ages we find no certain rules about it; but as it was in the apostles' days, so it continued for some time after: what was collected, was usually deposited with the bishop, and distribution was made to every man according as he had need. But the following ages brought the matter to some certain rules, and then the revenues were divided into certain portions, monthly or yearly, according as occasion required, and these proportioned to the state or needs of every order. In the Western church, the division was usually into three or four parts; whereof one fell to the bishop; a second to the rest of the clergy; a third to the poor; and the fourth was applied to the maintenance of the fabric and other necessary uses of the church. The council of Bracara[6] makes but three parts, one for the bishop, another for the clergy, and the third for the fabric and lights of the church. But then it was supposed, that the bishop's hospitality should out of such a proportion provide for the necessities of the poor. By other rules the poor, that is, all distressed people, the virgins and widows of the church, together with the martyrs and confessors in prison, the sick and strangers, have one fourth[7] in the dividend expressly allotted them. For all these had relief (though not a perfect maintenance) from the charity of the church. At Rome there were fifteen hundred such persons, besides the clergy,[8] provided for this way in the time of Cornelius; and above three thousand at Antioch[9] in the time of Chrysostom: by which we may make an estimate of the revenues and charities of those populous churches.

Sect. 4. In some churches the clergy lived all in common.

In some churches they made no such division, but lived all in common, the clergy with the bishop, as it were in one mansion, and at one table. But this they did not by any general canon, but only upon choice, or particular combination and agreement in some particular churches. As Sozomen[10] notes it to have been the custom at Rinocurura in Egypt, and Possidius affirms[11] the same of the church of St. Austin. What was the practice of St. Austin and his clergy we cannot better learn than from St. Austin himself, who tells us, that all his clergy[12] laid themselves voluntarily under an obligation to have all things in common; and therefore none of them could have any property, or any thing to dispose of by will; or, if they had, they were liable to be turned out, and have their names expunged out of the roll of the clergy: which he resolved to do, though they appealed to Rome, or to a thousand councils, against him; by the help of God, they should not be clerks where he was bishop. For his own part, he tells us, he was so punctual to this rule, that if any one presented him with a robe finer than ordinary, he was used to sell it; that since his clergy could not wear the same in kind, they might at least[13] partake of the benefit, when it was sold and made common. But as this way of living would not comport with the state of all churches, so there were but few that embraced it; and those that did, were not compelled to it by any

[1] Theod. Lect. lib. 1. p. 553.

[2] Book II. chap. 4. sect. 6.

[3] Conc. Antioch. c. 25.

[4] Canon. Apost. c. 39. al. 40.

[5] Conc. Chalced. c. 25.

[6] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 25. Placuit, ut de rebus ecclesiasticis fiant tres æquæ portiones, id est, una episcopi, alia clericorum, tertia in reparatione vel in luminariis ecclesiæ.

[7] Gelas. Ep. 1. al. 9. ad Episc. Lucaniæ, c. 27. Quatuor tam de redditu quam de oblatione fidelium—convenit fieri portiones: quarum sit una pontificis, altera clericorum tertia pauperum, quarta fabricis applicanda. Vid. Simplicii Ep. 3. ad Florent. Gregor. Magn. lib. 3. Ep. 11.

[8] Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[9] Chrys. Hom. 67. in Matth.

[10] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 31.

[11] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 25.

[12] Aug. Ser. 50. de Diversis sive de Communi Vita Clericorum, t. 10. p. 523. Quia placuit illis socialis hæc vita, quisquis cum hypocrisi vixerit, quisquis inventus fuerit habens proprium, non illi permitto ut inde faciat testamentum, sed delebo eum de tabula clericorum. Interpellet contra me mille concilia, naviget contra me quo voluerit, sit certe ubi potuerit, adjuvabit me Deus, ut ubi ego episcopus sum, illic clericus esse non possit.

[13] Ibid. Si quis meliorem dederit, vendo, quod et facere soleo, ut quando non potest vestis esse communis, pretium vestis sit commune.

general law, but only by local statutes of their own appointment.

Sect. 5. Alterations made in these matters by the endowment of parochial churches.

Yet in one of these two ways the clergy were commonly provided for out of the revenues of the great church, till such times as endowments and settlements began to be made upon parochial churches; which was not done in all places at the same time, nor in one and the same way: but it seems to have had its rise from particular founders of churches, who settled manse and glebe upon the churches which they builded, and upon that score were allowed a right of patronage, to present their own clerk, and invest him with the revenues of the church, wherewith they had endowed it. This practice was begun in the time of Justinian, anno 500, if not before, for there are two of his laws which[14] authorize and confirm it. About the same time, a settlement of other revenues, as oblations, &c., was also made in some places upon parochial churches, as has been observed before out of Theodorus Lector's accounts of the churches of Constantinople. Yet the change is thought by some[15] to be much later in England: for they collect out of Bede,[16] that the ancient course of the clergy's officiating only *pro tempore* in parochial churches, whilst they received maintenance from the cathedral church, continued in England more than a hundred years after the coming of Austin into England, that is, till about the year 700. For Bede plainly intimates, that at that time the bishop and his clergy lived together, and had all things common, as they had in the primitive church in the days of the apostles.

Sect. 6. No alienations to be made of church revenues or goods, but upon extraordinary occasions.

I have but one thing more to observe upon this head, which is, that such goods or revenues as were once given to the church, were always esteemed devoted to God; and therefore were only to be employed in his service, and not to be diverted to any other use, except some extraordinary case of charity absolutely required it. As if it was to redeem captives, or relieve the poor in time of famine, when no other succours could be afforded them: in that case, it was usual to sell even the sacred vessels and utensils of the church, to make provision for the living temples of God, which were to be preferred before the ornaments of the material buildings. Thus St. Ambrose melted down the communion-plate of the church of Milan to redeem some captives, which otherwise must have continued in slavery: and when the Arians objected this to him invidiously as a crime, he wrote a most elegant apology and vindication for himself, where, among other things worthy the reader's perusal, he pleads his own cause after this manner: Is it not better that the bishop[17] should melt the plate to sustain the poor, when other sustenance cannot be had, than that some sacrilegious enemy should carry it off by spoil and plunder? Will not our Lord expostulate with us upon this account? Why did you suffer so many helpless persons to die with famine, when you had gold to provide them sustenance? Why were so many captives carried away and sold without redemption? Why were so many suffered to be slain by the enemy? It had been better to have preserved the vessels of living men, than lifeless metals. What answer can be returned to this? For what shall a man say? I was afraid lest the temple of God should want its ornaments. But Christ will answer, My sacraments do not require gold, nor please me the more for being ministered in gold, which are not bought with gold. The ornament of my sacraments is the redemption of captives: and those are truly precious vessels, which redeem souls from death. Thus that holy father goes on to justify the fact, which the Arians called sacrilege, but he by a truer name, charity and mercy; for the sake of which he concludes, it was no crime for a man to break, to melt, to sell the mystical vessels of the church, though it were a very great offence for any man to convert them to his own private use. After the same example, we find[18] St. Austin disposed of the plate of his church for the redemption of captives. Acacius, bishop of Amida, did the same for the redemption of seven thousand Persian slaves from the hands of the Roman soldiers, as Socrates[19] informs us. From whence we also learn, that in such cases they did not consider what religion men were of, but only whether they were indigent and necessitous men, and such as stood in need of their assistance. We have the like instances in the practice of Cyril of Jerusalem, mentioned by Theodoret[20] and Sozomen, and in Deogratias, bishop of Carthage, whose charity is extolled by Victor Uticensis[21] upon the same occasion. For he sold the communion-plate to redeem the Roman soldiers, that were taken captives in their wars with the Vandals. This was so far from being esteemed sacrilege, or unjust alienation, that the laws against sacrilege excepted this case, though they did no other whatsoever. As may be seen in the law of Justinian, which[22] forbids the selling or pawning the church plate, or vestments,

[14] Justin. Novel. 57. c. 2. Novel. 123. c. 18.

[15] Cawdrey, Disc. of Patronage, c. 2. p. 8. Selden, of Tithes, c. 9. p. 255.

[16] Bede, Hist. Gentis Anglor. lib. 4. c. 27.

[17] Ambros. de Offic. lib. 2. c. 28.

[18] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 24.

[19] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 21.

[20] Theod. lib. 2. c. 27. Sozom. lib. 4. c. 25.

[21] Victor. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 1. Bibl. Patr. t. 7. p. 591.

[22] Cod. Just. lib. 1. Tit. 2. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. Leg. 21. Sancimus, nemini licere sacratissima atque arcana vasa, vel vestes, cæteraque donaria, quæ ad Divinam religionem ne-

or any other gifts, except in case of captivity or famine, to redeem slaves, or relieve the poor; because in such cases the lives or souls of men were to be preferred before any vessels or vestments whatsoever. The poverty of the clergy was a pitiable case of the same nature: and therefore, if the annual income of the church would not maintain them, and there was no other way to provide them of necessaries; in that case some canons[23] allowed the bishop to alienate or sell certain goods of the church, to raise a present maintenance.

Sect. 7. And that with the joint consent of the bishop and his clergy, with the approbation of the metropolitan or some provincial bishops.

But that no fraud might be committed in any such cases, the same canons did specially provide, that when any urgent necessity compelled the bishop to take this extraordinary course, he should first consult his clergy, and also the metropolitan, and others his comprovincial bishops, that they might judge of the necessity, and whether it were a reasonable ground for such a proceeding. The fourth council of Carthage[24] disannuls all such acts of the bishop, whereby he either gives away, or sells, or commutes any goods of the church, without the consent and subscription of his clergy. And the fifth council of Carthage[25] requires him to intimate the case and necessity of his church first to the primate of the province, that he with a certain number of bishops may judge whether it be fitting to be done. The council of Agde[26] says, he should first consult two or three of his neighbouring bishops, and take their approbation. Thus stood the laws of the church, so long as the bishop and his clergy had a common right in the dividend of ecclesiastical revenues: nothing could be alienated without the consent of both parties, and the cognizance and ratification of the metropolitan or provincial synod. So that the utmost precaution was taken in this affair, lest, under the pretence of necessity or charity, any spoil or devastation should be made of the goods and revenues of the church.

cessaria sunt—vel ad venditionem vel ad hypothecam vel ad pignus trahere—excepta causa captivitatis et famis in locis quibus hoc contigerit. Nam si necessitas fuerit in redemptione captivorum, tunc et venditionem præfatarum rerum divinarum, et hypothecam et pignorationes fieri concedimus; quoniam non absurdum est, animas hominum quibuscunque vasis vel vestimentis præferri.

[23] Conc. Carthag. 5. c. 4. Conc. Agathen. c. 7.

[24] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 32. Irrita erit donatio episcoporum, vel venditio vel commutatio rei ecclesiasticæ, absque conniventia et subscriptione clericorum.

[25] Conc. Carth. 5. c. 4. Si aliqua necessitas cogit, hanc insinuandam esse primati provinciæ ipsius, ut cum statuto numero episcoporum, utrum faciendum sit, arbitretur.

[26] Conc. Agathen. c. 7. Apud duos vel tres comprovinciales vel vicinos episcopos, causa qua necesse sit vendi, primitus comprobetur.

BOOK VI.

AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL LAWS AND RULES, RELATING TO THE EMPLOYMENT, LIFE, AND CONVERSATION OF THE PRIMITIVE CLERGY.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE EXCELLENCY OF THESE RULES IN GENERAL, AND THE EXEMPLARINESS OF THE CLERGY IN CONFORMING TO THEM.

Sect. 1. The excellency of the Christian rules attested and envied by the heathens.

I HAVE in the two foregoing Books given an account of the great care of the primitive church in providing and training up fit persons for the ministry, and of the great encouragements that were given them by the state, as well to honour and distinguish their calling, as to excite and provoke them to be sedulous in the discharge of their several offices and functions. There is one thing more remains, which is, to give an account also of the church's care in making necessary laws and canons, obliging every member of the ecclesiastic body to live conformable to his profession, and exercise himself in the duties of his station and calling. These rules were many of them so excellent in their own nature, and so strictly and carefully observed by those who had a concern in them, that some of the chief adversaries of the Christian religion could not but take notice of them, and with a sort of envy and emulation bear testimony to them. Among the works of Julian there is a famous epistle of his to Arsacius, high priest of Galatia, (which is recorded also[1] by Sozomen,) wherein he takes occasion to tell him, that it was very visible that the causes of the great increase of Christianity were chiefly their professed hospitality toward strangers, and their great care in burying the dead, joined with a pretended sanctity and holiness of life. Therefore he bids him, as high priest of Galatia, to take care that all the priests of that region that were under him, should be made to answer the same character; and that he should either by his threatenings or persuasions bring them to be diligent and sober men, or else remove them from the office of priesthood: that he should admonish the priests, neither to appear at the theatre, nor frequent the tavern, nor follow any calling or employment that was dishonourable and scandalous; and such as were observant of his directions he should honour and promote them, but discard and expel the refractory and contumacious. This is plainly to say, (and it is so much the more remarkable for its coming from the mouth of an adversary,) that the Christian clergy of those times were men that lived by excellent rules, diligent in their employment, grave and sober in their deportment, charitable to the indigent, and cautious and reserved in their whole conversation and behaviour toward all men. Which, as it tended mightily to propagate and advance Christianity in the world, so it was what Julian upon that account could not but look upon with an envious eye, and desire that his idol-priests might gain the same character; thereby to eclipse the envied reputation of the other, and reflect honour and lustre upon his beloved heathen religion. We have the like testimonies in Ammianus Marcellinus[2] and others, concerning the frugality, temperance, modesty, and humility of Christian bishops in their own times; which coming from the pens of professed heathens, and such as did neither spare the emperors themselves, nor the bishops of Rome, who lived in greater state and affluence, may well be thought authentic relations, and just accounts of those holy men, whose commendations and characters so ample nothing but truth could have extorted from the adversaries of their religion.

Sect. 2. The character of the clergy from Christian writers.

This being so, we may the more easily give credit to those noble panegyrics and encomiums, which some ancient Christian writers make upon the clergy, and their virtues and discipline in general. Origen says,[3] it was the business of their life to traverse every corner of the world, and make converts and proselytes to godliness both in cities and villages: and they were so far from making a gain hereof, that many of them took nothing for their service; and those that did, took only what was necessary for their present subsistence, though there wanted not persons enough, who in their liberality were

[1] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 16.

[2] Ammian. Marcel. lib. 27.

[3] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 3. p. 116.

ready to have communicated much more to them. St. Austin[4] gives the like good character of the bishops and presbyters of his own time, making them the chief ornament of the catholic church, and extolling their virtues above those of a monastic life, because their province was more difficult, having to converse with all sorts of men, and being forced to bear with their distempers in order to cure them. He that would see more of this general character, must consult the ancient apologists, where he will find it interwoven with the character of Christians in general; whose innocence, and patience, and charity, and universal goodness was owing partly to the institutions, and partly to the provoking examples of their guides and leaders; who lived as they spake, and first trod the path themselves, which they required others to walk in. Which was the thing that set the Christian teachers so much above the philosophers of the Gentiles. For the philosophers indeed discoursed and wrote very finely about virtue in the theory, but they undid all they said in their own practice. Their discourses, as Minucius[5] observes, were only eloquent harangues against their own vices; whereas the Christian philosophers expressed their profession not in their words or habit, but in the real virtues of the soul: they did not talk great, but live well; and so attained to that glory, which the philosophers pretended always to be offering at, but could never happily arrive to. Lactantius[6] triumphs over the Gentile philosophers upon the same topic: and so Gregory Nazianzen,[7] Tertullian,[8] Cyprian,[9] and many others; whose arguments had been easily retorted, had not the Christian teachers been generally men of a better character, and free from those imputations which they cast upon the adverse party.

Sect. 3. Particular exceptions no derogation to their general good character.

Some few instances indeed, it cannot be denied, are to be found of persons, who in these best ages were scandals and reproaches to their profession. The complaints that are made by good men will not suffer us to believe otherwise. Cyprian[10] and Eusebius[11] lament the vices of some among the clergy, as well as laity, and reckon them among the causes that moved the Divine Providence to send those two great fiery trials upon the church, the Decian and the Diocletian persecutions; thereby to purge the tares from the wheat, and correct those enormities and abuses, which the ordinary remedy of ecclesiastical discipline, through the iniquity of the times, was not able to redress. The like complaints are made by Chrysostom,[12] Gregory Nazianzen,[13] and St. Jerom,[14] of some ecclesiastics in their own times, whose practices were corrupt, and dishonourable to their profession. And indeed it were a wonder if all ages should not afford some such instances of unsound members in so great a body of men, since there was a Judas even among the apostles. But then it is to be considered, that a few such exceptions did not derogate from the good character, which the primitive clergy did generally deserve: and the faults of those very men were the occasion of many good laws and rules of discipline, which the provincial synods of those times enacted; out of which I have chiefly collected the following account, which concerns the lives and labours of the ancient clergy.

Sect. 4. An account of some ancient writers which treat of the duties of the clergy.

To these the reader may join those excellent tracts of the ancients, which purposely handle this subject; such as St. Chrysostom's six books *de Sacerdotio;* St. Jerom's second epistle to Nepotian, which is called, *De Vita Clericorum;* and Gregory Nazianzen's apology for his flying from the priesthood; in all which the duties of the clergy are excellently described. Or if any one desires rather to see them exemplified in some living instances and great patterns of perfection, which commonly make deeper impressions than bare rules, he must consult those excellent characters of the most eminent primitive bishops, which are drawn to the life by the best pens of the age; such as the Life of Ignatius by Chrysostom; the Life of St. Basil and Athanasius by Gregory Nazianzen; the Life of St. Austin by Possidius; the Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus and Meletius by Gregory Nyssen; in all which the true character and idea of a Christian bishop is set forth and described with this advantage, that a man does not barely read of rules, but sees them, as it were, exemplified in practice. The chief of these discourses in both kinds are already translated into our own language by other pens,[15] and they are too prolix to be inserted into a discourse of this nature, which proceeds in a different method from them. I shall therefore only extract such observations from them, as fall in with the public and general laws of the church, (of which I give an account in the following chapters,) and leave the rest to the curious diligence of the inquisitive reader.

[4] Aug. de Moribus Eccles. Cathol. c. 32. t. 1. p. 330.
[5] Minuc. Octav. p. 110.
[6] Lact. lib. 4. c. 23. lib. 3. c. 15.
[7] Naz. Invect. 1. in Julian.
[8] Tertul. Apol. c. 46.
[9] Cyprian. de Bono Patient. p. 210.
[10] Cypr. de Lapsis, p. 124.
[11] Euseb. lib. 8. c. 1.
[12] Chrys. Hom. 30. in Act.
[13] Naz. Carm. Cygn. de Episcopis, t. 2.
[14] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.
[15] See Bishop Burnet's Pastoral Care, c. 4. and Seller's Remarks on the Lives of the Primitive Fathers.

CHAPTER II.

OF LAWS RELATING TO THE LIFE AND CONVERSATION OF THE PRIMITIVE CLERGY.

Sect. 1. Exemplary purity required in the clergy above other men. Reasons for it.

THE laws of the church which concerned the clergy, I shall, for distinction's sake, consider under three heads; speaking, first, Of such laws as concerned their life and conversation. Secondly, Of such as more particularly related to the exercise of the several offices and duties of their function. Thirdly, Of such as were a sort of outguards or fences to both the former. The laws which related to their life and conversation, were such as tended to create in them a sublimity of virtue above other men; forasmuch as they were to be examples and patterns to them; which, if good, would be both a light and a spur to others; but if bad, the very pests and banes of the church. It is Gregory Nazianzen's reflection[1] upon the different sorts of guides which he had observed then in the church. Some, he complains, did with unwashed hands and profane minds press to handle the holy mysteries, and affect to be at the altar, before they were fit to be initiated to any sacred service. They looked upon the holy order and function, not as designed for an example of virtue, but only as a way of subsisting themselves; not as a trust, of which they were to give an account, but a state of absolute authority and exemption. And these men's examples corrupted the people's morals, faster than any cloth can imbibe a colour, or a plague infect the air; since men were more disposed to receive the tincture of vice than virtue from the example of their rulers. In opposition to such he lays down this as the first thing to be aimed at by all spiritual physicians, that they should draw the picture of all manner of virtues in their own lives, and set themselves as examples to the people; that it might not be proverbially said of them, that they set about curing others, while they themselves were full of sores and ulcers. Nor were they to draw this image of virtue slightly and to a faint degree, but accurately and to the highest perfection: since nothing less than such degrees and measures of virtue were expected by God from the rulers and governors of his people: and then there would be hopes, that such heights and eminences would draw the multitude at least to a mediocrity in virtue, and allure them to embrace that voluntarily by gentle persuasions, which they would not be brought to so effectually and lastingly by force and compulsion. He urges further[2] the necessity of such a purity, from the consideration of the sacredness and majesty of the function itself. A minister's office sets him in the same rank and order with angels themselves; he celebrates God with archangels; transmits the church's sacrifices to the altar in heaven, and performs the priest's office with Christ himself; he reforms the work of God's hands, and presents the image to his Maker; his workmanship is for the world above: and therefore he should be exalted to a divine and heavenly nature, whose business is to be as a god himself, and make others gods also. St. Chrysostom[3] makes use of the same argument: That the priesthood, though it be exercised upon earth, is occupied wholly about heavenly things; that it is the ministry of angels put by the Holy Ghost into the hands of mortal men; and therefore a priest ought to be pure and holy, as being placed in heaven itself in the midst of those heavenly powers. He presses likewise the danger and prevalency of a bad example.[4] Subjects commonly form their manners by the pattern of their princes. How then should a proud man be able to assuage the swelling tumours of others? or an angry ruler hope to make his people in love with moderation and meekness? Bishops are exposed, like combatants in the theatre, to the view and observation of all men; and their faults, though never so small, cannot be hid: and therefore, as their virtuous actions profit many, by provoking them to the like zeal; so their vices will render others unfit to attempt or prosecute any thing that is noble and good. For which reason their souls ought to shine all over with the purest brightness, that they may both enlighten and extimulate the souls of others, who have their eyes upon them. A priest should arm himself all over with purity of life, as with adamantine armour: for if he leave any part naked and unguarded, he is surrounded both with open enemies and pretended friends, who will be ready to wound and supplant him. So long as his life is all of a piece, he needs not fear their assaults; but if he be overseen in a fault, though but a small one, it will be laid hold of and improved to the prejudice of all his former virtues. For all men are most severe judges in his case, and treat him not with any allowance for being encompassed with flesh, or as having a human nature; but expect he should be an angel, and free from all infirmities. He cannot indeed (as the same father argues[5] in another place) with any tolerable decency and freedom discharge his office in punishing and reproving others, unless he himself be blameless and without rebuke. The priest's office is a more difficult province[6] than that of leading an army, or governing a kingdom, and requires an angelic virtue. His soul ought to be purer than the rays of the sun, that the Holy

[1] Naz. Orat. 1. Apologet. de Fuga, t. 1. p. 5.
[2] Naz. ibid. p. 31.
[3] Chrys. de Sacerdot. lib. 3. c. 4.
[4] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 3. c. 14.
[5] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 3.
[6] Chrys. ibid. lib. 6. c. 2.

Spirit may never leave him desolate; but that he may be always able to say, "I live, yet not I, but Christ that liveth in me." He there goes on to draw the comparison[7] at large between the clerical and the monastic life, and shows how much more difficult it is to take care of a multitude of men immersed in secular business, than of a single person, that lives retired and free from temptation. And upon the whole matter he concludes,[8] that as God requires greater purity in those that serve at his altar, so he will exact a more ample account of them, and more severely punish their offences. By these and many other such like arguments did those holy fathers try to raise both in themselves and others a just sense of that universal purity, which becomes the sacred function.

Sect. 2. Church censures more severe against them than any others.

And to the strength of these arguments the church added the authority of her sanctions, inflicting severer penalties upon offending clergymen than any others. For whereas all other offenders were allowed, by the benefit of public penance, to regain the privileges of their order; this favour was commonly denied by the church to such of her sons among the clergy as were notorious for any scandalous crimes, whereby they became a reproach to their profession. For such delinquents were usually deposed from their office, and sometimes excommunicated also, and obliged to do penance among the laymen; but with this difference, that though repentance would restore them to the peace of the church, yet it would not qualify them to act in their office and station again; but they must be content thenceforth to communicate only as laymen. Some canons indeed did not oblige them to do public penance in the church, because they thought it punishment enough to degrade them; others required them to submit to that part of discipline also. But still the result and consequence of both was the same, that such persons for ever after were only to be treated in the quality of laymen. Those called the Apostolical Canons are sometimes for the former way; for one of them[9] says, If a bishop, presbyter, or deacon is taken in fornication, perjury, or theft, he shall be deposed, but not excommunicated; for the scripture saith, Thou shalt not punish twice for the same crime. I do not now stand to inquire whether there be any such scripture as these canons refer to, but only observe what was the practice of the Greek church when these canons were made; which is also taken notice of in St. Basil's[10] canons, and those of Peter of Alexandria,[11] and some others, which show it to have been the customary practice of their churches. Yet for simony,[12] and some other[13] crimes, the same Apostolical Canons order both deposition and excommunication. And in the African church both punishments were inflicted also for one and the same crime, in the time of Cyprian, as appears from his epistle[14] to Cornelius, where speaking of Novatus, who was guilty of murder, in causing his own wife, by a blow, to miscarry, he says, For this crime he was not only to be degraded, or expelled the presbytery, but to be deprived of the communion of the church also. From whence we may collect the severity of the ancient canons against such crimes of the clergy in general, as were committed to the flagrant scandal of the church.

Sect. 3. What crimes punished with degradation: viz. theft, murder, perjury, &c.

Hence also we may observe in particular, what sort of crimes were thought worthy to be punished with degradation, namely, such as theft, murder, perjury, fraud, sacrilege, fornication and adultery, and such like gross and scandalous offences. For in this case they distinguished between *peccatum* and *crimen*, little faults and crimes of a more heinous nature. For St. Austin observes,[15] it was not all manner of failings that hindered men's ordination at first; for if the apostle had required that as a qualification in persons to be ordained, that they should be without sin, all men must have been rejected, and none ordained, since no man lives without sin; but he only requires that they should be blameless in respect to criminal and scandalous offences. And this was the rule the church observed in canvassing the lives of her clergy after ordination, when they were actually engaged in her service. It was not every lesser failing or infirmity that was punished with degradation; but only crimes of a deeper dye, such as theft, murder, fraud, perjury, sacrilege, fornication, and adultery. Concerning the last of which there are these two things further observable in some of the ancient canons. First, That if any clergyman's wife was convicted of adultery, he himself was obliged to show his resentment and detestation of the fact by putting her away, under pain of deposition, if he continued to live with her. For so the council[16]

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[7] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 6. c. 3.

[8] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 10 et 11.

[9] Canon. Apost. c. 24.

[10] Basil. Ep. Canon. c. 3, 32, 51.

[11] Pet. Alex. Ep. Canon. c. 10. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2.

[12] Canon. Apost. c. 28.

[13] Ibid. c. 29 et 50.

[14] Cypr. Ep. 49. al. 52. p. 97. Propter hoc se non de presbyterio tantum, sed et communicatione prohiberi pro certo tenebat, &c.

[15] Aug. Tract. 41. in Joh. t. 9. p. 126. Apostolus Paulus, quando elegit ordinandos vel presbyteros vel diaconos, et quicunque ordinandus est ad præposituram ecclesiæ, non ait, si quis sine peccato est; hoc enim si diceret, omnis homo reprobaretur, nullus ordinaretur; sed ait, si quis sine crimine est, sicut est homicidium, adulterium, aliqua immunditia fornicationis, furtum, fraus, sacrilegium, et cætera hujusmodi.

[16] Conc. Neocæs. c. 8. Ἐὰν μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν μοιχευθῇ, ὀφείλει ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν· ἐὰν δὲ συζῇ, οὐ δύναται ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ ὑπηρεσίας.

of Neocæsarea words it: A man whose wife is evidently convicted of adultery while he is a layman, shall not be ordained: but if she commit adultery after his ordination, he ought to put her away; and if he cohabit with her, he may not retain her and his ministry together. The council of Eliberis[17] is still more severe in the case, denying communion to such persons even at their last hour, who retained wives guilty of adultery; because, says the canon, they who ought to be examples of good conversation to others, do by this means teach others the way to sin. Secondly, The other thing to be observed is, that if a bishop neglected to inflict the censures of the church upon any of his clergy, who were guilty of fornication, he made himself liable to be deposed: as Socrates[18] observes the Arians themselves deposed Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, for this reason among others, that he had admitted a deacon to communion, who had been taken in fornication.

Sect. 4. Also lapsing in time of persecution.

Another crime, which brought many clerks under this kind of ecclesiastical censure, was that of lapsing in time of persecution. In which case repentance was allowed to restore them to the peace of the church as laymen, if they pleased, but not to officiate or communicate as ecclesiastics any longer. Thus Trophimus was treated in the time of Cornelius and Cyprian; he was admitted to communicate as a layman,[19] but not to retain his office of priesthood. And this, Cyprian says,[20] was then the rule at Rome and over all the world, if bishops or any other lapsed in time of persecution, to admit them to do penance in the church, but, withal, to remove them from the function of the clergy and honour of the priesthood: as the African synod, in whose name he writes to the Spanish churches, determined, in the case of Basilides and Martial, two Spanish bishops, who, when they had lapsed, thought to qualify themselves by repentance to retain their bishoprics; but this, he tells them, was contrary to the rule and practice of the universal church. He repeats this in several other epistles,[21] where he has occasion to speak of persons in the same unhappy circumstances with them. We find the same order in the canons of Peter,[22] bishop of Alexandria, and the first council of Arles,[23] where not only such as fell by sacrificing, or open denial of their faith, but also all traditors are included in the number of lapsers, that is, all such as either gave up their Bibles, or the holy vessels of the church, or the names of their brethren to the persecutors; and all such who were of the clergy, are for ever excluded from the exercise and benefit of their order and function. Such was the discipline of the ancient church in reference to those guides, who set their people an ill example by their apostacy in time of persecution: it was not thought fit to trust them to be guides and leaders for the future. Though I do not deny, but that some exceptions may be found to this general rule, either when the discipline of the church was not so strict, or when it was otherwise found more for the benefit of the church to restore lapsers to their honours, than to degrade and remove them wholly from them. For I have noted before, that both lapsers, and heretics, and schismatics, were sometimes more favourably treated, when the church thought she might find her account in showing favour to them.

Sect. 5. And drinking and gaming.

But to proceed with the laws of the church relating to other misdeameanors: as the life of a clergyman was a continual attendance upon the altar, and constantly to be employed in the exercise of Divine and heavenly things; so upon that account the utmost sobriety was required of him, together with a strict care to spend his time aright, and lay it out usefully; so as might best answer the ends of his calling, and those spiritual employments he was daily to be engaged in. And for this reason drinking and gaming, those two great consumers of time, and enemies of all noble undertakings and generous services, were strictly prohibited the clergy under the same penalty of deprivation. For so the Apostolical Canons word it,[24] A bishop, presbyter, or deacon, that spends time in drinking or playing at dice, shall either reform, or be deposed. Where we may observe this difference between this and the former laws, that it does not make every single act of these crimes, *ipso facto*, deprivation, but only continuance therein without reforming. And by Justinian's law,[25] the penalty for playing at tables is changed from deprivation to a triennial suspension, and intrusion into a monastery for the performance of repentance. Some perhaps will wonder at the severity of these laws, in prohibiting the exercise

[17] Conc. Eliber. c. 65. Si cujus clerici uxor fuerit mœchata, et sciat eam maritus suus mœchari, et eam non statim projecerit, nec in fine accipiat communionem: ne ab his qui exemplum bonæ conversationis esse debent, videantur magisteria scelerum procedere.

[18] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 42.

[19] Cypr. Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. p. 106. Sic tamen admissus est Trophimus, ut laicus communicet—non quasi locum sacerdotis usurpet.

[20] Id. Ep. 68. al. 67. ad Pleb. Hispan. p. 174. Frustra tales episcopatum sibi usurpare conantur, &c.

[21] Cypr. Ep. 55. al. 59. ad Cornel. p. 133. It. Ep. 64. al. 65. ad Epictet.

[22] Petr. Alex. Ep. Canon. c. 10. Ὅτε δὲ ἔπταισαν, οὐκ ἔτι δύνανται λειτουργεῖν.

[23] Conc. Arelat. 1. c. 13. De his qui Scripturas Sanctas tradidisse dicuntur, vel vasa Dominica, vel nomina fratrum suorum, placuit nobis, ut quicunque eorum ex actis publicis fuerit detectus, non verbis nudis, ab ordine cleri amoveatur.

[24] Can. Apost. 41. Κύβοις σχολάζων καὶ μέθαις, ἢ παυσάσθω, ἢ καθαιρέσθω.

[25] Justin. Novel. 123. c. 10.

of tables under such a penalty: but their wonder will cease, when they are told, that it was equally prohibited to the laity under pain of excommunication. For the council of Eliberis[26] orders, that a Christian playing at dice or tables shall not be admitted to the holy communion, but after a year's penance and abstinence, and his total amendment. And there was good reason for the church to make such a law in those times, because this kind of gaming was prohibited both by the old and new civil law[27] among the Romans, and many other nations, of which the reader may find a particular account in our learned Bishop Taylor,[28] together with the reasons of the prohibition, viz. the evils that commonly attended this sort of play, blasphemies, and swearing, and passion, and lying, and cursing, and covetousness, and fraud, and quarrels, and intemperance of all sorts, the consumption of time, and ruin of many families; which excesses had made it infamous and scandalous among all nations. So that what was so universally prohibited at that time by the laws of all nations, the church could not but in decency prohibit by her own laws to the laity, and more especially to the clergy, to prevent scandal, and obviate those objections, which might otherwise have justly been raised against her. Not that the thing was simply unlawful in itself, when used only as an innocent recreation; but the many evil appendages that commonly attended the use of it, had made it scandalous, and consequently inexpedient; and the spending of time upon it did much alter the nature of it, and make it so much the more unlawful.

Sect. 6. And negociating upon usury. The nature of this crime inquired into.

Another crime for which a clergyman was liable to be deposed, was the taking of usury, which by the ancient canons is frequently condemned as a species of covetousness and cruelty, and upon that score so strictly prohibited to the clergy, who were rather to study to excel in the practice of the contrary virtues, charity, mercifulness, and contempt of the world and all filthy lucre. The laws condemning this vice are too many to be here transcribed: it will be sufficient to repeat the canon of the council of Nice, which contains the sum, and speaks the sense of all the rest. Now the words of that canon are these: Forasmuch[29] as many clerks, following covetousness and filthy lucre, and forgetting the Holy Scriptures, (which speak of the righteous man as one that hath not given his money upon usury,) have let forth their money upon usury, and taken the usual monthly increase: it seemed good to this great and holy synod, that if any one after this decree shall be found to take usury, or demand the principal with half the increase of the whole, or shall invent any other such methods for filthy lucre's sake, he shall be degraded from his order, and have his name struck out of the roll of the church. The reader will find the same practice censured by those called the Apostolical Canons,[30] the council of Eliberis,[31] the first and second of Arles,[32] the first and third of Carthage,[33] the council of Laodicea,[34] and Trullo,[35] not to mention private writers, Cyprian,[36] Sidonius Apollinarius,[37] St. Jerom,[38] and many others. Nor need this seem strange to any one, that usury should be so generally condemned in the clergy; since it is apparent, that the practice of it was no less disallowed in the laity: for the first council of Carthage[39] condemns it in them both, but only makes it a more aggravating crime in the clergy. The council of Eliberis also,[40] that orders clergymen to be degraded for it, makes it a high misdemeanor in laymen; which, if they persisted in the practice of it after admonition, was to be punished with excommunication. We are here therefore in the next place to inquire into the nature of this practice, and the grounds and reasons upon which it was so generally condemned both in clergymen and laymen. As to the nature of the thing, we are to observe, that among the ancient Romans there were several sorts or degrees of usury. The most common was that which they called *centesimæ*: the council of Nice[41] calls it ἑκατοσταὶ, and the council of Trullo[42] uses the same word, which signifies the hundredth part of the principal paid every month, and answers to twelve in the hundred by the year. For the Romans received usury by the month, that is, at the kalends or first day of every month. Whence St. Basil[43] calls the months the parents of usury. And St. Ambrose[44] says, the Greeks gave usury the name of τόκος, upon this account, because the

[26] Conc. Eliber. c. 79. Si quis fidelis alea, id est, tabula luserit, placuit eum abstinere: et si emendatus cessaverit, poterit post annum communione reconciliari.

[27] Digest. lib. 11. Tit. 5. de Aleator. It. Cod. Justin. lib. 3. Tit. 43. de Aleator.

[28] Taylor, Duct. Dubitant. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 776.

[29] Conc. Nic. c. 17.

[30] Can. Apost. c. 43.

[31] Conc. Eliber. c. 20.

[32] Conc. Arelat. 1. c. 12. Arelat. 2. c. 14.

[33] Conc. Carthag. 1. c. 13. Carthag. 3. c. 16.

[34] Conc. Laodic. c. 4.

[35] Conc. Trull. c. 10.

[36] Cypr. de Lapsis, p. 124.

[37] Sidon. lib. 1. Ep. 8.

[38] Hieron. in Ezek. cap. 18.

[39] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 13. Quod in laicis reprehenditur, id multo magis in clericis oportet prædamnari.

[40] Conc. Eliber. c. 20. Si quis etiam laicus accepisse probatur usuras—si in ea iniquitate duraverit, ab ecclesia sciat se esse projiciendum. Vid. Chrysost. Hom. 56. in Mat.

[41] Conc. Nic. c. 17.

[42] Conc. Trull. c. 10. Chrysost. Hom. 56. in Mat.

[43] Basil. in Psalm xiv. t. 3. p. 137. Φοβεῖται τοὺς μῆνας ὡς τόκων πατέρας.

[44] Ambr. de Tobia, c. 12. Τόκους Græci appellaverunt usuras, eo quod dolores partus animæ debitoris excitare videantur. Veniunt kalendæ, parit sors centesimam. Veniunt menses singuli, generantur usuræ.

kalends bring forth one in the hundred, and every month begets new usury. And hence, as the poet acquaints us,[45] it became a proverb among the Romans, to say, A man trembles like a debtor, when the kalends are a coming; because that was the time of paying interest. Now this sort of usury is generally proscribed by the laws of the church, because it was esteemed great oppression. Though the civil law allowed the practice of it: for Constantine, anno 325, the same year that the council of Nice was held, published a law, stating the rules and measures of usury, wherein[46] the creditor is allowed to take this centesimal usury, or one in the hundred every month, and no more. For it seems the old Roman laws granted a greater liberty before this regulation of Constantine. Afterward a new regulation was made, and it was only allowed in some certain cases, as where the creditor seemed to run some hazard, as appears from the laws of Justinian,[47] where he settles the business of interest and usury in his Code. For in trajectitious contracts, as the law terms them, that is, when a creditor lent money, suppose at Rome, to receive interest for it only upon condition of the debtor's safe arrival with it at Constantinople; because in that case the creditor ran a great hazard, he was allowed to receive a centesimal interest upon that account. Secondly, Another sort of usury was that which the canons call ἡμιολίαι, or *sescuplum*, the whole and half as much more. St. Jerom takes notice[48] of this kind of usury, and condemns it. For men, he says, were used to exact usury for the loan of corn, wine, oil, millet, and other fruits of the ground; lending ten bushels in winter, on condition to receive fifteen in harvest, that is, the whole and half as much more. Which sort of usury, being a very grievous extortion and great oppression, is condemned not only in the clergy by the councils of Nice[49] and Laodicea,[50] under the name of ἡμιολίαι; but also in laymen by the law of Justinian,[51] which allows nothing above centesimal interest to be taken by any person in any case whatsoever. Though Justinian intimates that formerly the laws allowed it. And it is evident from the law of Constantine still extant in the Theodosian Code, which determined, That if any creditor lent to the indigent any fruits of the earth,[52] whether wet or dry, he might demand again the principal, and half as much more by way of usury: as, if he lent two bushels, he might require three. Thirdly, Another sort of usury is called by the civil law, *bessis centesimæ*, which is two-thirds of centesimal interest, and the same as eight in the hundred. And this the law allowed masters[53] of workhouses and other tradesmen to take in their negociations with others. Fourthly, All other persons were only allowed to receive half the centesimal interest by the same law of Justinian:[54] which is the same as six in the hundred. Fifthly, Persons of quality were bound to take no more but a third part of the *centesima*,[55] which is only four in the hundred. Sixthly, and lastly, Interest upon interest was absolutely forbidden[56] by the Roman laws to all persons in any case whatsoever, as is evident from an edict of Justinian's, which both mentions and confirms the ancient prohibition of it by the laws of the emperors that were before him. So that several of these kinds of usury being prohibited to the laity in general by the laws of the state, it was no wonder that they should be more severely forbidden to the clergy by the laws of the church. Then for the other sorts of usury, which the state allowed, the church had two reasons for discouraging the practice of them in the clergy. First, Because usury was most commonly exacted of the poor, which the church reckoned an oppression of them, who were rather to be relieved by the charity of lending without usury, as the gospel requires. Secondly, The clergy could not take usury of the rich and trading part of the world, but that must needs engage them in secular business and worldly concerns, more than the wisdom of the church in those times thought fit to allow. And this I take to be the true state of the case, and the sum of the reasons for prohibiting the clergy the practice of usury in the primitive church. Usury was generally a

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[45] Horat. lib. 1. Sat. 3. Odisti et fugis, ut Drusonem debitor æris—quum tristes misero venere kalendæ.

[46] Cod. Th. lib. 2. Tit. 33. de Usuris, Leg. 1. Pro pecunia ultra singulas centesimas creditor vetatur accipere.

[47] Cod. Just. lib. 4. Tit. 32. de Usuris, Leg. 26. In trajectitiis autem contractibus, vel specierum fœnori dationibus, usque ad centesimam tantummodo licere stipulari, nec eam excedere, licet veteribus legibus hoc erat concessum.

[48] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. xviii. p. 537. Solent in agris frumenti et milii, vini et olei, cæterarumque specierum usuræ exigi.—Verbi gratia, ut hyemis tempore demus decem modios, et in messe recipiamus quindecim, hoc est, amplius partem mediam.

[49] Conc. Nic. c. 17. [50] Conc. Laod. c. 4.

[51] Cod. Just. ubi supra. It. Novel. 32, 33, 34.

[52] Cod. Th. lib. 2. Tit. 33. Leg. 1. Quicunque fruges, aridas vel humidas, indigentibus mutuas dederint, usuræ nomine tertiam partem superfluam consequantur: Id est, ut si summa crediti in duobus modiis fuerit, tertium modium amplius consequantur.

[53] Cod. Just. lib. 4. Tit. 32. de Usuris, Leg. 26. Illos, qui ergasteriis præsunt, vel aliquam licitam negotiationem gerunt, usque ad bessem centesimæ, usurarum nomine, in quocunque contractu suam stipulationem moderari.

[54] Cod. Just. ibid. Cæteros omnes homines dimidiam tantummodo centesimæ usurarum nomine posse stipulari.

[55] Ibid. Jubemus illustribus quidem personis, sive eas præcedentibus, minime licere ultra tertiam partem centesimæ in quocunque contractu stipulari.

[56] Cod. Just. lib. 4. Tit. 32. Leg. 28. Ut nullo modo usuræ usurarum a debitoribus exigantur, veteribus quidem legibus constitutum fuerat, &c

great oppression to the poor, as the ancient writers who speak against it[57] commonly complain: or else it was thought to argue, and proceed from, a covetous and worldly mind; which made men forsake their proper employment, and betake themselves to other business, which was beside their calling, and could not then be followed without some reproach and dishonour to it. Therefore Cyprian, speaking of some bishops who were the reproach of his age, in enumerating their miscarriages, joins all these things together; That they who ought to have been examples and encouragers to the rest, had cast off the care of Divine service[58] to manage secular affairs; and leaving their sees, and deserting their people, they rambled into other provinces, to catch at business that would bring them in gain: meanwhile the poor brethren of the church were suffered to starve without relief, whilst their minds were set upon hoarding up silver in abundance, and getting estates by fraudulent arts, and exercising usury to augment their own treasures. When usury was ordinarily attended with such concomitants as these, it was no wonder it should be utterly proscribed by the holy fathers of the church. Besides, St. Chrysostom[59] plainly intimates, that in his time all senators and persons of quality were absolutely forbidden to take usury by the laws of the commonwealth. And that consideration probably so much the more inclined the fathers of the church to forbid it to the clergy, lest they should seem to be outdone by men of a secular life; and it might be objected to them, that the laws of the church in this respect were more remiss than the laws of the state.

Sect. 7. Of the hospitality of the clergy.

Indeed the necessities of the poor and fatherless, and strangers and widows, in those early times, were so importunate and craving in every church, that their revenues would seldom answer all their demands. The church, as St. Austin says,[60] had very rarely any thing to lay up in bank. And then it did not become a bishop to hoard up gold, and turn away the poor empty from him. They had daily so many poor petitioners, so many in distress and want continually applying to them, that they were forced to leave some in their sorrows, because they had not wherewith to relieve them all. Now, in this case, where there was need of greater charities than they had funds or abilities to bestow, there could be no room for usury, but with great neglect and uncharitableness to the poor. And therefore, instead of lending upon usury, they were obliged to be exemplary in the practice of the contrary virtues, hospitality and charity; which the ancients call lending upon Divine usury, not to receive[61] one in the hundred, but a hundred for one from the hands of God. It was then one of the glories of a bishop, St. Jerom tells us,[62] to be a provedore for the poor; but a disgrace to the holy function, to seek only to enrich himself. And therefore he gives this direction to Nepotian, among other good rules which he prescribes him, that his table should be free to the poor and strangers, that with them he might have Christ for his guest. St. Chrysostom speaks nobly[63] of his bishop Flavian upon the account of this virtue: he says, his house was always open to strangers, and such as were forced to fly for the sake of religion; where they were received and entertained with that freedom and humanity, that his house might as properly be called, the house of strangers, as the house of Flavian. Yea, it was so much the more his own, for being common to strangers; for whatever we possess, is so much the more our property for being communicated to our poor brethren: there being no place where we may so safely lay up our treasure, as in the hands and bellies of the poor.

Sect. 8. Of their frugality and contempt of the world.

Now, the better to qualify them to perform this duty, every clergyman was required to lead a frugal life; that is, to avoid profuseness, as well in their own private concerns, as in giving great entertainments to the rich; which is but a false-named hospitality, and a great usurper upon the rights and revenues of the poor. We may judge of the simplicity of those times by the character which Ammianus Marcellinus,[64]

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[57] Vide Chrysost. Hom. 56. in Mat. Basil. Hom. in Psal. xiv. p. 136, &c.

[58] Cypr. de Lapsis, p. 123. Episcopi plurimi, quos et hortamento esse oportet cæteris et exemplo, Divina procuratione contempta, procuratores rerum sæcularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari, esurientibus in ecclesia fratribus non subvenire, habere argentum largiter velle, fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapere, usuris multiplicantibus fœnus augere.

[59] Chrys. Hom. 56. in Mat. Τοὺς γοῦν ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ὄντας, καὶ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην τελοῦντας βουλὴν, ἣν συγκλητον καλοῦσιν, οὐ θέμις τοιούτοις κέρδεσιν καταισχύνεσθαι. Honorius, an. 397, published a law which implies the same. Cod. Theod. lib. 2. Tit. 33. de Usuris, Leg. 3. though by a following law, an. 405, he allowed senators half the centesimal interest.

[60] Aug. Serm. 49. de Diversis sive de Vita Clericor. t. 10. p. 520. Enthecam nobis habere non licet. Non enim est episcopi servare aurum, et revocare a se mendicantis manum. Quotidie tam multi petunt, tam multi gemunt, tam multi nos inopes interpellant; ut plures tristes relinquamus, quia quod possimus dare omnibus, non habemus.

[61] Pet. Chrysolog. Serm. 25. p. 269. Usura mundi centum ad unum, Deus unum accipit ad centum. Vid. Chrysost. Hom. 56. in Mat. xvii. p. 507. ed. Commelin.

[62] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Gloria episcopi est pauperum opibus providere; ignominia omnium sacerdotum est propriis studere divitiis.

[63] Chrys. Ser. 1. in Gen. t. 2. p. 886. ed. Front. Ducæi.

[64] Ammian. lib. 27. p. 458. Antistites quosdam provinciales tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime. Vilitas etiam indumentorum, et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo numini verisque ejus cultoribus, ut puros commendant et verecundos.

the heathen historian, gives of the Italian bishops, as it is probable, from his own observation: he says, their spare diet and frugal way of living, their cheap clothing and grave deportment, did recommend them to God and his true worshippers, as persons of pure and modest souls. This made those country bishops more honourable, in his opinion, than if they had lived in the riches, and state, and splendour of the bishops of Rome. By a canon of the fourth council of Carthage,[65] all the African bishops were obliged to live after this manner; not to affect rich furniture, or sumptuous entertainments, or a splendid way of living, but to seek to advance the dignity and authority of their order by their faith and holy living. Some indeed were for that other sort of hospitality, for entertaining the rich, and especially the magistrates, on pretence that they might keep an interest in them, and be able to intercede with them for poor criminals when they were condemned. But St. Jerom particularly considers and answers this pretence in his instructions to Nepotian. You must avoid, says he,[66] giving great entertainments to secular men, and especially those that are in great offices. For it is not very reputable to have the lictors and guards of a consul stand waiting at the doors of a priest of Christ, who himself was crucified and poor; nor that the judge of a province should dine more sumptuously with you than in the palace. If it be pretended, that you do this only to be able to intercede with him for poor criminals, there is no judge but will pay a greater deference and respect to a frugal clergyman than a rich one, and show greater reverence to your sanctity than your riches. Or if he be such a one as will not hear a clergyman's intercessions but only among his cups, I should freely be without this benefit, and rather beseech Christ for the judge himself, who can more speedily and powerfully help than any judge. St. Jerom, in the same place,[67] advises his clerk not to be over-free in receiving other men's entertainments neither. For the laity, says he, should rather find us to be comforters in their mournings than companions in their feasts. That clerk will quickly be contemned, that never refuses any entertainments, when he is frequently invited to them. Such were the ordinary rules and directions given by the ancients for regulating the hospitality and frugality of the clergy. But many bishops and others far exceeded these rules in transcendent heights of abstinence, and acts of self-denial, freely chosen and imposed upon themselves, that they might have greater plenty and superfluities to bestow upon others. Gregory Nazianzen[68] gives us this account of St. Basil, that his riches was to possess nothing; to live content with that little which nature requires; to despise delicacies and pleasures, and set himself above the slavery of that cruel and sordid tyrant the belly: his most delicious and constant food was bread, and salt, and water; his clothing but one coat and one gown; his lodging upon the ground; not for want of better accommodations, for he was metropolitan of Cæsarea, and had considerable revenues belonging to his church; but he submitted to this way of living in imitation of his Saviour, who became poor for our sakes, that we through his poverty might be made rich. And therefore both the same author,[69] and the church historians also,[70] tell us, that when in the time of the Arian persecution under Valens he was threatened by one of the emperor's agents, that unless he would comply, he should have all his goods confiscated; his answer was, that no such punishment could reach him, for he was possessed of nothing, unless the emperor wanted his threadbare clothes, or a few books, which was all the substance he was master of. St. Jerom gives the like character of Exuperius, bishop of Thoolouse, who made other men's wants always his own; and, like the widow of Sarepta, pinched and denied himself to feed the poor, bestowing all his substance upon the bowels of Christ. Nay, such was his frugality, that he ministered the body of Christ in a basket of osiers, and the blood in a glass cup: but nothing, says our author,[71] could be more rich or glorious than such a poverty as this. It were easy to give a thousand instances of the same nature in the Cyprians, the Austins, the Nazianzens, the Paulinuses, and other such like generous spirits of the age they lived in, who contemned the world with greater pleasure than others could admire or enjoy it. But as such heights of heroic virtues exceeded the common rule, they are not proposed as the strict measures of every man's duty, but only to excite the zeal of the forward and the good. It may be said of this, as our Saviour says of a parallel case, "All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given; but he that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

Sect. 9. Whether the clergy were anciently obliged by any law to part with their temporal possessions.

Some indeed would fain turn this prudential advice into a law, and attempt to prove that anciently the clergy were under an obligation to quit their temporal possessions, when they betook themselves to the service of the church. But this is to outface the sun at noon-day. For as there is no just ground for this assertion, so there

[65] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 15. Ut episcopus vilem supellectilem et mensam ac victum pauperem habeat, et dignitatis suæ auctoritatem fide et meritis vitæ quærat.

[66] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.

[67] Ibid. Facile contemnitur clericus, qui, sæpe vocatus ad prandium, ire non recusat.

[68] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil. p. 357.

[69] Naz. ibid. p. 349.

[70] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 16.

[71] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro.

are the plainest evidences to the contrary. Among those called the Apostolical Canons,[72] there is one to this purpose: Let the goods of the bishop, if he has any of his own, be kept distinct from those of the church; that when he dies he may have power to dispose of them to whom he pleases, and as he pleases, and not receive damage in his private effects upon pretence that they were the goods of the church. For perhaps he has a wife, or children, or relations, or servants: and it is but just both before God and man, that neither the church should suffer for want of knowing what belonged to the bishop, nor the bishop's relations be damaged by the church, or come into trouble upon that account, which would be to the scandal and reproach of the deceased bishop. Many other canons both of the Greek and Latin church[73] are to the same effect. Nor can it be pretended, that this is to be understood only of such estates as they got in the service of the church. For St. Ambrose plainly intimates, that the law left the clergy in the full possession of their patrimony, or temporal estates, which they had before. For he brings in some malcontents among the clergy thus complaining: What advantage[74] is it to me to be of the clergy, to suffer injuries, and undergo hard labour, as if my own estate would not maintain me? This implies, that men of estates were then among the clergy. And, indeed, there was but one case, in which any clerk could be compelled to quit his possessions, and that was when his estate was originally tied to the service of the empire, of which I have given a full account before. In all other cases it was matter of free choice, and left to his liberty, whether he would dispose of his estate to any pious use or not. Only if he did not, it was expected he should be more generous in his charities, and less burdensome to the church, his needs being supplied another way. Though neither was this forced upon him by any law, but only urged upon reasons of charity;[75] leaving him judge of his own necessities, and not forbidding him to have his dividend in the church, if in his own prudence he thought fit to require it. Socrates[76] commends Chrysanthus, a Novatian bishop, upon this account, that, having an estate of his own, he never took any thing of the church, save two loaves of the *eulogiæ*, or offerings on Sunday; though he does not once intimate, that there was any law to compel him to do so. As neither does Prosper, who speaks most of any other against rich men's taking their portion in the charities of the church. He reckons it, indeed,[77] a dishonourable act and a sin in them, because it was to deprive others of the church's charity, who stood more in need of it: and he thinks, though a rich clergyman might keep his own estate without sin, because there was no law but the law of perfection to oblige him to renounce it; yet it must be upon condition that he required none of the maintenance of the church:[78] but he only delivers this as his own private opinion, and does not signify that there was then any such standing law in the church. In Africa they had a peculiar law against covetousness in the time of St. Austin, which was, that if any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other clerk, who had no estate when they were ordained, did afterward[79] purchase lands in their own name, they should be impleaded as guilty of invading the Lord's revenue, unless upon admonition they conferred the same upon the church. For in those times the church-revenues being small, no one's dividend was more than a competent maintenance: and therefore it was presumed, that he who could purchase lands in such circumstances, must have been some way injurious to the public revenues of the church. But in the same law it was provided, that if any estate was left them by donation or inheritance, they might dispose of it as they pleased themselves: for the church made no rules, but only gave her advice, in such cases as these; exhorting her wealthy clergy to greater degrees of liberality, but not demanding their estates to have them at her own disposal. On the other hand, when clergymen, who had no visible estates of their own, and were single men, and had no poor families to provide for, were busily intent upon growing rich out of the revenues of the church; this was always esteemed a scandalous covetousness, and accordingly prosecuted with sharp invectives by St. Jerom[80] and others of the ancient writers. So much of the laws of charity, which concerned the ancient clergy.

Sect. 10. Of their great care to be inoffensive with their tongues.

I might here give a character of their meekness, modesty, gravity, humility, and several other virtues, which

[72] Can. Apost. c. 40. Ἔστω φανερὰ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πράγματα (εἴγε καὶ ἴδια ἔχει) καὶ φανερὰ τὰ κυριακά, &c.

[73] Conc. Antioch. c. 24. Conc. Agathen. c. 48. Conc. Carth. 3. c. 49.

[74] Ambr. Ep. 17. Quid mihi prodest in clero manere, subire injurias, labores perpeti, quasi non possit ager meus me pascere.

[75] Vide Can. Apost. c. 41. Conc. Antioch. c. 25.

[76] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 12.

[77] Prosper. de Vit. Contempl. lib. 2. c. 12. Noverint esse deformius, possessores de eleemosynis pauperum pasci.

[78] Ibid. Illi qui tam infirmi sunt, ut possessionibus suis renunciare non possint; si ea quæ accepturi erant, dispensatori relinquant, nihil habentibus conferenda, sine peccato possident sua.

[79] Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 49. Placuit, ut episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, vel quicunque clerici, qui nihil habentes ordinantur, et tempore episcopatus vel clericatus sui, agros vel quæcunque prædia nomine suo comparant, tanquam rerum divinarum invasionis crimine teneantur obnoxii, nisi admoniti ecclesiæ eadem ipsa contulerint.

[80] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Nonnulli sunt ditiores monachi, quam fuerant sæculares: et clerici qui possideant

Nazianzen describes in the person of his own father: but I shall but take notice of two things more which concerned the conduct of their lives, and those are the laws relating, first, to their words, and secondly, to their fame and reputation. For their words, they who were to teach others the most difficult part of human conduct, the government of the tongue, were highly concerned to be examples to the people as well in word as action. And to this purpose the laws were very severe against all manner of licentious discourse in their conversation. The fourth council of Carthage has three canons together upon this head; one of which forbids scurrility,[81] and buffoonery, or that foolish talking and jesting with obscenity, which the apostle calls, *βωμολογία*, under the penalty of deprivation. Another threatens such with excommunication,[82] as use to swear by the name of any creature. And a third canon[83] menaces the same punishment to such as sing at any public entertainments. St. Jerom particularly cautions his clerk against detraction, because of the temptation he may lie under either to commit the sin himself, or give way to it in others, by hearkening to and reporting false suggestions after them. Which is much the same thing; for no slanderer tells his story to one that is not willing to hear him.[84] An arrow, says he, never fixes upon a stone, but often recoils back, and wounds him that shoots it. Therefore let the detractor learn to be less forward and busy, by your unwillingness to hear his detraction. St. Chrysostom[85] takes notice of this vice, as most incident to inferiors, whom envy and emulation too often prompt to detract from the authority and virtues of their bishop; especially when they are grown popular, and admired for their own eloquent preaching; then, if they be of a bold and arrogant and vain-glorious temper, their business is to deride him in private, and detract from his authority, and make themselves every thing by lessening his just character and power. Upon this hint our author also takes occasion to show, what an extraordinary courage and spirit, and how divine and even a temper a bishop ought to have, that by such temptations, and a thousand others of the like nature, he be not overwhelmed either with anger or envy on the one hand, or insuperable sorrow and dejection of mind on the other. St. Jerom recommends another virtue of the tongue to his clerk, which is of great use in conversation; and that is, the keeping of secrets, and knowing when to be silent, especially about the affairs of great men. Your office, says he, requires you to visit the sick, and thereby you become acquainted with the families of matrons and their children,[86] and are intrusted with the secrets of noble men. You ought therefore to keep not only a chaste eye, but also a chaste tongue. And as it is not your business to be talking of the beauties of women, so neither to let one house know from you what was done in another. For if Hippocrates adjured his disciples, before he taught them, and made them take an oath of silence; if he formed them in their discourse, their gait, their meekness and modesty, their habit, and their whole morals; how much more ought we, who have the care of souls committed to us, to love the houses of all Christians as if they were our own! He means, that the clergy should be formed to the art of silence, as carefully as Hippocrates taught his scholars; that the peace and unity of Christian families might not be disturbed or discomposed by revealing the secrets of one to another; which it is certain no one will do, that has the property which St. Jerom requires, of loving every Christian family as his own.

Sect. 11. Of their care to guard against suspicion of evil.

Secondly, As they were thus taught to be inoffensive both in word and deed, and thereby secure a good name and reputation among men; which was necessary for the due exercise of their function: so, because it was possible their credit might be impaired not only by the commission of real evil, but by the very appearance and suspicion of it; the laws of the church upon this account were very exact in requiring them to set a guard upon their whole deportment, and avoid all suspicious actions, that might give the least umbrage or handle to an adversary to reproach them. It was not enough in this case, that a man kept a good conscience in the sight of God, but he must provide or forecast for honest things in the sight of men. And this was the more difficult, because men are apt to be querulous against the clergy, as St. Chrysostom observes, some through weakness and imprudence, others through malice, easily raising complaints and accusations without any just ground, and difficultly hearkening to any reasons or apologies that they can offer in their own defence. But the more querulous and suspicious men are, the more watchful it becomes the clergy to be against unjust surmises, that they may cut off occasion from them that desire occasion to accuse or reproach them. To this end they are to use the utmost diligence and pre-

opes sub Christo paupere, quas sub locuplete et fallace diabolo non habuerant: ut suspiret eos ecclesia divites, quos mundus tenuit ante mendicos.

[81] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 60. Clericum scurrilem, et verbis turpibus joculatorem, ab officio detrahendum.

[82] Ibid. c. 61. Clericum per creaturas jurantem acerrime objurgandum. Si perstiterit in vitio, excommunicandum.

[83] Ibid. c. 62. Clericum inter epulas cantantem supradictæ sententiæ severitate coercendum.

[84] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Neque vero illa justa est excusatio, referentibus aliis, injuriam facere non possum. Nemo invito auditori libenter refert, &c.

[85] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 5. c. 8.

[86] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.

caution to guard against the ill opinions of men, by avoiding all actions that are of a doubtful or suspicious nature. For, says St. Chrysostom,[87] if the holy apostle St. Paul was afraid lest he should have been suspected of theft by the Corinthians; and upon that account took others into the administration of their charity with himself, that no one might have the least pretence to blame him; how much more careful should we be to cut off all occasions of sinister opinions and suspicions, however false or unreasonable they may be, or disagreeable to our character! For none of us can be so far removed from any sin, as St. Paul was from theft: yet he did not think fit to contemn the suspicions of the vulgar: he did not trust to the reputation, which both his miracles and the integrity of his life had generally gained him: but, on the contrary, he imagined such suspicions and jealousies might arise in the hearts of some men, and therefore he took care to prevent them; not suffering them to arise at all, but timely foreseeing, and prudently forestalling them: providing, as he says, for honest things not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of men. The same care and much greater should we take, not only to dissipate and destroy the ill opinions men may have entertained of us, but to foresee afar off from what causes they may spring, and to cut off beforehand the very occasions and pretences from whence they may grow: which is much easier to be done, than to extinguish them when they are risen, which will then be very difficult, perhaps impossible: besides that their being raised will give great scandal and offence, and wound the consciences of many. Thus that holy father argues upon this point, according to his wonted manner, nervously and strenuously, to show the clergy their obligations to use their utmost prudence to foresee and prevent scandal, by avoiding all actions of a doubtful and suspicious nature. St. Jerom[88] gives his clerk the same instructions, to guard against suspicions, and take care beforehand to minister no probable grounds for raising any feigned stories concerning him. If his office required him to visit the widows or virgins of the church, he should never go to them alone, but always take some other persons of known probity and gravity with him, from whose company he would receive no defamation.

Sect. 12. Laws relating to this matter.

Nor was this only the private direction of St. Jerom, but a public rule of the church. For in the third council of Carthage this canon was enacted, that neither bishop,[89] nor presbyter, nor any other clerk should visit the widows and virgins alone, but in the company and presence of some other of the clergy, or some grave Christians. And in the first council of Carthage[90] and the council of Epone[91] there are canons to the same purpose.

Sect. 13. An account of the *agapetæ*, and συνείσακτοι, and the laws of the church made against them.

The great council of Nice made another order upon the same grounds, to prevent all sinister opinions, that none of the unmarried clergy, bishop, presbyter, deacon, or any other,[92] should have any woman that was a stranger, and not one of their kindred, to dwell with them; save only a mother, a sister, or an aunt, or some such persons, with whom they might live without suspicion. They who hence conclude, that the clergy were forbidden to cohabit with their wives, which they had married before ordination, are sufficiently exposed by Gothofred,[93] as ignorant of the true import of the original word, *συνείσακτος*, which never denotes a wife, but always a stranger, in opposition to those of one's kindred: and it is evident, the canon was made not upon the account of the married clergy, but the unmarried, to prevent suspicion and evil reports, that might easily arise from their familiar conversation with women that were not of their kindred or near relations. We may be satisfied of this from a law of Honorius and Theodosius junior, which was made in pursuance of the Nicene canon, and is still extant in both the Codes,[94] where first having forbidden the clergy to cohabit with any strange women, who by some were taken in under the title and appellation of sisters; and having named what persons they might lawfully entertain in their houses, viz. mothers, daughters, and sisters, because natural consanguinity would prevent all suspicion of these: lest the not excepting of wives might seem to exclude them also, a particular clause is added concerning them, that such as were married before their husbands were ordained,

[87] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 6. c. 9.

[88] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Caveto omnes suspiciones; et quicquid probabiliter fingi potest, ne fingatur, ante devita, &c.

[89] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 25. Nec episcopi aut presbyteri soli habeant accessum ad hujusmodi fœminas, nisi aut clerici præsentes sint, aut graves aliqui Christiani.

[90] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 3.

[91] Conc. Epaunens. c. 20.

[92] Conc. Nicen. c. 3. Μὴ ἐξεῖναι συνείσακτον ἔχειν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα μητέρα, ἢ ἀδελφήν, ἢ θείαν, &c.

[93] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Theodos. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 44.

[94] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 44. It. Cod. Just. lib. 1. Tit. 3. Leg. 19. Eum qui probabilem seculo disciplinam agit, decolorari consortio sororiæ appellationis non decet. Quicunque igitur cujuscunque gradus sacerdotio fulciuntur, vel clericatus honore censentur, extranearum sibi mulierum interdicta consortia cognoscant: hac eis tantum facultate concessa, ut matres, filias, atque germanas intra domorum suarum septa contineant. In his enim nihil sævi criminis existimari fœdus naturale permittit. Illas etiam non relinqui castitatis hortatur affectio, quæ ante sacerdotium maritorum legitimum meruere conjugium. Neque enim clericis incompetenter adjunctæ sunt, quæ dignos sacerdotio viros sua conversatione fecerunt.

should not be relinquished upon pretence of chastity, but rather be retained upon that account; it being but reasonable that they should be joined to their husbands, who by their conversation made their husbands worthy of the priesthood. The *συνείσακτοι* then, or strangers, who in these laws are forbidden to cohabit with the clergy, are not their lawful wives, but others who were taken in under the name of sisters, as that law of Honorius, and other ancient writers,[95] intimate they were called by those that entertained them. St. Jerom[96] and Epiphanius[97] tell us, they were also known by the name of *agapetæ*, *ἀγαπηταὶ*, that is, beloved. So that all these several names signify but that one sort of persons, most commonly called strangers, *extraneæ*, and *συνείσακτοι*, whose conversation was suspicious, and therefore so often prohibited by the laws of the church. They were commonly some of the virgins belonging to the church, whom they that entertained pretended only to love as sisters with a chaste love. But their manner of conversing was sometimes so very scandalous, that it justly gave great offence to all sober and modest persons; and had not the church always interposed with her severest censures, it must have made her liable to as great reproach. For it appears from the complaints of St. Cyprian,[98] St. Jerom,[99] and others, that the practice of some was very intolerable: for they not only dwelt together in the same house, but lodged in the same room, and sometimes in the same bed; and yet would be thought innocent, and called others uncharitable and suspicious, that entertained any hard thoughts of them. But the church did not regard vain words, but treated them as they justly deserved, as persons that used a scandalous and indecent liberty, and who were the very pests and plagues of the church. Cyprian[100] commends Pomponius for excommunicating a deacon, who had been found guilty in this kind. And the council of Antioch[101] alleged this among other reasons for their deposing Paulus Samosatensis from his bishopric. In the following ages, besides the councils of Nice and Ancyra already mentioned, we meet with many other canons made upon this account, as in the second council of Arles,[102] the first, third, and fourth councils of Carthage,[103] the council of Eliberis,[104] and Lerida,[105] and many others, prohibiting the clergy to entertain any women, who were strangers, and not of their near relations, under pain of deprivation. The intent of all which canons was to oblige the clergy not only to live innocently in the sight of God, but also unblamably, and without suspicion and censure, in the sight of men. It being more especially necessary for men of their function to maintain not only a good conscience, but a good name; the one for their own sake, the other for the sake of their neighbours:[106] that men might neither be tempted to blaspheme the ways of God, by suspecting the actions of holy men to be impure, when they were not so; nor be induced to imitate such practices, as they at least imagined to be evil: either of which would turn to the destruction of their souls. So that it was cruelty and inhumanity, as St. Austin concludes, for a man in such circumstances to neglect and disregard his own reputation.

Sect. 14. Malevolent and unavoidable suspicions to be contemned.

But it might happen, that a man, after the utmost human caution and prudence that could be used, might not be able to avoid the malevolent suspicions of ill-disposed men: for our blessed Lord, whose innocence and conduct were both equally Divine, could not in his converse with men wholly escape them. Now, in this case the church could prescribe no other rule, but that of patience and Christian consolation given by our Saviour to his apostles: "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven."[107] When we have done, says St. Austin,[108] all that in justice and prudence we could to preserve our good name; if after that some men notwithstanding will endeavour to blemish our reputation, and blacken our character, either by false suggestions or unreasonable suspicions; let conscience be our comfort, nay, plainly our joy, that great is our reward in heaven. For this reward is the wages of our warfare, whilst we behave ourselves as good soldiers of Christ, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report. So much of the laws of the church, relating to the life and conversation of the ancient clergy.

[95] Vid. Conc. Ancyr. c. 19.
[96] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. p. 138.
[97] Epiphan. Hær. 63. Origen. n. 2.
[98] Cypr. Ep. 6. al. 14. Ep. 7. al. 13. Ep. 62. al. 4.
[99] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. de Virgin. Servand. Unde in ecclesias agapetarum pestis introiit? Unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? Imo unde novum concubinarum genus? Plus inferam: unde meretrices univiræ? Quæ eadem domo, uno cubiculo, sæpe uno tenentur et lectulo; et suspiciosos nos vocant, si aliquid existimamus.
[100] Cypr. Ep. 62. al. 4. ad Pompon.
[101] Epist. Synod. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.
[102] Conc. Arelat. 2. c. 3.
[103] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 3 et 4. Carth. 3. c. 17. Carth. 4. c. 46.
[104] Conc. Eliber. c. 27.
[105] Conc. Ilerdens. c. 15.
[106] Aug. de Bono Viduitat. c. 22. t. 4. Nobis necessaria est vita nostra, aliis fama nostra, &c.
[107] Matt. v. 11, 12.
[108] Aug. ibid.

CHAPTER III.

OF LAWS MORE PARTICULARLY RELATING TO THE EXERCISE OF THE DUTIES AND OFFICES OF THEIR FUNCTION.

Sect. 1. The clergy obliged to lead a studious life.

I COME now to speak of such laws as more immediately related to their function, and the several offices and duties belonging to it. In speaking of which, because many of these offices will come more fully to be considered hereafter, when we treat of the liturgy and service of the church, I shall here speak chiefly of such duties as were required of them by way of general qualification, to enable them the better to go through the particular duties of their function. Such was, in the first place, their obligation to lead a studious life. For since, as Gregory Nazianzen[1] observes, the meanest arts could not be obtained without much time, and labour, and toil spent therein; it were absurd to think, that the art of wisdom, which comprehends the knowledge of things human and Divine, and comprises every thing that is noble and excellent, was so light and vulgar a thing, as that a man needed no more but a wish or a will to obtain it. Some indeed, he complains,[2] were of this fond opinion, and therefore, before they had well passed the time of their childhood, or knew the names of the books of the Old and New Testament, or how well to read them, if they had but got two or three pious words by heart, or had read a few of the Psalms of David, and put on a grave habit, which made some outward show of piety, they had the vanity to think, they were qualified for the government of the church. They then talked nothing but of Samuel's sanctification from his cradle, and thought themselves profound scribes, and great rabbies and teachers, sublime in the knowledge of Divine things, and were for interpreting the Scripture not by the letter, but after a spiritual way, propounding their own dreams and fancies, instead of the Divine oracles to the people. This, he complains, was for want of that study and labour, which ought to be the continual employment of persons who take upon them the offices of the sacred function. St. Chrysostom pursues this matter a little further, and shows the necessity of continual labour and study in a clergyman, from the work and business he has upon his hand, each part of which requires great sedulity and application. For, first, he ought to be qualified to minister suitable remedies to the several maladies and distempers[3] of men's souls; the cure of which requires greater skill and labour, than the cure of their bodily distempers: and this is only to be done by the doctrine of the gospel, which therefore required that he should be intimately acquainted with every part of it. Then, again, he must be able to stop the mouths of all gainsayers,[4] Jews, Gentiles, and heretics, who had different arts and different weapons to assault the truth by; and unless he exactly understood all their fallacies and sophisms, and knew the true art of making a proper defence, he would be in danger not only of suffering each of them to make spoil and devastation of the church, but of encouraging one error, whilst he was opposing another. For nothing was more common, than for ignorant and unskilful disputants to run from one extreme to another; as he shows in the controversies which the church had with the Marcionites and Valentinians on the one hand, and the Jews on the other, about the law of Moses; and the dispute about the Trinity between the Arians and Sabellians. Now, unless a man was well skilled and exercised in the word of God, and the true art and rules of disputation, which could not be attained without continual study and labour, he concludes, it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground, and the truth, as he ought, against so many subtle and wily opposers. Upon this he inculcates[5] that direction of St. Paul to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 13, "Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine: meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them; that thy profiting may appear to all men." Thirdly, he shows[6] how difficult and laborious a work it was to make continual homilies and set discourses to the people, who were become very severe judges of the preacher's composures, and would not allow him to rehearse any part of another man's work, nor so much as to repeat his own upon a second occasion. Here his task was something the more difficult, because men had generally nice and delicate palates, and were inclined to hear sermons as they heard plays, more for pleasure than profit: which added to the preacher's study and labour; who though he was to contemn both popular applause and censure, yet was he also to have such a regard to his auditory, as that they might hear him with pleasure to their edification and advantage. And the more famed and eloquent the preacher was, so much the more careful[7] and studious ought he to be, that he may always answer his character, and not expose himself to the censures and accusations of the people. These and the like arguments does that holy father urge, to show how much it concerns men of the sacred calling to devote themselves to a studious and laborious life, that they may be the better qualified thereby to answer the several indispensable duties of their functions.

[1] Naz. Orat. 1. de Fuga. t. 1. p. 22. [2] Ibid. p. 21.
[3] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 4. c. 3. [4] Ibid. lib. 4. c. 4.
[5] Chrys. ibid. lib. 4. c. 8. [6] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 1.
[7] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 5.

Sect. 2. No pleas allowed as just apologies for the contrary.

Some indeed, St. Chrysostom says, were ready to plead even the apostle's authority for their ignorance, and almost value themselves for want of learning, because the apostle says of himself, that he was rude in speech. But to this the holy father justly replies, that this was a misrepresentation of the great apostle, and vainly urged to excuse any man's sloth and negligence[8] in not attaining to those necessary parts of knowledge which the clerical life required. If the utmost heights and perfections of exotic eloquence had been rigidly exacted of the clergy; if they had been to speak always with the smoothness of Isocrates, or the loftiness of Demosthenes, or the majesty of Thucydides, or the sublimity of Plato; then indeed it might be pertinent to allege this testimony of the apostle: but rudeness of style, in comparison of such eloquence, may be allowed, provided men be otherwise qualified with knowledge, and ability to preach and dispute accurately concerning the doctrines of faith and religion; as St. Paul was, whose talents in that kind have made him the wonder and admiration of the whole world; and it would be unjust to accuse him of rudeness of speech, who, by his discourses, confounded both Jews and Greeks, and wrought many into the opinion that he was the Mercury of the Gentiles. Such proofs of his power of persuasion were sufficient evidence that he had spent some pains in this way, and therefore his authority was fondly abused to patronize ignorance and sloth, whose example was so great a reproach to them. Others, again, there were who placed the whole of a minister in a good life, and that was made another excuse for the want of knowledge, and study, and the art of preaching and disputing. But to this St. Chrysostom[9] also replies, that both these qualifications were required in a priest; he must not only do, but teach the commands of Christ, and guide others by his word and doctrine, as well as his practice: each of these had their part in his office, and were necessary to assist one another in order to consummate men's edification. For otherwise, when any controversy should arise about the doctrines of religion, and Scripture was pleaded in behalf of error, what would a good life avail in this case? What would it signify to have been diligent in the practice of virtue, if, after all, a man, through gross ignorance and unskilfulness in the word of truth, fell into heresy, and cut himself off from the body of the church? as he knew many that had done so. But admit a man should stand firm himself, and not be drawn away by the adversaries, yet when the plain and simple people, who are under his care, shall observe their leader to be baffled, and that he has nothing to say to the arguments of a subtle opposer, they will be ready to impute this not so much to the weakness of the advocate, as the badness of his cause: and so by one man's ignorance a whole people shall be carried headlong to utter destruction, or at least be so shaken in their faith, that they shall not stand firm for the future. St. Jerom gives also a smart rebuke to this plea, telling his clerk,[10] that the plain and rustic brother should not value himself upon his sanctity, and despise knowledge; as neither should the artful and eloquent speaker measure his holiness by his tongue. For though, of two imperfections, it was better to have a holy ignorance than a vicious eloquence; yet, to consummate a priest, both qualifications were necessary, and he must have knowledge as well as sanctity to fit him for the several duties of his function. Thus did those holy instructors plead against ignorance in the clergy, and urge them with proper arguments to engage them upon a studious life, which was the only way to furnish them with sufficient abilities to discharge many weighty duties of their function.

Sect. 3. Their chief studies to be the Holy Scriptures, and the approved writers and canons of the church.

But it was not all sorts of studies that they equally recommended, but chiefly the study of the Holy Scriptures, as being the fountains of that learning which was most proper for their calling, and which upon all occasions they were to make use of. For, as St. Chrysostom observes,[11] in the way of administering spiritual physic to the souls of men, the word of God was instead of every thing that was used in the cure of bodily distempers. It was instrument, and diet, and air; it was instead of medicine, and fire, and knife; if caustics or incisions were necessary, they were to be done by this; and if this did not succeed, it would be in vain to try other means. This was it that was to raise and comfort the dejected soul, and take down and assuage the swelling tumours and presumptions of the confident. By this they were both to cut off what was superfluous, and supply what was wanting, and do every thing that was necessary to be done in the cure of souls. By this all heretics and aliens were to be convinced, and all the plots of Satan to be countermined; and therefore it was necessary that the ministers of God should be very diligent in studying the Scriptures, that the word of Christ might dwell richly in them. This was necessary to qualify them especially for preaching; since, as St. Jerom rightly notes,[12] the

[8] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 4. c. 6.

[9] Ibid. lib. 4. c. 8 et 9.

[10] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Nec rusticus et tamen simplex frater ideo se sanctum putet, si nihil noverit: nec peritus et eloquens in lingua æstimet sanctitatem. Multoque melius est e duobus imperfectis rusticitatem sanctam habere, quam eloquentiam peccatricem.

[11] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 4. c. 3 et 4.

[12] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Sermo presbyteri Scripturarum lectione conditus sit. Nolo te declamatorem esse,

best commendation of a sermon was to have it seasoned well with Scripture rightly applied. Besides, the custom of expounding the Scripture occasionally many times as it was read, required a man to be well acquainted with all the parts of it, and to understand both the phrase, and sense, and doctrines and mysteries of it, that he might be ready, upon all occasions, to discourse pertinently and usefully upon them. And to this purpose some canons[13] appointed, that their most vacant hours, the times of eating and drinking, should not pass without some portion of Scripture read to them; partly to exclude all other trifling and unnecessary discourse, and partly to afford them proper themes and subjects to exercise themselves upon to edification and advantage. St. Jerom commends his friend Nepotian for this, that at all feasts[14] he was used to propound something out of the Holy Scripture, and entertain the company with some useful disquisition upon it. And next to the Scriptures, he employed his time upon the study of the best ecclesiastical authors, whom, by continual reading and frequent meditations, he had so treasured up in the library of his heart, that he could repeat their words upon any proper occasion, saying, Thus spake Tertullian, thus Cyprian, so Lactantius, after this manner Hilary, so Minucius Felix, so Victorinus, these were the words of Arnobius, and the like. But among ecclesiastical writings, the canons of the church were always reckoned of greatest use; as containing a summary account, not only of the church's discipline, and doctrine, and government, but also rules of life and moral virtues: upon which account, as some laws directed that the canons should be read over at every man's ordination; so others required the clergy[15] afterward to make them part of their constant study, together with the Holy Scripture. For the canons were then a sort of directions for the pastoral care, and they had this advantage of any private directions, that they were the public voice and rubrics of the church, and so much the more carefully to be read upon that account. In after ages, in the time of Charles the Great, we find some laws obliging the clergy[16] to read together with the canons, Gregory's book *de Cura Pastorali.*

Sect. 4. How far the study of heathen or heretical books was allowed.

As to other books and writings, they were more cautious and sparing in the study and use of them. Some canons[17] forbade a bishop to read heathen authors: nor would they allow him to read heretical books, but only upon necessity, that is, when there was occasion to confute them, or to caution others against the poison of them. But the prohibition of heathen learning, though it seem to be more peremptory, was to be understood likewise with a little qualification. For men might have very different views and designs in reading heathen authors. Some might read them only for pleasure, and make a business of that pleasure, to the neglect of Scripture and more useful learning: and all such were highly to be condemned. St. Jerom[18] says of these, that when the priests of God read plays instead of the Gospels, and wanton bucolics instead of the prophets, and loved to have Virgil in their hands rather than the Bible; they made a crime of pleasure, and turned the necessity of youthful exercise into a voluntary sin. Others could not relish the plain and unaffected style of Scriptures, but conversed with heathen orators to bring their language to a more polite or Attic dialect. And these also came under the censures of the church. It is remarkable what Sozomen[19] tells us of Triphyllius, a Cyprian bishop, (who was one of these nice and delicate men, who thought the style of Scripture not so elegant as it might be made,) that having occasion in a discourse before Spiridion, and some other Cyprian bishops, to cite those words of our Saviour, ἆρον σοῦ τὸ κράββατον καὶ περιπάτει, "Take up thy bed and walk," he would not use the word κράββατον, but instead of it put σκίμποδα, as being a more elegant word in his opinion. To whom Spiridion with a holy indignation and zeal replied, Art thou better than Him that said κράββατον, that thou shouldst be ashamed to use his words? Thereby admonishing him to be a little more modest, and not give human eloquence the preference before the Holy Scriptures. Another sort of men conversed with heathen authors rather than the Scriptures, because they thought them more for their turn, to arm them with sophistry to impose their errors upon the simplicity of others. As the anonymous author in Eusebius,[20] who writes against the Theodotian heretics, observes of the leading men of that party, that leaving the Holy Scriptures, they generally spent their time in Euclid and Aristotle, Theo-

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et rabulam, garrulumque sine ratione, sed mysteriorum peritum, &c.

[13] Conc. Tolet. 3. c. 7. Quia solent crebro mensis otiosæ fabulæ interponi, in omni sacerdotali convivio lectio Scripturarum Divinarum misceatur: per hoc enim et animæ ædificantur in bonum, et fabulæ non necessariæ prohibentur.

[14] Hieron. Epitaph. Nepot. Ep. 3. ad Heliodor. Sermo ejus et (leg. per) omne convivium de Scripturis aliquid proponere, &c.

[15] Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 25. Sciant sacerdotes Scripturas Sanctas, et canones meditentur—ut ædificent cunctos tam fidei scientia, quam operum disciplina.

[16] Concil. Turon. 3. c. 3. Concil. Cabillon. 2. c. 1.

[17] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 16. Ut episcopus Gentilium libros non legat; hæreticorum autem pro necessitate et tempore.

[18] Hieron. Ep. 146. ad Damasum de Filio Prodigo. t. 3. p. 129. Sacerdotes Dei omissis evangeliis et prophetis, videmus comœdias legere, amatoria bucolicorum versuum verba canere, Virgilium tenere; et id quod in pueris necessitatis est, crimen in se facere voluptatis.

[19] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 11.

[20] Euseb. lib. 5. c. 28.

phrastus and Galen; using the quirks and sophisms of infidel writers to palliate their heresy, and corrupt the simplicity of the Christian faith. Now, in all these cases, the reading of heathen authors for such unworthy ends was very disallowable, because it was always done with a manifest neglect and contempt of the Holy Scriptures, and therefore upon such grounds deservedly forbidden by the canons of the church. But then, on the other hand, there were some cases, in which it was very allowable to read Gentile authors, and the church's prohibition did not extend to these. For sometimes it was necessary to read them, in order to confute and expose their errors, that others might not be infected thereby. Thus St. Jerom observes of Daniel,[21] that he was taught in the knowledge of the Chaldeans; and Moses, in all the wisdom of the Egyptians: which it was no sin to learn, so long as they did not learn it to follow it, but to censure and refute it. St. Ambrose[22] says, he read some books that others might not read them; he read them to know their errors, and caution others against them. This was one reason why sometimes heathen writers might be read by men of learning, in order to set a mark upon them. Another reason was, that many of them were useful and subservient to the cause of religion, either for confirming the truth of the Scriptures, and the doctrines of Christianity, or for exposing and refuting the errors and vanities of the heathen themselves. Thus St. Jerom observes,[23] that both the Greek and Latin historians, such as Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, Trogus Pompeius, and Livy, are of great use as well to explain as confirm the truth of Daniel's prophecies. And St. Austin[24] says the same of the writings of Orpheus and the Sibyls, and Hermes, and other heathen philosophers, that as they said many things that were true, both concerning God and the Son of God, they were in that respect very serviceable in refuting the vanities of the Gentiles. Upon which account not only St. Austin and St. Jerom, but most of the ancient writers of the church, were usually well versed in the learning of the Gentiles, as every one knows that knows any thing of them. St. Jerom in one short epistle[25] mentions the greatest part of those that lived before his own time, both Greeks and Latins, and says of them all in general, that their books are so filled with the sentences and opinions of philosophers, that it is hard to say which is most to be admired, their secular learning, or their knowledge in the Scriptures. And herein is comprised the plain state of this matter: the clergy were obliged in the first place to be very diligent in studying the Scriptures, and after them the canons, and approved writers of the church, according to men's abilities, capacities, and opportunities: for the same measures could not be exacted of all. Beyond this, as there was no obligation on them to read human learning, so there was no absolute prohibition of it; but where it could be made to minister as a handmaid to divinity, and not usurp or encroach upon it, there it was not only allowed, but commended and encouraged; and it must be owned, that though the abuse of secular learning does sometimes great harm, yet the study of it rightly applied did very great service to religion in the primitive ages of the church.

Sect. 5. Of their piety and devotion in their public addresses to God.

From their private studies pass we on next to view them in their more public capacities, as the people's orators to God, and God's ambassadors to the people: in regard to which offices and character, I have showed before[26] they were esteemed a sort of mediators in a qualified sense between God and men. In all their addresses to God as the people's orators, their great care was to offer all their sacrifices and oblations of prayer and thanksgiving in such a rational, decent, and becoming way, as best suited the nature of the action; that is, with all that gravity and seriousness, that humility and reverence, that application of mind and intenseness and fervency of devotion, as both became the greatness of that Majesty to whom they addressed, and was proper for raising suitable affections in the people. This is the true meaning of that famous controverted passage in Justin Martyr's Second Apology, where describing the service of the church, and the manner of celebrating the eucharist, he says, The bishop sent up prayers and praises, ὅση δύναμις,[27] with the utmost of his abilities to God. Some misconstrue this passage, and interpret the abilities of the minister officiating so as if they meant no more but his invention, expression, or the like; making it by such a gloss to become an argument

[21] Hieron. Com. in Dan. c. 1. Nunquam acquiescerent discere quod non licebat. Discunt autem non ut sequantur, sed ut judicent atque convincant.

[22] Ambros. Proœm. in Luc. Evang. Legimus aliqua, ne legantur; legimus, ne ignoremus; legimus, non ut teneamus, sed ut repudiemus.

[23] Hieron. Prolog. in Daniel. Ad intelligendas extremas partes Danielis, multiplex Græcorum historia necessaria est, &c. Et si quando cogimur literarum sæcularium recordari, et aliqua ex his discere quæ olim omisimus; non nostræ est voluntatis, sed ut ita dicam, gravissimæ necessitatis: ut probemus ea quæ a sanctis prophetis ante multa sæcula prædicta sunt, tam Græcorum quam Latinorum et aliarum Gentium literis contineri.

[24] Aug. cont. Faust. lib. 13. c. 15. Sibyllæ et Orpheus, et nescio quis Hermes, et si qui alii Vates, vel theologi, vel sapientes, vel philosophi Gentium, de Filio Dei, aut de Patre Deo vera prædixisse seu dixisse perhibentur; valet quidem aliquid ad paganorum vanitatem revincendam.

[25] Hieron. Ep. 84. ad Magnum. In tantum philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos referciunt libros, ut nescias quid in illis primum admirari debeas, eruditionem sæculi, an scientiam Scripturarum.

[26] Book II. chap. 19. sect. 16. [27] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 98.

against the antiquity of public liturgies, or set forms of prayer; whereas, indeed, it signifies here a quite different thing, viz. that spiritual vigour, or intenseness and ardency of devotion, with which the minister offered up the sacrifices of the church to God; being such qualifications as are necessary to make our prayers and praises acceptable unto Him, who requires them to be presented with all our soul and might; which may be done in set forms, as well as any other way: and so Gregory Nazianzen and Justin Martyr himself use the phrase, ὅση δύναμις, where they speak of set forms of praising and serving God; of which more hereafter in its proper place. St. Chrysostom is very earnest[28] in recommending this same duty to the priests of God, under the name of σπουδὴ and εὐλάβεια, care and reverence. With what exact care, says he, ought he to behave himself, who goes in the name of a whole city, nay, in the name of the whole world, as their orator and ambassador to intercede with God for the sins of all! But especially when he invocates the Holy Ghost, and offers up τὴν φρικωδεστάτην θυσίαν, the tremendous sacrifice of the altar: with what purity, with what reverence and piety should his tongue utter forth those words! whilst the angels stand by him, and the whole order of the heavenly powers cries aloud, and fills the sanctuary in honour of Him, who is represented as dead and lying upon the altar. Thus that holy father argues with a warmth and zeal suitable to the subject, and such as is proper to raise our devotion, and kindle our affections into a holy flame, whenever we present the supplications of the church on earth to the sacred Majesty of heaven.

Sect. 6. The censure of such as neglected the daily service of the church.

And this ardency of devotion was continually to be cherished and preserved. To which purpose the church had her daily sacrifices, wherever it was possible to have them; and on these every clergyman was indispensably obliged to attend; and that under pain of suspension and deprivation, whether it was his duty to officiate or not. For so the first council of Toledo determined for the Spanish churches, that if any presbyter, or deacon, or other clerk, should be in any city or country where there was a church, and did not come to church to the daily sacrifice or service,[29] he should no longer be reputed one of the sacred function. The council of Agde orders such to be reduced to the communion of strangers,[30] which at least implies suspension from their office. And the law of Justinian punishes them with degradation,[31] because of the scandal they give to the laity by such neglects or contempts of Divine service. So careful were the ancient lawgivers of the church to cut off all indecencies and abuses of this nature, and make the clergy provoking examples of piety to the people.

Sect. 7. Rules about preaching to edification.

Next to their office in addressing God as the people's orators, we are to view them as God's ambassadors, addressing themselves in his name to the people. Which they did by public preaching and private application; in both which their great care was to perform the duty of watchmen over God's flock, and of good stewards over his household. In their preaching their only aim was to be, the edification of the people. To which purpose the great masters of rules in this kind, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and St. Jerom, lay down these few directions. First, That the preacher be careful to make choice of a useful subject. Gregory Nazianzen[32] specifies the rule in some particular instances, such as the doctrine of the world's creation, and the soul of man; the doctrine of providence, and the restoration of man; the two covenants; the first and second coming of Christ, his incarnation, sufferings, and death; the resurrection, and end of the world, and future judgment, and different rewards of heaven and hell; together with the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, which is the principal article of the Christian faith. Such subjects as these are proper for edification, to build up men in faith and holiness, and the practice of all piety and virtue. But then, secondly, They must be treated on in a suitable way; not with too much art or loftiness of style, but with great condescension to men's capacities, who must be fed with the word as they are able to bear it. This is what Gregory Nazianzen so much commends in Athanasius,[33] when he says, he condescended and stooped himself to the mean capacities, whilst to the acute his notions and words were more sublime. St. Jerom also observes[34] upon this head, that a preacher's discourse should always be plain, intelligible, and affecting; and rather adapted to excite men's groans and tears by a sense of their sins, than their admiration and applause, by speaking to them what neither they, nor he himself perhaps, do truly understand.

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[28] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 6. c. 4.

[29] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 5. Presbyter, diaconus, &c. qui intra civitatem fuerit, vel in loco in quo ecclesia est, si in ecclesiam ad sacrificium quotidianum non venerit, clericus non habeatur.

[30] Conc. Agathens. c. 2. Clericis qui ecclesiam frequentare, vel officium suum implere neglexerint, peregrina communio tribuatur.

[31] Cod. Just. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 42. n. 10.

[32] Naz. Orat. 1. de Fuga, t. 1. p. 15.

[33] Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Athan. t. 1. p. 396.

[34] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Docente te in ecclesia, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur; lachrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ sint.—Celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere indoctorum hominum est. Attrita frons interpretatur sæpe quod nescit; et cum aliis persuaserit, sibi quoque usurpat scientiam.

For it is ignorant and unlearned men chiefly, that affect to be admired for their speaking above the capacities of the vulgar. A bold forehead often interprets what he himself does not understand; and yet he has no sooner persuaded others to they know not what, but he assumes to himself the title of learning upon it: when yet there is nothing so easy as to deceive the ignorant multitude, who are always most prone to admire what they do not understand. Upon this account St. Chrysostom spends almost a whole book in cautioning the Christian orator against this failing; that he should not be intent on popular applause, but with a generous mind raise himself above it;[35] seeking chiefly to advantage his hearers, and not barely to delight and please them. To this purpose, he concludes, it would be necessary for him to despise both the applauses and censures of men, and all other things that might tempt him rather to flatter his hearers, than edify them. In a word, his chief end,[36] in all his composures, should be to please God: and then if he also gained the praise of men, he might receive it; if not, he needed not to court it, nor torment himself that it was denied him. For it would be consolation enough for all his labours, that in adapting his doctrine and eloquence he had always sought to please his God. Thirdly, A third rule given in this case was, that men should apply their doctrine and spiritual medicines according to the emergent and most urgent necessities of their hearers. Which was the most proper duty of a watchman, to perceive with a quick eye where the greatest danger lay; which was men's weakest and most unguarded side; and then apply suitable remedies to their maladies and distempers. St. Chrysostom, in speaking of this part of a minister's duty, says, he should be νηφάλιος καὶ διορατικὸς, watchful and perspicacious,[37] and have a thousand eyes about him, as living not for himself alone, but for a multitude of people. To live retired in a cell is the business of a monk; but the duty of a watchman is to converse among men of all degrees and callings; to take care of the body of Christ, the church, and have regard both to its health and beauty; curiously observing, lest any spot or wrinkle or other defilement should sully the grace and comeliness of it. Now, this obliged spiritual physicians to apply their medicines, that is, their doctrines, as the maladies of their patients chiefly required; to be most earnest and frequent in encountering those errors and vices which were most reigning, or which men were most in danger of being infected by. And this is the reason why, in the homilies of the ancients, we so often meet with discourses against such heresies, as the world now knows nothing of; such as those of the Marcionites, and Manichees, and many others, which it would be absurd to combat now in popular discourses; but then it was necessary to be done, because they were the prevailing heresies of the age, and men were in danger of being subverted by them. And it is further observable, that the most formidable heresies, and prevailing factions, such as that of the Arians, when armed with secular power, could never either force or court the catholic preachers into silence, to let the wolves devour the sheep by such a tame and base compliance. In this case no worldly motives could prevail with them, when they saw the danger, not to give warning of it. They thought they could not otherwise answer the character of watchmen, and stewards of the mysteries of God, since it was required in stewards that a man be found faithful.

Sect. 8. Of fidelity, diligence, and prudence in private addresses and applications.

But their fidelity was not only expressed in their public discourses, but also in their private addresses and applications to men, who had either cut themselves off from the body of Christ by heresies and schisms, or by their sins made themselves unsound members of the body, whilst they seemed to continue of it. With what fidelity, and meekness, and diligence they addressed themselves to the former sort, we may learn from the good effects which their applications often had upon them. Theodoret[38] tells us of himself, in one place, that he had converted a thousand souls from the heresy of the Marcionites, and many others from the heresies of Arius and Eunomius, in his own diocese. And in another place[39] he augments the number of converted Marcionites to ten thousand, whom, with indefatigable industry, in a diocese of forty miles in length and breadth, containing eight hundred churches in it, he had reduced from their strayings to the unity of the catholic church. What wonders also St. Austin wrought in Africa upon the Donatists and others in the same way, by private letters and conferences and collations with them, the reader may learn from Possidius,[40] the author of his Life, who frequently mentions his labours in this kind, and the great advantage that accrued to the church by this means. For he lived to see the greatest part of the Manichees, Donatists, Pelagians, and pagans, converted to the catholic church. They were no less careful to apply themselves in private to persons within the church, as occasion required. And here great art and prudence, as well as fidelity and diligence, was necessary to give success to their endeavours. For mankind, as Nazianzen[41] observes, is so various and uncertain a sort of creature, that it requires the greatest art and skill to manage him. For the tempers of men's minds differ more than

[35] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 5. c. 1. [36] Ibid. c. 7.
[37] Chrys. ibid. lib. 3. c. 12. lib. 4. c. 2 et 3.
[38] Theod. Ep. 113. ad Leon.
[39] Id. Ep. 145. p. 1026.
[40] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 9, 13, 18.
[41] Naz. Orat. 1. de Fuga, p. 14

the features and lineaments of their bodies: and as all meats and medicines are not proper for all bodies, so neither is the same treatment and discipline proper for all souls. Some are best moved by words, others by examples; some are of a dull and heavy temper, and so have need of the spur to extimulate them; others, that are brisk and fiery, have more need of the curb to restrain them. Praise works best upon some, and reproof upon others, provided each of them be ministered in a suitable and seasonable way; otherwise they do more harm than good. Some men are drawn by gentle exhortations to their duty; others by rebukes and hard words must be driven to it. And even in the business of reproof, some are affected most with open rebuke, others with private. For some men never regard a secret reproof, who yet are easily corrected if chastised in public. Others, again, cannot bear a public disgrace, but grow either morose, or impudent and implacable upon it; who perhaps would have hearkened to a secret admonition, and repaid their monitor with their conversion, as presuming him to have accosted them out of mere pity and love. Some men are to be so nicely watched and observed, that not the least of their faults are to be dissembled; because they seek to hide their sins from men, and arrogate to themselves thereupon the praise of being politic and crafty: in others it is better to wink at some faults, so that seeing we will not see, and hearing we will not hear, lest by too frequent chiding we bring them to despair, and so make them cast off modesty, and grow bolder in their sins. To some men we must put on an angry countenance, and seem to contemn them, and despair of them as lost and deplorable wretches, when their nature so requires it: others, again, must be treated with meekness and humility, and be recovered to a better hope by more promising and encouraging prospects. Some men must be always conquered, and never yielded to, whilst to others it will be better sometimes to concede a little. For all men's distempers are not to be cured the same way, but proper medicines are to be applied, as the matter itself, or occasion, or the temper of the patient, will admit of. And this is the most difficult part of the pastoral office, to know how to distinguish these things nicely with an exact judgment, and with as exact a hand to minister suitable remedies to every distemper. It is a masterpiece of art, which is not to be perfectly attained but by good observation, joined with experience and practice. What our author thus here at large discourses by way of rule and theory, he in another place sums up more briefly in the example of the great Athanasius, whose pattern he proposes to men's imitation, as a living image of this admirable prudence and dexterity in dealing with men according to this great variety of tempers; telling us,[42] that his design was always one and the same, but his methods various; praising some, moderately correcting others; using the spur to some dull tempers, and the reins to others of a more hot and zealous spirit; in his conversation master of the greatest simplicity, but in his government master of the greatest artifice and variety of skill; wise in his discourses, but much wiser in his understanding, to adapt himself according to the different capacities and tempers of men. Now, the design of all this was not to give any latitude or licence to sin, but by all prudent and honest arts to discourage and destroy it. It was not to teach the clergy the base and servile arts of flattery and compliance; to become time-servers and men-pleasers, and soothe the powerful or the rich in their errors and vices; but only to instruct them in the different methods of opposing sin, and how, by joining prudence to their zeal, they might make their own authority most venerable, and most effectually promote the true ends of religion. St. Chrysostom puts in this caution, in describing this part of a bishop's character: He ought to be wise, as well as holy; a man of great experience, and one that understands the world: and because his business is with all sorts of men, he should be *ποικίλος*, one that can appear with different aspects, and act with great variety of skill. But when I say this, I do not mean, says he,[43] that he should be a man of craft, or servile flattery, or a dissembling hypocrite; but a man of great freedom and boldness, who knows notwithstanding how to condescend and stoop himself for men's advantage, when occasion requires, and can be as well mild as austere: for all men are not to be treated in the same way: no physician uses the same method with all his patients. The true mean and decorum, he thinks, which a bishop should observe in his converse and applications to men, is to keep between too much stiffness and abjectness. He must be grave without pride;[44] awful, but courteous; majestic, as a man of authority and power, yet affable and communicative to all: of an integrity that cannot be corrupted, yet officious and ready to serve every man; humble, but not servile; sharp and resolute, but yet gentle and mild. By such prudence he will maintain his authority, and carry any point with men, whilst he studies to do every thing without hatred or favour, only for the benefit and edification of the church. We must reduce to this head of prudence in making proper address and application to offenders, that direction given by St. Paul, and repeated in several ancient canons, that a bishop be no smiter, *μὴ πλήκτην*, which the twenty-

[42] Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Athan. p. 396.

[43] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 6. c. 4. *Ποικίλον αὐτὸν εἶναι δεῖ, ποικίλον δὲ λέγω, ȣ̓χ ὕπȣλον, ȣ̓ κόλακα, ȣ̓χ ὑποκριτὴν*, &c.

[44] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 3. c. 16.

seventh of those called the Apostolical Canons thus paraphrases: If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon smite either an offending Christian, or an injurious heathen, we order him to be deposed. For our Lord did not teach us this discipline, but the contrary; for he was smitten, but did not smite any; when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not. Justinian forbids[45] the same in one of his Novels, as a thing unbecoming the priests of God, to smite any man with their own hands. The word πλήσσειν signifies also smiting with the tongue, by reproachful, bitter, and contumelious language, as St. Chrysostom, St. Jerom, and others understand it. In which sense also it was forbidden, as a thing indecent, and unbecoming the gravity and prudence of the Christian clergy.

Sect. 9. Of prudence and candour in composing unnecessary controversies in the church.

St. Chrysostom enlarges upon several other parts of prudence, which I need not here insist upon, because they have either already been mentioned, or will hereafter be considered in other places; such as prudence[46] in opposing heresies; prudence[47] in managing the virgins and widows, and the revenues of the church; prudence[48] in hearing and determining secular causes; and prudence[49] in the exercise of discipline and church censures, which last will be spoken to under another head. I shall here therefore only add one instance more of their prudence in allaying unnecessary disputes, which rose among catholics and men of the same opinion in the church. Which indeed was rather a complication of many noble virtues, prudence, candour, ingenuity, moderation, peaceableness, and charity, joined together, which, like a constellation of the brightest qualities, always shined with the greatest lustre. This is what Gregory Nazianzen chiefly admired in the conduct of Athanasius, and therefore he gives it the highest commendation, and preference before all his other virtues, as thinking there was no one thing whereby he did greater service to the church of God. It happened in the time of Athanasius, that the catholics were like to be divided about mere words; a warm dispute arising about what names the three Divine Persons were to be called by: some were for calling them only τρία πρόσωπα, three persons, to avoid Arianism; others called them τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, three hypostases, to avoid Sabellianism. Now they all meant the same thing, but not understanding each other's terms, they mutually charged one another with the heresies of Arius and Sabellius. The one party, in the heat of disputation, could understand nothing by three hypostases but three substances or essences, in the Arian sense; for they made no distinction between hypostasis and essence, and therefore charged their opposites with Arianism. The other party were afraid that τρία πρόσωπα signified no more than nominal persons, in the sense of Sabellius, (who himself had used those very terms in an equivocal sense to impose upon the vulgar,) and therefore they inveighed against their adversaries as designing to promote Sabellianism. And so, says Nazianzen,[50] this little difference in words making a noise as if there had been difference in opinion, the love of quarrelling and contention fomenting the dispute, the ends of the earth were in danger of being divided by a few syllables. Which, when Athanasius, the true man of God, and great guide of souls, both saw and heard, he could not endure to think of so absurd and unreasonable a division among the professors of the same faith, but immediately applied a remedy to the distemper. And how did he make his application? Having convened both parties with all meekness and humility, and accurately weighed the intention and meaning of the words on both sides, after he found them agreeing in the things themselves, and not in the least differing in point of doctrine, he ended their dispute, allowing the use of both names, and tying them to unity of opinion. This, says our author, was a more advantageous act of charity to the church, than all his other daily labours and discourses: it was more honourable than all his watchings and humicubations, and not inferior to his applauded flights and exiles. And therefore he tells his readers in ushering in the discourse, that he could not omit the relation without injuring them, especially at a time when contentions and divisions were in the church; for this action of his would be an instruction to them that were then alive, and of great advantage if they would propound it to their own imitation; since men were prone to divide not only from the impious, but from the orthodox and pious, and that not only about little and contemptible opinions, (which ought to make no difference,) but about words that tended to one and the same sense. The caution is of use in all ages, and had it always been strictly observed it would have prevented many wild disputes and fierce contentions about words in the Christian church.

Sect. 10. Of their zeal and courage in defending the truth.

But now we are to observe, on the other hand, that as they were eminent for their candour and prudence in composing unnecessary and verbal disputes; so where the cause was weighty, and any material point of religion concerned, they were no less famous for their zeal and courage in standing up in the defence of truth against all opposers. It was neither the artifice and subtlety, nor the power and malice of their enemies could make them yield,

[45] Just. Novel. 123. c. 11. Sed neque propriis manibus liceat episcopo quenquam percutere: hoc enim alienum est a sacerdotibus.

[46] Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. 4. c. 4. [47] Ibid. lib. 3. c. 16. [48] Ibid. lib. 3. c. 18. [49] Ibid. lib. 3. c. 18. [50] Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud Athan. t. 1 p. 396.

where they thought the faith was in danger to be destroyed. In other cases, says Nazianzen,[51] there is nothing so peaceable, so moderate as Christian bishops; but in this case they cannot bear the name of moderation, to betray their God by silence and sitting still; but here they are exceeding eager warriors, and fighting champions that are not to be overcome. He does not mean that the weapons of their warfare were carnal, that they used any pious frauds, or plotted treasons, or rebellions, or took up arms in defence of religion; but that with an undaunted courage and brave resolution they stood up firm in defence of truth, and mattered not what names they were called by, (contentious, unpeaceable, immoderate, factious, turbulent, incendiaries, or any thing of the like nature,) nor yet what they suffered in any kind, whilst they contended for that faith which was once delivered to the saints. Church history abounds with instances of this nature; but it will be sufficient to exemplify the practice of this virtue in a single instance, which Gregory Nazianzen[52] gives us in the Life of St. Basil, where he relates a famous dialogue that passed between Modestus, the Arian governor under Valens, and that holy man. Modestus tried all arts to bring him over to the party, but finding all in vain, he at last threatened him with severity. What, said he, dost thou not fear this power which I am armed with? Why should I fear? said Basil; what canst thou do, or what can I suffer? What canst thou suffer? said the other; many things that are in my power: confiscation of thy goods, banishment, torment, and death. But thou must threaten me with something else, said Basil, if thou canst, for none of these things can touch me. As for confiscation of goods, I am not liable to it; for I have nothing to lose, unless thou wantest these tattered and threadbare garments, and a few books, which is all the estate I am possessed of. For banishment, I know not what it means, for I am tied to no place; I shall esteem every country as much my own, as that where I now dwell; for the whole earth is the Lord's, and I am only a pilgrim and a stranger in it. As for torments, what can they do to him, who has not a body that can hold out beyond the first stroke? And for death, it will be a kindness to me, for it will but so much the sooner send me unto God, to whom I live and do the duty of my station; being in a great measure already dead, and now of a long time hastening unto him. The governor was strangely surprised at this discourse, and said, No man ever talked at this free and bold rate to Modestus before. Perhaps, said Basil, thou didst never meet with a bishop before: for if thou hadst, he would have talked just as I do, when he was put to contend about such matters as these. In other things we are mild and yielding, and the humblest men on earth, as our laws oblige us to be; we are so far from showing ourselves supercilious or haughty to magistrates in power, that we do not do it to persons of the meanest rank and condition. But when the cause of God is concerned, or in danger, then indeed we esteem all other things as nothing, and fix our eyes only upon him. Then fire and sword, wild beasts and instruments of torture to tear off our flesh, are so far from being a terror, that they are rather a pleasure and recreation to us. Therefore reproach and threaten us, do your pleasure, use your power to the utmost, and let the emperor know all this: yet you shall never conquer us, or bring us to assent to your impious doctrine, though you threaten us ten thousand times more than all this. The governor hearing this, and finding him to be a man of invincible and inflexible courage, dismissed him now not with threatenings, but with a sort of reverence and submission, and went and told the emperor, that the bishop of that church was too hard for them all; for his courage was so great, his resolution so firm, that neither promises nor threatenings could move him from his purpose. Nor was it only open violence they thus bravely resisted, but also the more crafty attempts of the enemies of truth, who many times went artificially to work against it; partly by blackening the characters of its champions and defenders, and representing them as base and intolerable men; and partly by smoothing their own character, and pretending unity in faith with the orthodox, and that their designs were only designs of peace, to remove unscriptural words and novel terms out of the way, that all men might be of the same opinion. These were the two grand artifices of the Arian party, whereby the leading and politic men among them, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Valens, Ursacius, and others, always laboured to overthrow the truth. Upon this account Athanasius was forced to undergo a thousand calumnies and slanderous reproaches. He was accused to Constantine, as one that assumed to himself imperial authority to impose a tax upon Egypt: as one guilty of murder, in cutting off the hand of Arsenius, a Meletian bishop; as guilty of treason, in siding with Philumenus the rebel, and furnishing him with money; as an enemy to the public, for attempting to hinder the transportation of corn from Egypt to Constantinople: which accusation so far prevailed upon the emperor, that he banished him to Triers upon it. In the next reign he was accused again of repeated murders; and of sacrilege, in diverting Constantine's liberality to the widows of Egypt and Libya, to other uses;

[51] Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Athan. p. 388. *Οἱ κἂν τἆλλα ὦσιν εἰρηνικοί τε καὶ μέτριοι, τοῦτό γε οὐ φέρουσιν ἐπιεικεῖς εἶναι, Θεὸν προδιδόναι διὰ τῆς ἡσυχίας· ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα πολεμικοί τε καὶ δύσμαχοι.*

[52] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil. p. 349.

of treason, in joining interest with Magnentius the tyrant; and many other such charges were spitefully and diabolically levelled against him. St. Basil was likewise variously accused both by professed enemies and pretended friends; who, as is usual in such cases, brought charges against him directly contrary to one another. Some accused him of Tritheism, for defending the doctrine of three hypostases against the Sabellians; others, of Semiarianism, or heterodoxy in the article about the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, because in his church he sometimes used a different form of doxology from what was used in other churches. Some, again, accused him of Arianism, because he had received Eustathius of Sebastia into communion upon his professing the catholic faith; others said he communicated with Apollinaris the heretic, because upon some occasions he wrote letters to him. Thus were two of the greatest and best of men maliciously traduced and wounded in their reputation; both indeed for the same cause, but with this difference, that the one was prosecuted by open enemies without the church, the other chiefly by secret enemies within; of whom therefore he had reason to take up the prophet's complaint, and say, "These are the wounds with which I was wounded in the house of my friends." And these were such temptations as might have unsettled any weak and wavering minds, and made them turn their backs upon religion: but true zeal is above temptation, and can equally despise the wounds of the sword and the wounds of the tongue; having always the consolation, which Christ gives in his gospel, ready at hand to support it; "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake: rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven." Such examples show us, that innocence itself cannot always exempt men from calumny, but sometimes is accidentally the occasion of it: but then it has this advantage, that being joined with a suitable zeal, it never sinks under the weight and pressure of its burden, but always comes off conqueror at the last, as we see in the instances now before us.

The other artifice, which I said the Arians used to destroy the faith, was the specious pretence of peace and unity. The politic and crafty men among them in the time of Constantius, pretended that they had no quarrel with the catholic doctrine of the Trinity itself, but only were aggrieved at the novel and unscriptural words, such as the ὁμοούσιον, consubstantial, &c., which the council of Nice had used to express it by: these, they said, were dividing terms, and the cause of all the quarrel and combustion: and therefore they still urged the removing these terms, as the great stumblingblock, out of the way, that the peace and unity of the church might follow upon it. But Athanasius and other wise catholics easily perceived whither this sly stratagem tended; being very sensible that their design was not against the bare terms, but the faith itself, and therefore they always stoutly and zealously opposed it. Nor could the Arians ever gain this point upon the catholics, till at last in the council of Ariminum, anno 359, by great importunity, and clamours for unity and peace, they were prevailed upon to sink the word consubstantial, and draw up a new creed without it, yet, as they thought, containing the very same doctrine, and in as full terms as could be expressed, save that the word consubstantial was not in it. But here it must be owned, these catholic bishops were wanting in their zeal, as they themselves were quickly after convinced. For no sooner was this concession made, but the Arians immediately gave out and boasted over all the world, that the Nicene faith was condemned, and Arianism established in a general council, though nothing was less intended by the catholic bishops that were present at it. But now they were sensible they had made a false step, by suffering themselves thus to be imposed upon by designing men: they now saw that they ought to have stuck to the Nicene terms, as well as the faith, since the faith itself so much depended on them. They now began to complain of the fraud, and asked pardon of their brethren for their want of foresight and caution in a case so tender and material. St. Jerom, who gives us this account of the whole transaction, from the acts of the synod and other records extant in his time, brings them in making this apology for themselves: The bishops, says he,[53] who had been imposed upon by fraud at Ariminum, and who were reputed heretics without being conscious to themselves of any heresy, went about every where protesting by the body of Christ, and all that is sacred in the church, that they suspected no evil in their creed: they thought the sense had agreed with the words, and that men had not meant one thing in their hearts, and uttered another thing with their lips. They were deceived by entertaining too good an opinion of base and evil men. They did not suppose the priests of Christ could so treacherously have fought against Christ. In short, they lamented their mistake now with tears, and offered to condemn as well

[53] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucif. t. 2. p. 143. Concurrebant episcopi, qui Ariminensibus dolis irretiti, sine conscientia hæretici ferebantur, contestantes corpus Domini, et quicquid in ecclesia sanctum est, se nihil mali in sua fide suspicatos. Putavimus, aiebant, sensum congruere cum verbis; nec in ecclesiis ubi simplicitas, ubi pura confessio est, aliud in corde clausum esse, aliud in labiis proferri timuimus. Decepit nos bona de malis existimatio. Non sumus arbitrati sacerdotes Christi adversus Christum pugnare multaque alia quæ brevitatis studio prætereo, flentes asserebant, parati et subscriptionem pristinam et omnes Arianorum blasphemias condemnare.

their own subscription, as all the Arian blasphemies. Any one that reads St. Jerom carefully, will easily perceive, that these bishops were no Arians, nor ever intended to subscribe an Arian creed; but their fault was want of zeal in parting with the Nicene creed, to take another instead of it without the word consubstantial; which though they subscribed in the simplicity of their hearts as an orthodox creed, (and indeed the words, as Jerom describes them, in their plain sense are sound and orthodox, as St. Jerom says in their excuse,) yet the Arians put an equivocal and poisonous sense upon them; giving out after the council was ended, that they had not only abolished the word consubstantial, but with it condemned the Nicene faith also. Which was strange, surprising news to the bishops that had been at Ariminum. Then, says St. Jerom, *Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est*, The whole world groaned, and was amazed to think she should be reputed Arian. That is, the catholic bishops of the whole world (for there were three hundred of them present at that council) were amazed to find themselves so abused, and represented as Arians, when they never intended in the least to confirm the Arian doctrine. But now by this the reader will be able to judge, what kind of zeal the catholic church required then in her clergy, viz. that they should not only contend for the faith itself, but also for those catholic forms and ways of expressing it, which had been prudently composed and settled in general councils, as a barrier against heretics; the giving up of which to subtle and dangerous adversaries, would always give them advantage to make fiercer attacks upon the faith itself, and prove destructive to the catholic cause; as those bishops found by woeful experience, who were concerned in the concession made at Ariminum. It is candour indeed, when good catholics are divided only about words, to bring them to a right understanding of one another, which will set them at peace and unity again: but it is tameness to give up the main bulwarks of the faith to fallacious adversaries and designing men, whose arts and aims, however disguised, are always known to strike at the foundation of religion. And therefore, though no man was ever more candid than Athanasius toward mistaken catholics, yet neither was any more zealous in opposing the arts and stratagems of the Arian party; always sticking close to the definition of the Nicene council, and never yielding that any tittle or syllable of that creed should be erased or altered.

Sect. 11. Of their obligations to maintain the unity of the church; and of the censure of such as fell into heresy or schism.

Whilst I am upon this head, I cannot but take notice of the obligations the clergy lay under to maintain the unity of the church, both in faith and discipline, and what penalties were inflicted on such as made a breach therein, whether by falling into heresy or schism themselves, or giving encouragement to them in others. I shall not need to state the nature of church unity and communion in this place any further, than by saying, that to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and live under the discipline and government of a catholic bishop, who himself lived in communion with the catholic church, were then, as it were, the two characteristic notes of any man's being in the communion of the church: and therefore, as every member was obliged to maintain the unity of the church in both these parts; so much more the clergy, who were to be the chief guardians of it: and if they failed in either kind, that is, if they lapsed either into heresy or schism, by the laws of the church they were to be deposed from their office; and though they repented and returned to the unity of the church again, yet they were not to act in their former station, but to be admitted to communicate only in the quality of laymen. This was the rule of the African church in the time of Cyprian, as appears from the synodical epistle[54] of the council of Carthage, to which his name is prefixed. For, writing to Pope Stephen, they tell him, their custom was to treat such of the clergy as were ordained in the catholic church, and afterward stood up perfidiously and rebelliously against the church, in the same manner as they did those that were first ordained by heretics; that is, they admitted them to the peace of the church, and allowed them the communion of laymen, but did not permit them to officiate again in any order of the clergy. And this, he says, they did to put a mark of distinction between those that always stood true to the church, and those that deserted it. Yet if any considerable advantage accrued to the church by the return of such a heretic or schismatic; as if he brought over any considerable part of the deluded people with him, or if he was generally chosen by the church, or the like; in such cases the rule was so far dispensed with, that the deserter might be admitted to his pristine dignity, and be allowed to officiate in his own order again. Upon this account, Cornelius, bishop of Rome, received Maximus the presbyter to his former honour upon his return from the Novatian schism.[55] And in after ages both the

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[54] Cypr. Ep. 62. p. 197. Si qui presbyteri aut diaconi qui vel in ecclesia catholica prius ordinati fuerint, et postmodum perfidi ac rebelles contra ecclesiam steterint, vel apud hæreticos a pseudo-episcopis et antichristis contra Christi dispositionem profana ordinatione promoti sunt—eos quoque hac conditione suscipi cum revertuntur, ut communicent laici, et satis habeant quod admittuntur ad pacem, qui hostes pacis extiterint, &c.

[55] Cornel. Ep. 46. al. 49. ad Cypr. p. 93. Maximum presbyterum locum suum agnoscere jussimus. See other instances in Socrates, lib. 7. c. 3.

Novatians and Meletians were particularly favoured with this privilege by the council of Nice, and the Donatists by the African fathers in the time of St. Austin, as I had occasion to note more than once before.[56] But if they continued obstinate in their heresy or schism, then many times an anathema was pronounced against them, as in the second council of Carthage. If a presbyter, says the canon,[57] that is reproved or excommunicated by his bishop, being puffed up with pride, shall presume to offer the oblation in a separate assembly, or set up another altar against him, let him be anathema. The council of Antioch,[58] and those called the Apostolical Canons,[59] have several decrees of the like nature. Yea, so careful were the clergy to be of the unity of the church, that they were not to give any encouragement to heretics or schismatics, or excommunicated persons, by communicating with them in prayer or other holy offices of the church, or so much as frequenting their society, feasting with them, or the like. But I do not enlarge upon these things here, because, being matters of discipline, they will come again to be considered under that head in another place.

I have now gone through some of the chief general duties, which more immediately concerned the office and function of the clergy; and by mixing public rules with private directions and great examples, have made such an essay towards the idea and character of a primitive clerk, as may (I hope) in some things excite both the emulation and curiosity of many of my readers, who may be concerned to imitate the pattern I have been describing. If here it be not drawn so full, or so exactly to the life in all its beauties, as they could wish, they will find their account in satisfying their curiosity, by having recourse to the fountains themselves, from whence these materials were taken. For many things, that might here have been added, were purposely omitted, for fear of drawing out this part of the discourse to a greater length than would consist with the design and measures of the present undertaking: and I had rather be thought to have said too little, than too much, upon this head, that I might not cloy, but leave an edge upon the appetite of the inquisitive reader.

CHAPTER IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OTHER LAWS AND RULES, WHICH WERE A SORT OF OUT-GUARDS AND FENCES TO THE FORMER.

Sect. 1. No clergyman allowed to desert or relinquish his station without just grounds and leave.

HAVING thus far discoursed both of such laws as related to the life and conversation of the primitive clergy, and of those that more immediately concerned the duties and offices of their function; I come now to speak of a third sort of laws, which were like the Jews' *sepimenta legis*, a sort of by-laws and rules, made for the defence and guard of the two former. Among these we may reckon such laws as were made to fix the clergy to their proper business and calling; such as that which forbade any clergyman to desert or relinquish his station, without just grounds or leave granted by his superiors. In the African church, as has been showed before,[1] from the time that any man was made a reader, or entered in any of the lower orders of the church, he was presumed to be dedicated to the service of God, so as thenceforth not to be at liberty to turn secular again at his own pleasure. And much more did this rule hold for bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Therefore Cyril of Alexandria, as he is cited by Harmenopulus,[2] says in one of his canons, that it was contrary to the laws of the church for any priest to give in a libel of resignation: for if he be worthy, he ought to continue in his ministry; if he be unworthy, he should not have the privilege of resigning, but be condemned and ejected. The council of Chalcedon orders[3] all such to be anathematized, as forsook their orders to take upon them any military office or secular dignity, unless they repented and returned to the employment, which for God's sake they had first chosen. The council of Tours[4] in like manner decrees, that whoever of the clergy desert their order and office, to follow a secular life and calling again, shall be punished with excommunication. The civil law was also very severe upon such deserters. By an order of Arcadius and Honorius,[5] they are condemned to serve *in curia* all their lives, that they might never have the privilege of resuming the clerical life again. And by a law of Justinian's,[6] both monks and clerks so deserting, were to forfeit whatever

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[56] Book IV. chap. 7. sect. 7 and 8.

[57] Conc. Carth. 2. c. 8. Si quis forte presbyter ab episcopo suo correptus vel excommunicatus, tumore vel superbia inflatus, putaverit separatim Deo sacrificia offerenda, vel aliud erigendum altare—anathema sit.

[58] Conc. Antioch. c. 4 et 5. [59] Canon. Apost. c. 32.

[1] Book III. chap. 1. sect. 5.

[2] Harmenopul. Epit. Can. ap. Leunclav. Jus Græc. Rom. t. 1. p. 11. Παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς, τὸ λιβέλλους παραιτήσεων προσάγειν τινὰς τῶν ἱερουργῶν, &c.

[3] Conc. Chalced. c. 7. Τοὺς ἅπαξ ἐν κλήρῳ τεταγμένους, μήτε ἐπὶ στρατείαν μήτε ἐπὶ ἀξίαν κοσμικὴν ἔρχεσθαι, &c.

[4] Conc. Turon. c. 5. Si quis clericus, relicto officii sui ordine, laicam voluerit agere vitam, vel se militiæ tradiderit, excommunicationis pœna feriatur.

[5] Cod. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 39. Si qui professum sacræ religionis sponte dereliquerit, continuo sibi eum curia vindicet: ut liber illi ultra ad ecclesiam recursus esse non possit.

[6] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 55. Quod si

estate they were possessed of, to the church or monastery to which they belonged.

Sect. 2. Yet in some cases a resignation was allowed of.

But this rule, as it was intended for the benefit of the church, to keep the clergy to their duty; so when the benefit of the church, or any other reasonable cause, required the contrary, might be dispensed with: and we find many such resignations or renunciations practised, and some allowed by general councils. For not to mention the case of disability by reason of old age, sickness, or other infirmity, in which it was usual for bishops to turn over their business to a coadjutor; of which I have given a full account in a former book;[7] there were two other cases, which come nearer to the matter in hand. One was, when a bishop, through the obstinacy, hatred, or disgust of any people, found himself incapable of doing them any service, and that the burden was an intolerable oppression to him; in that case, if he desired to renounce, his resignation was accepted. Thus Gregory Nazianzen renounced the see of Constantinople, and betook himself to a private life, because the people grew factious, and murmured at him, as being a stranger. And this he did with the consent and approbation of the general council of Constantinople, as not only the historians, Theodoret[8] and Socrates,[9] but he himself testifies[10] in many places of his writings. After the same manner, Theodoret says,[11] Meletius, the famous bishop of Antioch, when he was bishop of Sebastia in Armenia, was so offended with the rebellious temper and contumacy of a perverse and froward people, that he abandoned them, and retired likewise to a private life. So Theodorus Lector tells us,[12] how Martyrius, bishop of Antioch, being offended at the factiousness of his people and clergy, upon the intrusion of Peter Fullo, renounced his church with these words: "A contumacious clergy, a rebellious people, a profane church, I bid adieu to them all, reserving to myself the dignity of priesthood." Another case was, when in charity a bishop resigned, or showed himself willing to resign, to cure some inveterate schism. Thus Chrysostom[13] told his people, that if they had any suspicion of him, as if he were a usurper, he was ready to quit his government when they pleased, if that was necessary to preserve the unity of the church. And so Theodoret[14] tells us, that in the dispute between Flavian and Evagrius, the two bishops of Antioch, when Theodosius the emperor sent for Flavian, and ordered him to go and have his cause decided at Rome; he bravely answered, "Great sir, if any accuse my faith as erroneous, or my life as unqualifying me for a bishopric, I will freely let my accusers be my judges, and stand to their sentence, whatever it be: but if the dispute be only about the throne, and government of the church, I shall not stay for judgment, nor contend with any that has a mind to it, but freely recede, and abdicate the throne of my own accord. And you, sir, may commit the see of Antioch to whom you please." The emperor looked upon this as a noble and generous answer, and was so affected with it, that instead of obliging him to go to Rome, he sent him home again, and bade him go feed the church committed to his care: nor would he ever after hearken to the bishops of Rome, though they often solicited him to expel him. There is one instance more of this nature which I cannot omit, because it is such an example of self-denial, and despising of private interest for the public good and peace and unity of the church, as deserves to be transmitted to posterity, and to be spoken of with the highest commendations. It was the proposal which Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, and St. Austin, with the rest of the African bishops, made to the Donatists at the opening of the conference of Carthage; that to put an end to the schism, wherever there was a catholic and a Donatist bishop in the same city, they should both of them[15] resign, and suffer a new one to be chosen. For why, say they, should we scruple to offer the sacrifice of such an humility to our Redeemer? Did he descend from heaven to assume our nature, and make us his members? And shall we make any doubt to descend from our chairs, to prevent his members being torn to pieces by a cruel schism? We bishops are ordained for the people of Christ. What therefore is most conducive to the peace of Christian people, we ought to do in reference to our episcopacy. If we be profitable servants, why should we envy the eternal gain of our Lord for our own temporal honours? Our episcopal dignity will be so much the more advantageous to us, if by laying it aside we gather together the flock of Christ, than if we disperse his flock by retaining it. And with what face can we hope for the honour which Christ has promised us in the world to come, if our honours in this world hinder the unity of his church? By this we see there were some cases, in which it was lawful for men to renounce even the episcopal office, and betake themselves to a private life; the grand rule being, in these and all other cases, to do

illi monasteria aut ecclesias relinquant, atque mundani fiant: omne ipsorum jus ad monasterium aut ecclesiam pertinet.

[7] Book II. chap. 13. sect. 4.
[8] Theod. lib. 5. c. 8.
[9] Soc. lib. 5. c. 7.
[10] Naz. Orat. 32. it. Carm. de Vita Sua.
[11] Theod. lib. 2. c. 31.
[12] Theodor. Lect. lib. 1. p. 555.
[13] Chrys. Hom. 11. in Ephes. p. 1110. "Ετοιμοι παραχωρῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς μόνον ἐκκλησία ἔστω μία.
[14] Theod. lib. 5. c. 23.
[15] Collat. Carthag. Die I. c. 16. Utrique de medio secedamus—Quid enim dubitemus redemptori nostro sacrificium istius humilitatis offerre? An vero ille de cœlis in membra humana descendit, ut membra ejus essemus? Et nos, ne ipsa ejus membra crudeli divisione lanientur, de cathedris descendere formidamus? &c.

what was most for the benefit and edification of the church, and sacrifice private interest to the advantage of the public.

Sect. 3. And canonical pensions sometimes granted in such cases.

In these cases, a bishop, after he had renounced, was not to intermeddle with the affairs of the church, to ordain, or perform any offices of the like nature, unless he was called to assist by some other bishop, or was commissioned by him as his delegate: yet he was allowed the title and honour and communion of a bishop, as the general council of Ephesus[16] determined it should be, in the case of Eustathius, bishop of Perga, and metropolitan of Pamphylia, who had renounced his bishopric, being an aged man, and thinking himself unable to discharge the duties of it. In such cases likewise, when any one receded with the approbation of a council, he was sometimes allowed to receive a moderate pension out of the bishopric for his maintenance. As it was in the case of Domnus, bishop of Antioch, who having been ejected, though unjustly, by Dioscorus in the second synod of Ephesus, yet quietly resigned the bishopric to Maximus: upon which account, Maximus desired leave of the council of Chalcedon, that he might allow him an annual pension out of the revenues of the church, which the council of Chalcedon[17] readily complied with. And this, as Richerius[18] ingenuously owns, was the ancient design and meaning of canonical pensions, which were not used to be granted but by the authority or approbation of a synod, and only to such as, having spent the greatest part of their life in the service of the church, desired to be disburdened of their office by reason of their age. For the reserving a pension out of a bishopric, which a man only resigns to take another, was a practice wholly unknown to former ages.

Sect. 4. No clergyman to remove from one diocese to another without the consent and letters dimissory of his own bishop.

Secondly, Another rule, designed to keep all clergymen strictly to their duty, was, That no one should remove from his own church or diocese, without the consent of the bishop to whose diocese he belonged. For as no one at first could be ordained *ἀπολελυμένως*, but must be fixed to some church at his first ordination; so neither, by the rules and discipline of the church then prevailing, might he exchange his station at pleasure, but must have his own bishop's licence, or letters dimissory, to qualify him to remove from one diocese to another. For this was the ancient right, which every bishop had in the clergy of his own church, that he could not be deprived of them without his own consent; but as well the party that deserted him, as the bishop that received him, were liable to be censured upon such a transgression. If any presbyter, deacon, or other clerk, say the Apostolical Canons,[19] forsake his own diocese to go to another, and there continue without the consent of his own bishop: we decree, that such a one shall no longer minister as a clerk, (especially if after admonition he refuse to return,) but only be admitted to communicate as a layman. And if the bishop, to whom they repair, still entertain them in the quality of clergymen, he shall be excommunicated as a master of disorder. The same rule is frequently repeated in the ancient councils, as that of Antioch,[20] the first and second of Arles,[21] the first and fourth of Carthage,[22] the first of Toledo,[23] and the council of Tours,[24] and Turin,[25] and the great council of Nice,[26] to whose canons it may be sufficient to refer the reader. I only observe, that this was the ancient use of letters dimissory, or, as they were then called, *ἀπολυτικαὶ, εἰρηνικαὶ, συστατικαὶ*, and *concessoriæ*, which were letters of licence granted by a bishop, for a clergyman to remove from his diocese to another; though we now take letters dimissory in another sense: but the old canons call those dimissory letters, which were given upon the occasion that I have mentioned. The council of Carthage gives them only the name of the bishop's letters,[27] but the council of Trullo[28] styles them expressly, dimissory; when, reinforcing all the ancient canons, it says, No clergyman of what degree soever shall be entertained in another church, *ἐκτὸς τῆς τοῦ οἰκείου ἐπισκόπου ἐγγράφου ἀπολυτικῆς*, without the dimissory letters of his own bishop; which he might grant or refuse as he saw proper occasion for it. For there was no law to compel him to grant it, whatever arts any clerk might use to gain a dismission any other way. St. Austin mentions a pretty strange case of this nature, that happened in his own diocese. One Timotheus, a subdeacon of his church, being desirous to leave his post under St. Austin, and go to Severus, a neighbouring bishop, protests upon oath to Severus that he would be no longer of St. Austin's church: upon this

[16] Conc. Ephes. Act. 7. in Epist. ad Synod. Pamphyliæ. Habeat episcopi nomen et honorem ac communionem, sic quidem ut neque ipse ordinet, neque in ecclesiam propria auctoritate ordinaturus veniat, nisi forte coassumatur, &c.

[17] Conc. Chalced. Act. 7. al. Act. 10. edit. Labbe. t. 4. p. 681.

[18] Richer. Hist. Concil. par. 1. c. 8. n. 30. p. 218. Nihil antiquitus consuetum fieri nisi synodice comprobatum; hincque jus pensionum canonicarum potest confirmari; quæ iis tantum tribui consueverant. qui magnam vitæ partem in ministerio consumserant, et propter ætatem se exonerabant episcopatu.

[19] Canon. Apost. c. 15 et 16. Vid. Conc. Chalced. can. 20.

[20] Conc. Antioch. c. 3. [21] Arelat. 1. c. 21. Arelat. 2. c. 13.

[22] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 5. Carth. 4. c. 27.

[23] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 12. [24] Conc. Turon. c. 11.

[25] Conc. Taurin. c. 7. [26] Conc. Nic. c. 16.

[27] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 5. Non licere clericum alienum ab aliquo suscipi sine literis episcopi sui, neque apud se retinere.

[28] Conc. Trull. c. 17.

Severus, pretending a reverence for his oath, writes to St. Austin, and tells him he could not return him his clerk for fear of making him guilty of perjury. To which St. Austin replied, That this opened a way to licentiousness, and there was an end[29] of all ecclesiastical order and discipline, if a bishop would pretend to keep another man's clerk upon such a scruple, for fear of being accessory to his perjury. This evidently implies, that there was no law then to compel a bishop to grant letters dimissory to his clerk; for if there had been any such, Timotheus needed not to have used the stratagem of an oath, but might have compelled St. Austin to have granted them. But the church then did not think fit to put it in every man's power to remove from one diocese to another at his own pleasure, but left every bishop sole judge in this case, as best knowing the necessities and circumstances of his own church, and whether it were expedient to part with the clergy which were ordained for her service.

Sect. 5. Laws against the βακάντιβοι, or wandering clergy.

The laws were no less severe against all wandering clergymen, whom some of the ancients call βακάντιβοι,[30] or *vacantivi*, by way of reproach. They were a sort of idle persons, who having deserted the service of their own church, would fix in no other, but went roving from place to place, as their fancy and their humour led them. Now, by the laws of the church no bishop was to permit any such to officiate in his diocese, nor indeed so much as to communicate in his church; because, having neither letters dimissory nor letters commendatory from their own bishop, (which every one ought to have that travelled,) they were to be suspected either as deserters, or as persons guilty of some misdemeanor, who fled from ecclesiastical censure. Therefore the laws forbade the admitting of such either to ecclesiastical or lay-communion. A presbyter or deacon, says the council of Agde,[31] that rambles about without the letters of his bishop, shall not be admitted to communion by any other. The council of Epone[32] repeats the decree in the same words. And the council of Valentia[33] in Spain orders such wandering and roving clerks, as will not settle to the constant performance and attendance of divine offices in the church, whereto they were deputed by the bishop that ordained them, to be deprived both of the communion and the honour of their order, if they persisted in their obstinacy and rebellion. So strict were the laws of the ancient church in tying the inferior clergy to the service of that church to which they were first appointed, that they might not upon any account move thence, but at the discretion of the bishop that ordained them.

Sect. 6. Laws against the translations of bishops from one see to another, how to be limited and understood.

Nor were the bishops so arbitrary in this matter, but that they themselves were under a like regulation, and liable to laws of the same nature. For as no clerk could remove from his own church without the licence of his bishop, so neither might any bishop pretend to translate or move himself to another see without the consent and approbation of a provincial council. Some few there were who thought it absolutely unlawful for a bishop to forsake his first see and betake himself to any other, because they looked upon his consecration to be a sort of marriage to his church, from which he could not divorce himself, nor take another without incurring the crime of spiritual adultery. To this purpose they wrested that passage of St. Paul, "A bishop must be the husband of one wife," taking it in a mystical and figurative sense, as St. Jerom[34] informs us. But this was but the private opinion of one or two authors, which never prevailed in the catholic church; whose prohibition of the translation of bishops was not founded upon any such reasons, but was only intended as a cautionary provision to prevent the ambition of aspiring men, that they might not run from lesser bishoprics to greater, without the authority of a provincial synod, which was the proper judge in such cases. Some canons indeed seem to forbid it absolutely and universally, as a thing not to be allowed in any case. The council of Nice,[35] and Sardica,[36] and some others, prohibit it without any exception or limitation. But other canons restrain it to the case of a bishop's intruding himself into another see by some sinister arts, without any legal authority from a provincial synod. So those called the Apostolical Canons[37] distinguish upon the matter: It shall not be lawful for a bishop to leave his diocese, and invade another, though many of the people would compel him to it; unless there be a reasonable cause, as that he may the more advantage the church by his preaching; and then he shall not do

[29] Aug. Ep. 240. ad Severum. Aditus aperitur ad dissolvendum ordinem ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, si alterius ecclesiæ clericus cuicunque juraverit, quod ab ipso non sit recessurus, eum secum esse permittat: ideo se facere affirmans, ne author sit ejus perjurii, &c.

[30] Synes. Ep. 67.

[31] Conc. Agathen. c. 52. Presbytero sive diacono sine antistitis sui epistolis ambulanti communionem nullus impendat.

[32] Conc. Epaunens. c. 6.

[33] Conc. Valentin. c. 5. Vagus atque instabilis clericus, si episcopi, a quo ordinatus est, præceptis non obedierit, ut in delegata sibi ecclesia officium dependat assiduum, quousque in vitio permanserit, et communione et honore privetur.

[34] Hieron. Ep. 83. ad Oceanum. t. 2. p. 321. Quidam coacte interpretantur uxores pro ecclesiis, viros pro episcopis debere accipi, &c.

[35] Conc. Nic. c. 15.

[36] Conc. Sardic. c. 1 et 2. Conc. Antioch. can. 21. Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 38.

[37] Canon. Apost. c. 14.

it of his own head, but by the judgment and entreaty of many bishops, that is, a provincial synod. The fourth council of Carthage distinguishes[38] much after the same manner: A bishop shall not remove himself from an obscure to a more honourable place out of ambition, but if the advantage of the church require it, he may be translated by the order and decree of a provincial synod. Schelstrate[39] and some other learned persons think, that these canons were a correction of the former, the one allowing what the other had positively forbidden. But this is not at all probable: it is more reasonable to think, that though, in the Nicene and Sardican canons, these exceptions are not expressed, yet they are to be understood: because the council of Nice itself translated Eustathius, bishop of Beræa, to Antioch, as Mr. Pagi[40] rightly observes out of Sozomen,[41] and other historians of the church; which had been to break and affront their own rule at the very first, had it meant, that it should not be lawful in any case to translate a bishop from one see to another. We must conclude, then, that the design of all these canons was the same, to prevent covetousness, ambition, and love of pre-eminence in aspiring men, who thrust themselves into other sees by irregular means, by a faction, or the mere favour of the people, without staying for the choice or consent of a synod; which was the common practice of the Arian party in the time of Constantine and Constantius, and occasioned so many laws to be made against it. But when a synod of bishops in their judgment and discretion thought it necessary to translate a bishop from a lesser to a greater see for the benefit and advantage of the church, there was no law to prohibit this, but there are a thousand instances of such promotions to be met with in ancient history, as Socrates[42] has observed long ago, who has collected a great many instances to this purpose. Those that please may see more in Cotelerius[43] and Bishop Beveridge,[44] for in so plain a case I do not think it necessary to be more particular in my account of them, but proceed with other laws of the church which concerned the clergy.

Sect. 7. Laws concerning the residence of the clergy.

The next laws of this nature were such as concerned the residence of the clergy; the design of which was the same as all the former, to bind them to constant attendance upon their duty. And these laws equally concerned bishops and all the inferior clergy. The council of Sardica has several canons relating to this matter. The seventh decrees, that no bishop should go εἰς ϛρατόπεδον, to the emperor's court, unless the emperor by letter called him thither. The next canon[45] provides, that whereas there might be several cases, which might require a bishop to make some application to the emperor in behalf of the poor, or widows, or such as fled for sanctuary to the church, and condemned criminals, and the like: in such cases the deacons or subdeacons of the church were to be employed to go in his name, that the bishop might fall under no censure at court, as neglecting the business of his church. Justinian[46] has a law of the same import with these canons, That no bishop should appear at court upon any business of his church without the command of the prince: but if any petition was to be preferred to the emperor, relating to any civil contest, the bishop should depute his *apocrisarius*, or resident at court, to act for him, or send his *œconomus*, or some other of his clergy, to solicit the cause in his name; that the church might neither receive damage by his absence, nor be put to unnecessary expenses. Another canon[47] of the council of Sardica limits the absence of a bishop from his church to three weeks, unless it were upon some very weighty and urgent occasion. And another canon[48] allows the same time for a bishop, who is possessed of an estate in another diocese, to go and collect his revenues, provided he celebrate Divine service every Lord's day in the country church where his estate lies. And by two other canons[49] of that council, presbyters and deacons are limited to the same term of absence, and tied to the forementioned rules in the same manner as bishops were. The council of Agde[50] made the like order for the French churches, decreeing, That a presbyter or deacon, who was absent from his church for three weeks, should be three years suspended from the communion. In the African churches, upon the account of this residence, every bishop's house was to be near the church,[51] by a rule of the fourth council of Carthage. And in the fifth council there is another rule,[52] That every bishop shall have his residence at his principal or cathedral church, which he shall not leave, to betake himself

[38] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 27. Ut episcopus de loco ignobili ad nobilem per ambitionem non transeat.—Sane si id utilitas ecclesiæ fiendum poposcerit, decreto pro eo clericorum et laicorum episcopis porrecto, per sententiam synodi transferatur.

[39] Schelstrat. de Concil. Antioch. can. 21. p. 614.

[40] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 324. n. 22.

[41] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 2.

[42] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 36.

[43] Cotéler. Not. in Can. Apost. c. 14.

[44] Bevereg. Not. in eundem Canon.

[45] Conc. Sardic. c. 8.

[46] Just. Novel. 6. c. 2.

[47] Conc. Sardic. c. 11.

[48] Ibid. c. 12.

[49] Ibid. c. 16 et 17.

[50] Conc. Agathen. c. 64. Diaconus vel presbyter, si per tres hebdomadas ab ecclesia sua defuerit triennio a communione suspendatur.

[51] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 14. Ut episcopus non longe ab ecclesia hospitiolum habeat.

[52] Conc. Carthag. 5. c. 5. Placuit ut nemini sit facultas, relicta principali cathedra, ad aliquam ecclesiam in diœcesi constitutam se conferre: vel intro propria diutius quam oportet constitutum, curam vel frequentationem propriæ cathedræ negligere.

to any other church in his diocese; nor continue upon his private concerns, to the neglect of his cure, and hinderance of his frequenting the cathedral church. From this it appears, that the city church was to be the chief place of the bishop's residence and cure: and Cabassutius,[53] in his remarks upon this canon, reflects upon the French bishops, as transgressing the ancient rule, in spending the greatest part of the year upon their pleasure in the country. Yet there is one thing that seems a difficulty in this matter; for Justinian[54] says, no bishop shall be absent from his church above a whole year, unless he has the emperor's command for it. Which implies, that a bishop might be absent from his bishopric a year in ordinary cases, and more in extraordinary. But I conceive the meaning of this is, that he might be absent a year during his whole life; not year after year; for that would amount to a perpetual absence, which it was not the intent of the law to grant, but to tie them up to the direct contrary, except the prince, upon some extraordinary affair, thought fit to grant them a particular dispensation.

Sect. 8. Of pluralities and the laws made about them.

Another rule, grounded upon the same reasons with the former, was the inhibition of pluralities; which concerned both bishops and the inferior clergy. As to bishops, it appears plainly from St. Ambrose, that it was not thought lawful for a bishop to have two churches. For speaking of those words of the apostle, "A bishop must be the husband of one wife," he says, If we look[55] only to the superficies of the letter, it forbids a digamist to be ordained bishop; but if we penetrate a little deeper to the profounder sense, it prohibits a bishop to have two churches. That is, wherever there were two dioceses before, it was not lawful for one bishop to usurp them both, except where the wisdom of the church and state thought it most convenient to join them into one. And it is remarkable, that though there be many instances of bishops removing from lesser sees to greater, yet there is no example in all ancient history, that I remember, of any such bishops holding both together; no, not among the Arians themselves, who were the least concerned in observing rules of any other. As to the case of the inferior clergy, we must distinguish betwixt diocesan and parochial churches, and between the office and the benefit in parochial churches. The circumstances and necessities of the church might sometimes require a presbyter or deacon to officiate in more than one parochial church, when there was a scarcity of ministers; but the revenues of such churches did not thereupon belong to him, because they were paid into the common stock of the city or cathedral church, from whence he had his monthly or yearly portion in the division of the whole, as has been noted before. And this makes it further evident, that in those early ages there could be no such thing as plurality of benefices, but only a plurality of offices in the same diocese, within such a district, as that a man might personally attend and officiate in two parochial churches. But then, as to different dioceses, it being ordinarily impossible that a man should attend a cure in two dioceses, the canons are very express in prohibiting any one from having a name in two churches, or partaking of the revenues of both. The council of Chalcedon[56] has a peremptory canon to this purpose: It shall not be lawful for any clergyman to have his name in the church roll or catalogue of two cities at the same time, that is, in the church where he was first ordained, and any other to which he flies out of ambition as to a greater church; but all such shall be returned to their own church, where they were first ordained, and only minister there. But if any one is regularly removed from one church to another, he shall not partake of the revenues of the former church, or of any oratory, hospital, or alms-house, belonging to it. And such as shall presume, after this definition of this great and œcumenical council, to transgress in this matter, are condemned to be degraded by the holy synod. And that none might pretend, under any other notion, to evade this law, the same rule was made for monasteries, that one abbot should not preside over two monasteries at the same time. Which provision is made by the council of Agde[57] and Epone, and confirmed by the imperial laws of Justinian,[58] who inserted it into his Code. Now, the design of all these laws was to oblige the clergy to constant attendance upon their duty in the church where they were first ordained; from which if they once removed, whether with licence or without, to any other diocese, they were no longer to enjoy any dividend in the church or diocese to which they first belonged. And this rule continued for several ages after the council of Chalcedon, being renewed in the second council of Nice,[59] and other later councils.

[53] Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. 44. Huic canoni contraveniunt episcopi, qui magna parte anni rure versantur et deliciantur.

[54] Just. Novel. 6. c. 2. Et illud etiam definimus, ut nemo Deo amabilium episcoporum foris a sua ecclesia plusquam per totum annum abesse audeat. nisi hoc per imperialem fiat jussionem.

[55] Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 4. Si ad superficiem tantum literæ respiciamus, prohibet bigamum episcopum ordinari: si vero ad altiorem sensum conscendimus, inhibet episcopum duas usurpare ecclesias.

[56] Conc. Chalced. c. 10. Μὴ ἐξεῖναι κληρικὸν ἐν δύο πόλεων κατ' αὐτὸν καταλέγεσθαι ἐκκλησίαις, &c.

[57] Conc. Agathen. c. 57. Unum abbatem duobus monasteriis interdicimus præsidere. Vid. Conc. Epaunens. c. 9.

[58] Cod. Just. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 40. Non sit vero abbas duorum monasteriorum.

[59] Conc. Nic. 2. c. 15.

Sect. 9. Laws prohibiting the clergy to take upon them secular business, and offices.

In pursuance of the same design, to keep the clergy strict and constant to their duty, laws were also made to prohibit them from following any secular employment, which might divert them too much from their proper business and calling. Among those called the Apostolical Canons, there are three to this purpose. One of which says,[60] No bishop, presbyter, or deacon, shall take upon him any worldly cares, under pain of degradation. Another says,[61] No bishop or presbyter shall concern himself in any secular offices or administrations, that he may have more time to attend the needs and business of the church; and this under the same penalty of degradation. The last says,[62] A bishop, presbyter, or deacon, that busies himself in any secular office, and is minded to hold both a place in the Roman government and an office in the church, shall be deposed. For the things of Cæsar belong to Cæsar, and the things of God to God. Balsamon and Zonaras take this canon to mean only the prohibition of holding military offices, because it uses the word *στρατεία*: but I have showed before, out of Gothofred and others, that the word *στρατεία* and *militia* are used by the Romans in a larger signification, to denote all kinds of secular offices, as well civil as military: and therefore they more rightly interpret this canon,[63] who understand it as a prohibition of holding any secular office, civil as well as military, with an ecclesiastical one, as things incompatible and inconsistent with one another. Eusebius[64] informs us, from the epistle of the council of Antioch that deposed Paulus Samosatensis, that among other crimes alleged against him, this was one, that he took upon him secular places, and preferred the title of *ducenarius* before that of bishop. The *ducenarii*, among the Romans, were a sort of civil officers, so called from their receiving a salary of two hundred *sestertia* from the emperor, as Valesius observes[65] out of Dio. And this makes it plain, that the intent of the canons was to prohibit the clergy from meddling with civil offices, as well as military. Only in some extraordinary cases, where the matter was a business of great necessity or charity, we meet with an instance or two of a bishop's joining an ecclesiastical and civil office together without any censure. As Theodoret[66] notes of the famous Jacobus Nisibensis, that he was both bishop and prince, or governor, of Nisibis, or Antioch in Mygdonia, a city in the confines of the Persian and Roman empires. Theodoret represents him as a man of great fame in his country for his miracles, by which he sometimes relieved the city when besieged by the Persians. And it is probable, in regard to this, the emperors Constantine and Constantius pitched upon him, as the properest person to take the government of the city upon him, being a place in great danger, and very much exposed to the incursions of the Persians. But such instances are but rarely met with in ancient history.

Sect. 10. Laws prohibiting the clergy to be tutors and guardians, how far extended.

In some times and places the laws of the church were so strict about this matter, that they would not suffer a bishop or presbyter to be left trustee to any man's will, or a tutor or guardian in pursuance of it: because it was thought this would be too great an avocation from his other business. There is a famous case in Cyprian relating to this matter. He tells us, it had been determined by an African synod, that no one should appoint any of God's ministers a curator or guardian by his will, because they were to give themselves to supplications and prayer, and to attend only upon the sacrifice and service of the altar. And therefore, when one Geminius Victor had made Geminius Faustinus, a presbyter of the church of Furni, guardian or trustee by his last will and testament, contrary to the decree of the foresaid council; Cyprian[67] wrote to the church of Furni, that they should execute the sentence of the council against Victor, which was, That no annual commemoration should be made of him in the church, nor any prayer be offered in his name (according to the custom of the church in those times) in the sacrifice of the altar. This was a sort of excommunication after death, by denying to receive such a person's oblations, and refusing to name him at the altar among others that made their offerings, and neither honouring him with the common prayers or praises that were then put up to God for all the faithful that were dead in the Lord. This was the punishment of such as transgressed this rule in the days of Cyprian. And in the following ages the canon was renewed, but with a little difference. For though bishops were absolutely and universally forbidden[68] to take this office upon them, both by the ecclesi-

[60] Can. Apost. c. 7. Κοσμικὰς φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβανέτω, εἰδὲ μὴ, καθαιρέσθω.

[61] Ibid. c. 81. Ὅτι μὴ χρὴ ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον καθιέναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς δημοσίας διοικήσεις, &c.

[62] Ibid. c. 83. Στρατείᾳ ἀχολάζων, καὶ βουλόμενος ἀμφότερα κατέχειν, Ῥωμαικὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν διοίκησιν, καθαιρέσθω.

[63] Bevereg. Not. in Can. Apost. c. 83.

[64] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. Κοσμικὰ ἀξιώματα ὑποδυόμενος, καὶ δουκηνάριος μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπίσκοπος θέλων καλεῖσθαι.

[65] Valesius in loc. Ducenarii dicebantur procuratores, qui ducenta sestertia annui salarii nomine accipiebant a principe. Ex Dione, lib. 53.

[66] Theod. lib. 2. c. 30.

[67] Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 1. ad Cler. Furnitan. p. 3. Ideo Victor cum contra formam nuper in concilio a sacerdotibus datam, Geminium Faustinum presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constituere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur.

[68] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 18. Ut episcopus tuitionem testamentorum non suscipiat.

astical and civil law; yet presbyters and deacons, and all the inferior clergy, were allowed to be tutors and guardians to such persons as by right of kindred[69] might claim this as a duty from them. But still the prohibition stood in force against their being concerned in that office for any other, that were not of their relations, as appears from one of Justinian's Novels, which was made to settle this matter in the church.

Sect. 11. Laws against their being sureties, and pleading causes at the bar in behalf of themselves or their churches.

By other laws they were prohibited from taking upon them the office of pleaders at the bar in any civil contest, though it were in their own case, or the concerns of the church: neither might they be bondsmen or sureties for any other man's appearance in such causes: because it was thought, that such sort of encumbrances might bring detriment to the church, in distracting her ministers from constant attendance upon Divine service, as appears both from the foresaid Novel[70] of Justinian, and some ancient canons,[71] which forbid a clergyman to become a sponsor in any such cause under the penalty of deprivation.

Sect. 12. Laws against their following secular trades and merchandise.

Now, as all these offices and employments were forbidden the clergy upon the account of being consumers of their time, and hinderances of Divine service; so there were some others prohibited, not only upon this account, but also upon the notion of their being generally attended with covetousness and filthy lucre. Thus, in the first council of Carthage[72] we find several prohibitions of clergymen's becoming stewards or accountants to laymen. The third council[73] forbids both that, and also their taking any houses or lands to farm, and generally all business that was disreputable and unbecoming their calling. The second council of Arles[74] likewise forbids their farming other men's estates, or following any trade or merchandise for filthy lucre's sake, under the penalty of deprivation. The general council of Chalcedon[75] has a canon to the same purpose, That no monk or clergyman shall rent any estate, or take upon him the management of any secular business, except the law called him to be guardian to orphans, (in the case that has been spoken of before, as being their next relation,) or else the bishop made him steward of the church revenues, or overseer of the widows, orphans, and such others as stood in need of the church's care and assistance. And here the reason given for making this canon is, that some of the clergy were found to neglect the service of God, and live in laymen's houses as their stewards, for covetousness and filthy lucre's sake. Which was an old complaint made by Cyprian[76] in that sharp invective of his against some of the bishops of his own age, who were so far gone in this vice of covetousness, as to neglect the service of God to follow worldly business; leaving their sees, and deserting their people, to ramble about in quest of gainful trades in other countries, to the provocation of the Divine vengeance, and flagrant scandal of the church. So that these being the reasons of making such laws, we are to judge of the nature of the laws themselves by the intent and design of them; which was to correct such manifest abuses, as covetousness and neglect of Divine service, which either as cause or effect too often attended the clergy's engagement of themselves in secular business.

Sect. 13. What limitations and exceptions these laws admitted of.

But in some cases it was reasonable to presume, that their engagements of this nature were separate from these vices. For in some times and places, where the revenues of the church were very small, and not a competent maintenance for all the clergy, some of them, especially among the inferior orders, were obliged to divide themselves between the service of the church and some secular calling. Others, who found they had time enough to spare, negociated out of charity, to bestow their gains in the relief of the poor, and other pious uses. And some, who, before their entrance into orders, had been brought up to an ascetic and philosophic life, wherein they wrought at some honest manual calling with their own hands, continued to work in the same manner, though not in the same measure, even after they were made presbyters and bishops in the church, for the exercise of their humility, or to answer some other end of a Christian life. Now, in all these cases, the vices complained of in the forementioned

[69] Just. Novel. 123. c. 5. Episcopos et monachos ex nulla lege tutores aut curatores cujuscunque personæ fieri concedimus. Presbyteros autem et diaconos et subdiaconos, si jure ac lege cognationis ad tutelam aut curam vocentur, ejusmodi munus suscipere concedimus. Vid. Concil. Chalced. c. 3.

[70] Just. Novel. 123. c. 6. Sed neque procuratorem litis, aut fidejussorem pro talibus causis episcopum, aut alium clericum, proprio nomine, aut ecclesiæ sinimus: ne per hanc occasionem sacra ministeria impediantur.

[71] Canon. Apost. c. 20. Κληρικὸς ἐγγύας διδοὺς καθαιρέσθω. Vid. Constitut. Apost. lib. 2. c. 6.

[72] Conc. Carth. 1. c. 6. Qui serviunt Deo, et annexi sunt clero, non accedant ad actus seu administrationem vel procurationem domorum. Ibid. c. 9. Laicis non liceat clericos nostros eligere apothecarios vel ratiocinatores.

[73] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 15. Clerici non sint conductores, neque procuratores, neque ullo turpi vel inhonesto negotio victum quærant.

[74] Conc. Arelat. 1. al. 2. c. 14. Siquis clericus conductor alienæ rei voluerit esse aut turpis lucri gratia aliquod genus negotiationis exercuerit, depositus a clero, a communione alienus habeatur.

[75] Conc. Chalced. c. 3.

[76] Cypr. de Lapsis, p. 123. Episcopi plurimi Divina procuratione contempta, procuratores rerum sæcularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, glebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari, &c.

laws, as the reasons of the prohibition, had no share or concern: for such men's negociations were neither the effects of covetousness, nor attended properly with any neglect of Divine service; and consequently not within the prohibition and censure of the laws. For first, both the laws of church and state allowed the inferior clergy to work at an honest calling in cases of necessity, to provide themselves of a liberal maintenance, when the revenues of the church could not do it. In the fourth council of Carthage[77] there are three canons immediately following one another to this purpose, that they should provide themselves of food and raiment at some honest trade or husbandry, without hindering the duties of their office in the church: and such of them as were able to labour, should be taught some trade and letters together. And the laws of the state were so far from hindering this, that they encouraged such of the clergy to follow an honest calling, by granting them a special immunity from the *chrysargyrum*, or lustral tax, which was exacted of all other tradesmen, as I have showed more at large in another place.[78] Secondly, It was lawful also to spend their leisure hours upon any manual trade or calling, when it was to answer some good end of charity thereby: as that they might not be overburdensome to the church; or might have some superfluities to bestow upon the indigent and needy; or even that they might set the laity a provoking example of industry and diligence in their callings. Which were those worthy ends, which the holy apostle St. Paul proposed to himself in labouring with his own hands at the trade of tent-making: after whose example many eminent bishops of the ancient church were not ashamed to employ their spare hours in some honest labour, to promote the same ends of charity, which the apostle so frequently inculcates. Thus Sozomen observes[79] of Zeno, bishop of Maiuma in Palestine, that he lived to be a hundred years old, all which time he constantly attended both morning and evening the service of the church, and yet found time to work at the trade of a linen weaver, by which he not only subsisted himself, but relieved others, though he lived in a rich and wealthy church. Epiphanius makes a more general observation against the Massalian heretics, (who were great encouragers of idleness,) that not only all those of a monastic life, but also many of the priests of God,[80] imitating their holy father in Christ St. Paul, wrought with their own hands at some honest trade, that was no dishonour to their dignity, and consistent with their constant attendance upon their ecclesiastical duties; by which means they had both what was necessary for their own subsistence, and to give to others that stood in need of their relief. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions[81] brings in the apostles recommending industry in every man's calling from their own example, that they might have wherewith to sustain themselves, and supply the needs of others. Which though it be not an exact representation of the apostles' practice, (for we do not read of any other apostle's labouring with his own hands, except St. Paul, whilst he preached the gospel,) yet it serves to show what sense that author had of this matter; that he did not think it simply unlawful for a clergyman to labour at some secular employment, when the end was charity, and not filthy lucre. And it is observable, that the imperial laws for some time granted the same immunity from the lustral tax to the inferior clergy, that traded with a charitable design to relieve others, as to those that traded out of necessity for their own maintenance; of both which I have given an account in another place. Thirdly, We have some instances of very eminent bishops, who, out of humility and love of a philosophical and laborious life, spent their vacant hours in some honest business, to which they had been accustomed in their former days. Thus Ruffin,[82] and Socrates,[83] and Sozomen[84] tell us of Spiridion, bishop of Trimithus in Cyprus, one of the most eminent bishops in the council of Nice, a man famous for the gift of prophecy and miracles, that having been a shepherd before, he continued to employ himself in that calling, out of his great humility, all his life. But then he made his actions and the whole tenor of his life demonstrate, that he did it not out of covetousness. For Sozomen particularly notes, that whatever his product was, he either distributed it among the poor, or lent it without usury to such as needed to borrow, whom he trusted to take out of his storehouse what they pleased, and return what they pleased, without ever examining or taking any account of them. Fourthly, I observe, that those laws which were most severe against the superior clergy's negociating in any secular business, in cases of necessity allowed them a privilege, which was equivalent to it: that is, that they might employ others to factor for them, so long as they were not concerned in their own persons. For so the council of Eliberis[85] words it:

[77] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 51. Clericus quantumlibet verbo Dei eruditus, artificio victum quærat. Ibid. c. 52. Clericus victum et vestimentum sibi, artificiolo vel agricultura, absque officii sui duntaxat detrimento, præparet. Ibid. c. 53. Omnes clerici, qui ad operandum validi sunt, et artificiola et literas discant.

[78] Book V. chap. 3. sect. 6.

[79] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 28.

[80] Epiphan. Hær. 80. Massalian. n. 6.

[81] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 63.

[82] Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 5. Hic pastor ovium etiam in episcopatu positus permansit.

[83] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 12. Διὰ δὲ ἀτυφίαν πολλὴν, ἐχόμενος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐποίμαινε καὶ τὰ πρόβατα.

[84] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 11.

[85] Conc. Eliber. c. 19. Episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi, de locis suis negotiandi causa non discedant, nec circumeuntes provincias, quæstuosas nundinas sectentur. Sane ad victum sibi conquirendum, aut filium, aut libertum, aut mercena-

Bishops, presbyters, and deacons shall not leave their station to follow a secular calling, nor rove into other provinces after fairs and markets. But yet, to provide themselves a livelihood, they may employ a son, or a freeman, or a hired servant, or a friend, or any other; and if they negociate, let them negociate within their own province. So that all these laws were justly tempered with great wisdom and prudence; that as, on the one hand, the service of God and the needs of his ministers and servants might be supplied together; so, on the other, no encouragement should be given to covetousness in the clergy, nor any one be countenanced in the neglect of his proper business, by a licence to lead a wandering, busy, distracted life, which did not become those that were dedicated to the sacred function. It is against these only, that all the severe invectives of St. Jerom,[86] and others of the ancients,[87] are levelled, which the reader must interpret with the same limitations, and distinction of cases, as we have done the public laws: the design of both being only to censure the vices of the rich, who, without any just reason or necessity, immersed themselves in the cares of a secular life, contrary to the rules and tenor of their profession.

Sect. 14. Laws respecting their outward conversation.

Another sort of laws were made respecting their outward behaviour, to guard them equally against scandal in their character, and danger in their conversation. Such were the laws against corresponding and conversing too familiarly with Jews and Gentile philosophers. The council of Eliberis[88] forbids them to eat with the Jews under pain of suspension. The council of Agde[89] has a canon to the same purpose, forbidding them to give, as well as receive, an entertainment from the Jews. And those called the Apostolical Canons,[90] not only prohibit them to fast or feast with the Jews, but to receive *τῆς ἑορτῆς ξένια*, any of those portions or presents, which they were used to send to one another upon their festivals. And the laws against conversing with Gentile philosophers were much of the same nature. For Sozomen[91] says, Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, excommunicated the two Apollinarii, father and son, because they went to hear Epiphanius the sophist speak his hymn in the praise of Bacchus; which was not so agreeable to their character, the one being a presbyter, the other a deacon in the Christian church. It was in regard to their character likewise, that other canons restrained them from eating or drinking in a tavern, except they were upon a journey, or some such necessary occasion required them to do it. For among those called the Apostolical Canons,[92] and the decrees of the councils of Laodicea[93] and Carthage,[94] there are several rules to this purpose; the strictness of which is not much to be wondered at, since Julian required the same caution in his heathen priests, that they should neither appear at the public theatres, nor in any taverns, under pain of deposition from their office of priesthood, as may be seen in his letter to Arsacius, high priest of Galatia, which Sozomen[95] records, and other fragments of his writings.

Sect. 15. Laws relating to their habit.

To this sort of laws we may reduce those ancient rules, which concerned the garb and habit of the ancient clergy; in which such a decent mean was to be observed, as might keep them from obloquy and censure on both hands, either as too nice and critical, or too slovenly and careless in their dress: their habit being generally to be such, as might express the gravity of their minds without any superstitious singularities, and their modesty and humility without affectation. In this matter, therefore, their rules were formed according to the customs and opinions of the age, which are commonly the standard and measure of decency and indecency in things of this nature. Thus, for instance, long hair, and baldness by shaving the head or beard, being then generally reputed indecencies in contrary extremes, the clergy were obliged to observe a becoming mediocrity between them. This is the meaning of that controverted canon of the fourth council of Carthage, according to its true reading, that a clergyman shall neither indulge long hair, nor shave his beard: *Clericus nec comam nutriat*[96] *nec barbam radat.* The contrary custom being now in vogue in the church of Rome, Bellarmine[97] and many other writers of that side, who will have all their ceremonies to be apostolical, and to contain some great mystery in them, pretend, that the word *radat* should be left out of that ancient canon, to make it agreeable to the present practice. But the learned Savaro[98] proves the other to be the true reading, as well from the Vatican, as many other manuscripts. And even Spondanus himself[99] confesses as much.

rium, aut amicum, aut quemlibet mittant: et si voluerint negotiari, intra provinciam negotientur.

[86] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Negotiatorem clericum quasi pestem fuge, &c.

[87] Sulpic. Sever. Hist. lib. 1. p. 30. Tanta hoc tempore animos eorum habendi cupido veluti tabes incessit: inhiant possessionibus, prædia excolunt, auro incubant, emunt, venduntque quæstui, per omnia student, &c.

[88] Conc. Eliber. c. 50. Clericus qui cum Judæis cibum sumpserit, placuit eum a communione abstinere, ut debeat emendari.

[89] Conc. Agathen. c. 40. Omnes clerici Judæorum convivia evitent. Nec eos ad convivia quisquam excipiat.

[90] Canon. Apost. c. 70.

[91] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 25.

[92] Canon. Apost. c. 53.

[93] Conc. Laodic. c. 24.

[94] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 27.

[95] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 16. Vid. Julian. Fragment. Epist p. 547.

[96] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 44.

[97] Bellarm. de Monach. lib. 2. c. 40.

[98] Savaro, Not. in Sidonium, lib. 4. Ep. 24. p. 306.

[99] Spondan. Epit. Baron. an. 58. n. 58.

and thereupon takes occasion to correct Baronius for asserting, that in the time of Sidonius Apollinaris it was the custom of the French bishops to shave their beards: whereas the contrary appears from one of Sidonius his epistles,[100] that their custom then was to wear short hair and long beards, as he describes his friend Maximus Palatinus, who of a secular was become a clergyman: he says, his habit, his gait, his modesty, his countenance, his discourse were all religious; and agreeably to these, his hair was short, and his beard long. Custom, it seems, had then made it decent and becoming; and upon that ground the ancients are sometimes pretty severe against such of the clergy as transgressed in this point, as guilty of an indecency in going contrary to the rules and customs of the church, which were to be observed, though the thing was otherwise in itself of an indifferent nature.

Sect. 16. The tonsure of the ancients very different from that of the Romish church.

The Romanists are generally as much to blame in their accounts of the ancient tonsure of the clergy; which they describe in such a manner, as to make parallel to that shaving of the crown of the head by way of mystical rite, which is now the modern custom. Whereas this was so far from being required as a matter of decency among the ancients, that it was condemned and prohibited by them. Which may appear from that question, which Optatus puts to the Donatists, when he asks them, where they had a command[101] to shave the heads of the priests? as they had done by the catholic clergy in order to bring them to do public penance in the church. In which case, as Albaspinæus rightly notes,[102] it was customary to use shaving to baldness, and sprinkling the head with ashes, as signs of sorrow and repentance. But the priests of God were not to be thus treated. Which shows, that the ancients then knew nothing of this, as a ceremony belonging to the ordination or life of the clergy. Which is still more evident from what St. Jerom says upon those words of Ezekiel xliv. 20, "Neither shall they shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long; they shall only poll their heads." This, says he,[103] evidently demonstrates, that we ought neither to have our heads shaved, as the priests and votaries of Isis and Serapis; nor yet to suffer our hair to grow long, after the luxurious manner of barbarians and soldiers; but that priests should appear with a venerable and grave countenance: neither are they to make themselves bald with a razor, nor poll their heads so close, that they may look as if they were shaven; but they are to let their hair grow so long, that it may cover their skin. It is impossible now for any rational man to imagine, that Christian priests had shaven crowns in the time of St. Jerom, when he so expressly says they had not, and that none but the priests of Isis and Serapis had so. But the custom was to poll their heads, and cut their hair to a moderate degree; not for any mystery that was in it, but for the sake of decency and gravity: that they might neither affect the manners of the luxurious part of the world, which prided itself in long hair; nor fall under contempt and obloquy by an indecent baldness; but express a sort of venerable modesty in their looks and aspects, which is the reason that St. Jerom assigns for the ancient tonsure.

Sect. 17. Of the *corona clericalis*, and why the clergy called *coronati*.

From hence we may further conclude, that the ancient clergy were not called *coronati* from their shaven crowns, as some would have it, since it is evident there was no such thing among them: but it seems rather a name given them, as Gothofred[104] and Savaro[105] conjecture, from the form of the ancient tonsure; which was made in a circular figure, by cutting away the hair a little from the crown of the head, and leaving a round or circle hanging downwards. This in some councils[106] is called *circuli corona*, and ordered to be used in opposition to some heretics, who it seems prided themselves in long hair and the contrary custom. But I am not confident that this was the reason of the name, *coronati;* it might be given the clergy in general out of respect to their office and character, which was always of great honour and esteem: for *corona* signifies honour and dignity in a figurative sense, and it is not improbable but that the word was sometimes so used in this case, as has been noted before[107] in speaking of the form of saluting bishops, *per coronam.*

Sect. 18. Whether the clergy were distinguished in their apparel from laymen.

As to the kind or fashion of their apparel, it does not appear for several ages, that there was any other distinction observed therein between them

[100] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 24. Habitus viro, gradus, pudor, color, sermo religiosus: tum coma brevis, barba prolixa, &c.

[101] Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. p. 58. Docete, ubi vobis mandatum est radere capita sacerdotum, cum e contrario sint tot exempla proposita, fieri non debere.—Qui parare debebas aures ad audiendum, parasti novaculam ad delinquendum.

[102] Albasp. in loc. p. 141.

[103] Hieron. lib. 13. in Ezek. cap. 44. p. 668. Quod autem sequitur, capita sua non radent, &c. perspicue demonstratur, nec rasis capitibus, sicut sacerdotes, cultoresque Isidis atque Serapis, nos esse debere; nec rursum comam demittere, quod proprie luxuriosum est, barbarorumque et militantium; sed ut honestus habitus sacerdotum facie demonstretur; nec calvitium novacula esse faciendum, nec ita ad pressum tondendum caput, ut rasorum similes esse videamur; sed in tantum capillos esse demittendos, ut operta sit cutis.

[104] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 38.

[105] Savaro, Not. in Sidon. lib. 6. Ep. 3.

[106] Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 41. Omnes clerici, detonso superius capite toto, inferius solam circuli coronam relinquant, &c.

[107] Book II. chap. 9. sect. 5.

and the laity, save that they were more confined to wear that which was modest and grave, and becoming their profession, without being tied to any certain garb or form of clothing. Several councils require the clergy to wear apparel suitable to their profession, but they do not express any kind, or describe it otherwise, than that it should not border upon luxury or any affected neatness, but rather keep a medium between finery and slovenliness. This was St. Jerom's direction to Nepotian,[108] that he should neither wear black nor white clothing; for gaiety and slovenliness were equally to be avoided, the one savouring of niceness and delicacy, and the other of vain-glory. Yet in different places different customs seem to have prevailed, as to the colour of their clothing. For, at Constantinople, in the time of Chrysostom and Arsacius, the clergy commonly went in black, as the Novatians did in white. Which appears from the dispute which Socrates speaks of[109] between Sisinnius, the Novatian bishop, and one of Arsacius's clergy: for he says, Sisinnius going one day to visit Arsacius, the clergyman asked him, why he wore a garment which did not become a bishop? And where it was written, that a priest ought to be clothed in white? To whom he replied, You first show me where it is written that a bishop ought to be clothed in black? From this it is easy to collect, that by this time it was become the custom at Constantinople for the clergy to wear black, and that perhaps to distinguish themselves from the Novatians, who affected, it seems, to appear in white. But we do not find these matters as yet so particularly determined or prescribed in any councils. For the fourth council of Carthage[110] requires the clergy to wear such apparel as was suitable to their profession, but does not particularize any further about it, save that they should not affect any finery or gaiety in their shoes or clothing. And the council of Agde[111] gives the very same direction. Baronius,[112] indeed, is very earnest to persuade his reader, that bishops, in the time of Cyprian, wore the same habit that is now worn by cardinals in the church of Rome, and such bishops as are advanced from a monastery to the episcopal throne. As if Cyprian had been a monk or a cardinal of the church of Rome. But as the learned editor[113] of Cyprian's Works observes, there is scarce any thing so absurd, that a man who is engaged in a party cause cannot persuade himself to believe, and hope to persuade others also. For is it likely that bishops and presbyters should make their appearance in public in a distinct habit, at a time when tyrants and persecutors made a most diligent search after them to put them to death? Do the clergy of the present church of Rome use to appear so in countries where they live in danger of being discovered and taken? But what shall we say to the writer of Cyprian's Passion, who mentions Cyprian's[114] *lacerna* or *birrus*, and after that his *tunica* or *dalmatica*, and last of all his *linea*, in which he suffered? of which Baronius makes the *linea* to be the bishop's rochet; and the *dalmatica* or *tunica*, that which they now call the loose tunicle; and the *lacerna* or *birrus*, the red silken vestment that covers the shoulders. Why, to all this it may be said, that these are only old names for new things. For besides the absurdity of thinking that Cyprian should go to his martyrdom in his sacred and pontifical robes, (which were not to be worn out of the church,) it is evident these were but the names of those common garments which many Christians then used without distinction.

Sect. 19. A particular account of the *birrus* and *pallium*.

As to the *birrus*, it is evident that it was no peculiar habit of bishops, no, nor yet of the clergy. That it was not peculiar to bishops, appears from what St. Austin says of it, that it was the common garment which all his clergy wore, as well as himself. And therefore if any one presented him with a richer *birrus* than ordinary, he would not wear it. For,[115] though it might become another bishop, it would not become him, who was a poor man, and born of poor parents. He must have such a one as a presbyter could have, or a deacon, or a subdeacon. If any one gave him a better, he was used to sell it; that since the garment itself could not be used in common, the price of it at least might be common. This shows plainly that the *birrus* was not the bishop's peculiar habit, but the common garment of all St. Austin's clergy. And that this was no more than the common *tunica*, or coat worn generally by Christians in Africa and other places, may appear from a canon of the council of Gangra, made against Eustathius the heretic, and his followers,

[108] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. Vestes pullas æque devita, ut candidas. Ornatus et sordes pari modo fugiendæ sunt; quia alterum delicias, alterum gloriam redolet, &c.

[109] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 22.

[110] Conc. Carth. 4. c. 45. Clericus professionem suam et in habitu et in incessu probet: et ideo nec vestibus nec calceamentis decorem quærat.

[111] Conc. Agathen. c. 20. Vestimenta vel calceamenta etiam eis, nisi quæ religionem deceant, uti aut habere non liceat.

[112] Baron. an. 261. n. 44.

[113] Vide Fell, Not. in Vit. Cypr. p. 13.

[114] Passio Cypr. p. 13. Cyprianus in agrum sexti productus est, et ibi se lacerna birro expoliavit.——Et cum se dalmatica (al. tunica) expoliasset, et diaconibus tradidisset, in linea stetit, et cœpit spiculatorem sustinere.

[115] Aug. Serm. 50. de Diversis. t. 10. p. 523. Offeratur mihi birrum pretiosum, forte decet episcopum, quamvis non deceat Augustinum, id est, hominem pauperem, de pauperibus natum.——Talem debeo habere, qualem potest habere presbyter, qualem potest habere diaconus et subdiaconus. ——Si quis meliorem dederit, vendo, quod et facere soleo, ut quando non potest vestis esse communis, pretium vestis sit commune.

who condemned the common habit,[116] and brought in the use of a strange habit in its room. Now this common habit was the *birrus*, or *βῆρος*, as they call it in the canon made against them, which runs in these words: If any man uses the *pallium*,[117] or cloak, upon the account of an ascetic life, and, as if there were some holiness in that, condemns those that with reverence use the *birrus*, and other garments that are commonly worn, let him be anathema. The *birrus*, then, was the common and ordinary coat, which the Christians of Paphlagonia and those parts generally wore: and though the ascetics used the *περιβόλαιον*, the philosophic *pallium*, or cloak, yet the clergy of that country used the common *birrus*, or coat. For Sozomen,[118] in relating this same history, instead of *βῆρος*, uses the word *χίτων*, which is a more known name for the Latin *tunica*, or coat: and he also adds, that Eustathius himself, after the synod had condemned him, changed his philosophic habit, and used the same garb that the secular presbyters wore. Which plainly evinces, that as yet the clergy in those parts did not distinguish themselves by their habit from other Christians, though the ascetics generally did. In the French churches, several years after this, we find the clergy still using the same secular habit with other Christians: and when some endeavoured to alter it, and introduce the ascetic or philosophic habit among them; Celestine, bishop of Rome, wrote a reprimanding letter to them, asking, Why that habit, the cloak, was used in the French churches,[119] when it had been the custom of so many bishops for so many years to use the common habit of the people? From whom the clergy were to be distinguished by their doctrine, and not by their garb; by their conversation, not their habit; by the purity of their souls, rather than their dress. But yet I must observe, that in some places the ascetics, when they were taken into the ministry of the church, were allowed to retain their ancient philosophic habit without any censure. Thus St. Jerom[120] observes of his friend Nepotian, that he kept to his philosophic habit, the *pallium*, after he was ordained presbyter, and wore it to the day of his death. He says the same of Heraclas,[121] presbyter of Alexandria, that he continued to use his philosophic habit when he was presbyter. Which is noted also by Eusebius out of Origen, who says, that when Heraclas entered himself in the school of philosophy under Ammonius, he then laid aside the common garb, and took the philosophic habit,[122] with which he sat in the presbytery of Alexandria. Upon which Valesius[123] very rightly observes, that there was then no peculiar habit of the clergy, forasmuch as Heraclas always retained his philosophic *pallium*; which was the known habit of the ascetics, but as yet was very rarely used among the clergy, who wore generally the common habit, except when some such philosophers and ascetics came among them. For here we see it was noted as something rare and singular in Heraclas: but in after ages, when the clergy were chiefly chosen out of the monks and ascetics, the philosophic habit came in by degrees with them, and was encouraged, till at last it became the most usual habit of the clergy of all sorts: but this was not till the fifth or sixth century, as may be collected from what has been said before on this subject.

Sect. 20. Of the *collobium*, *dalmatica*, *caracalla*, *hemiphorium*, and *linea*.

But some, perhaps, may think the clergy had always a distinct habit, because some ancient authors take notice of the *collobium*, as a garment worn by bishops and presbyters in the primitive ages. For Epiphanius,[124] speaking of Arius, while he was presbyter of Alexandria, says, he always wore the *collobium* or *hemiphorium*. And Pius, bishop of Rome, in his epistle to Justus, bishop of Vienna, (which by many is reckoned genuine,) speaks of Justus[125] as wearing a *collobium* also. But this was no more than the *tunica*, of which there were two sorts, the *dalmatica* and *collobium*, which differed only in this respect, that the *collobium* was the short coat without long sleeves, so called from *κολοβὸς*, *curtus*; but the *dalmatica* was the *tunica manicata et talaris*, the long coat with sleeves. Both which were used by the Romans, though the *collobium* was the more common, ancient, and honourable garment. As appears from Tully, who derides Catiline's[126] soldiers, because they had their *tunicæ manicatæ et talares*; whereas the ancient Romans were used

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[116] Conc. Gangr. in Præfat. *Ξένα ἀμφιάσματα ἐπὶ καταπτώσει τῆς κοινότητος τῶν ἀμφιασμάτων συνάγοντες.*

[117] Conc. Gangr. c. 12. *Εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν περιβολαίω χρῆται, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ τούτου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔχων καταψηφίσοιτο τῶν μετ' εὐλαβείας τοὺς βήρους φορούντων, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κοινῇ καὶ ἐν συνηθείᾳ οὔσῃ ἐσθῆτι κεχρημένων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*

[118] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14.

[119] Celestin. Ep. 2. ad. Episc. Gall. c. 1. Unde hic habitus in ecclesiis Gallicanis, ut tot annorum, tantorumque pontificum in alterum habitum consuetudo vertatur? Discernendi a plebe vel cæteris sumus doctrina, non veste; conversatione, non habitu; mentis puritate, non cultu.

[120] Hieron. Epitaph. Nepotian.

[121] Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 54. Heraclam presbyterum, qui sub habitu philosophi perseverabat, &c.

[122] Orig. ap. Euseb. Lib. 6. c. 19. *Πρότερον κοινῇ ἐσθῆτι χρώμενος, ἀποδυσαμενος καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα μεχρὶ τοῦ δευρο τηρεῖ.*

[123] Vales. Not. in loc. Ex his apparet, nullum etiam tum peculiarem fuisse vestitum clericorum, quandoquidem Heraclas philosophicum pallium semper retinuit.

[124] Epiph. Hær. 69. Arian. n. 3. *Ἡμιφόριον γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀεὶ, καὶ κολοβίωνα ἐνδιδυσκόμενος.*

[125] Pius, Ep. 4. ad Just. Vien. Tu vero apud senatoriam Viennam—collobio episcoporum vestitus, &c.

[126] Cicero, Orat. 2. in Catilin. n. 22.

to wear the *collobia*, or short coats without long sleeves: as Servius[127] and St. Jerom[128] after him observe from this place of Tully. So that a bishop or a presbyter's wearing a *collobium* means no more (when the hard name is explained) but their wearing a common Roman garment. Which is evident from one of the laws of Theodosius the Great, made about the habits which senators were allowed to use within the walls of Constantinople, where they are forbidden to wear the soldier's coat, the *chlamys*, but allowed to use the *collobium* and *penula*,[129] because these were civil habits, and vestments of peace. The *dalmatica*, or as it was otherwise called, *χειρόδοτος*, or *tunica manicata*, because it had sleeves down to the hands, was seldom used among the Romans: for Lampridius[130] notes it as a singular thing in the Life of Commodus the emperor, that he wore a *dalmatica* in public, which he also[131] censures in Heliogabalus, as Tully had done before in Catiline. And that is a good argument to prove, that the clergy of this age did not wear the *dalmatica* in public, since it was not then the common garment of the Romans. And the conjecture of a learned man[132] is well grounded, who thinks that in the Life of St. Cyprian, where the ancient copies have, *tunicam tulit*, some officious modern transcribers changed the word *tunica* into *dalmatica*, as being more agreeable to the language and custom of their own time, when the *dalmatica* was reckoned among the sacred vestments of the church, though we never find it mentioned as such in any ancient author. The *caracalla*, which some now call the cassock, was originally a Gallic habit, which Antoninus Bassianus, who was born at Lyons in France, first brought into use among the Roman people, whence he had the name of Caracalla, as Aurelius Victor[133] informs us. It was a long garment, reaching down to the heels, which Victor says the Roman people put on, when they went to salute the emperor: but whether it was also a clerical habit in those days, may be questioned, since no ancient author speaks of it as such: but if it was, it was not any peculiar habit of the clergy; since Spartian,[134] who lived in the time of Constantine, says, they were then used by the common people of Rome, who called them *caracallæ Antoninianæ*, from their author. The *ἡμιφόριον*, which Epiphanius joins with the *collobium*, was either but another name for the same garment, or one like it: for it signifies a short cloak or coat, as Petavius[135] and other critics explain it: *ἥμισυ ἱματίας*, or *dimidium pallium*, which answers to the description of the *collobium* given before. As for the *linea*, mentioned in the Life of Cyprian, which Baronius calls the bishop's rochet, it seems to have been no more than some common garment made of linen, though we know not what other name to give it. Baronius says pleasantly, it was not his shirt, and therefore concludes it must be his rochet: which is an argument to make a reader smile, but carries no great conviction in it. And yet it is as good as any that he produces to prove, that bishops in Cyprian's time appeared in public differently habited from other men. That the clergy had their particular habits for ministering in Divine service, at least in the beginning of the fourth century, is not denied, but will be proved and evidenced in its proper place: but that any such distinction was generally observed *extra sacra* in their other habits in that age, is what does not appear, but the contrary from what has been discoursed. It was necessary for me to give the reader this caution, because some unwarily confound these things together, and allege the proofs or disproofs of the one for the other, which yet are of very different consideration.

CHAPTER V.

SOME REFLECTIONS UPON THE FOREGOING DISCOURSE, CONCLUDING WITH AN ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY OF THE PRESENT CHURCH.

Sect. 1. *Reflection* 1. All laws and rules of the ancient church not necessary to be observed by the present church and clergy.

Having thus far gone over, and as it were brought into one view, the chief of those ancient laws and rules, which concerned the elections, qualifications, duties, and general offices of the primitive clergy; reserving the consideration of particular offices to their proper places, I shall close this part of the discourse with a few necessary re-

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[127] Servius in Virgil. 9. Æneid. vers. 616. Et tunicæ manicas, et habent redimicula mitræ.

[128] Hieron. Quæst. Hebraic. in Genes. xxxvii. 32. t. 3. p. 222. Pro varia tunica Symmachus interpretatus est tunicam manicatam; sive quod ad talos usque descenderet, sive quod haberet manicas; antiqui enim magis collobiis utebantur.

[129] Cod. Theodos. lib. 14. Tit. 10. de Habitu quo uti oportet intra Urbem, Leg. 1. Nullus senatorum habitum sibi vindicet militarem, sed chlamydis terrore deposito, quieta colloborum ac penularum induat vestimenta, &c.

[130] Lamprid. Vit. Commodi, p. 139. Dalmaticatus in publico processit.

[131] Id. Vit. Heliogab. p. 317. Dalmaticatus in publico post cœuam sæpe visus est.

[132] Bp. Fell, Not. in Vit. Cypr. p. 13.

[133] Victor. Epit. Vit. Caracallæ. Cum e Gallia vestem plurimam devexisset, talaresque caracallas fecisset, coegissetque plebem ad se salutandum indutam talibus introire, de nomine hujus vestis, Caracalla cognominatus est.

[134] Spartian. Vit. Caracal. p. 251. Ipse Caracalli nomen accepit a vestimento, quod populo dederat, demisso usque ad talos, quod ante non fuerat; unde hodieque Antoninianæ dicuntur caracallæ hujusmodi, in usu maxime Romanæ plebis frequentatæ.

[135] Petav. Not. in Epiphan. Hær. 69. n. 3. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. t. 1. p. 1334.

flections upon it, in reference to the practice of the clergy of the present church. And here first of all it will be proper to observe, that all the laws and rules of the primitive church are not obligatory to the present clergy, save only so far as they either contain matters necessary in themselves, or are adopted into the body of rules and canons, which are authorized and received by the present church. For some laws were made upon particular reasons, peculiar to the state and circumstances of the church in those times: and it would neither be reasonable nor possible to reduce men to the observance of all such laws, when the reasons of them are ceased, and the state of affairs and circumstances of the church are so much altered. Other laws were made by particular churches for themselves only, and these never could oblige other churches, till they were received by their own consent, or bound upon them by the authority of a general council, where they themselves were represented, and their consent virtually taken: much less can they oblige absolute and independent churches at the distance of so many ages; since every such church has power to make laws and rules about things of an alterable nature for herself, and is not tied to the laws of any other. Nor, consequently, are any of the members of such a church bound to observe those rules, unless they be revived and put in force by the church whereof they are members. As this is agreeable to the sense and practice of the catholic church; so it was necessary here to be observed, that no one might mistake the design of this discourse, as if it tended to make every rule, that has been mentioned therein, become necessary and obligatory; or designed to reflect upon the present church, because in all things she does not conform to the primitive practice: which it is not possible to do, without making all cases and circumstances exactly the same in all ages.

Sect. 2. *Reflect.* 2. Some ancient rules would be of excellent use, if revived by just authority.

But, 2. Notwithstanding this, I may, I presume, without offence take leave to observe in the next place, that some ancient rules would be of excellent use, if they were revived by just authority in the present church. What if we had a law agreeable to that of Justinian's in the civil law, that every patron or elector, who presents a clerk, should depose upon oath, that he chose him neither for any gift, or promise, or friendship, or any other cause, but because he knew him to be a man of the true catholic faith, and good life, and good learning? Might not this be a good addition to the present laws against simoniacal contracts? What if the order of the ancient *chorepiscopi* were reduced and settled in large dioceses? And coadjutors in case of infirmity and old age? Might not these be of great use, as for many other ends, so particularly for the exercise of discipline, and the easier and constant discharge of that most excellent office of confirmation? The judicious reader will be able to carry this reflection through abundance of other instances, which I need not here suggest: and I forbear the rather, because I am only acting the part of an historian for the ancient church; leaving others, whose province it is, to make laws for the present church, if any things are here suggested, which their wisdom and prudence may think fit to make the matter of laws for the greater benefit and advantage of it.

Sect. 3. *Reflect.* 3. Some ancient laws may be complied with, though not laws of the present church.

3. It may be observed further, that there were some laws in the ancient church, which, though they be not established laws of the present church, may yet innocently be complied with; and perhaps it would be for the honour and advantage of the clergy voluntarily to comply with them, since there is no law to prohibit that. I will instance in one case of this nature. It was a law in the ancient church, as I have showed,[1] that the clergy should end all their civil controversies, which they had one with another, among themselves, and not go to law in a secular court, unless they had a controversy with a layman. Now, though there be no such law in the present church, yet there is nothing to hinder clergymen from choosing bishops to be their arbitrators, and voluntarily referring all their causes to them, or any other judges whom they shall agree upon among themselves; which must be owned to be the most Christian way of ending controversies: whence, as I have showed, it was many times practised by the laity in the primitive church, who took bishops for their arbitrators by voluntary compromise, obliging themselves to stand to their arbitration. And what was so commendable in the laity, must needs be more reputable in the clergy, and more becoming their gravity and character; not to mention other advantages, that might arise from this way of ending disputes, rather than any other. From this one instance it will be easy to judge, how far it may be both lawful and honourable, for the clergy to imitate the practice of the ancients in other cases of the like nature.

Sect. 4. *Reflect.* 4. Of the influence of great examples, and laws of perpetual obligation.

4. The last observation I have to make upon the foregoing discourse, is in reference to such laws of the ancient church, as must be owned to be of necessary and eternal obligation. Such are most of those that have been mentioned in the second and third chapters of this book, relating to the life and duties of the clergy: in which the clergy of all churches will for ever be concerned, the matter of those laws being in itself of absolute and indispens-

[1] Book V. chap. 1. sect. 4.

able obligation. The practice of the ancients, therefore, in compliance with such laws, will be a continual admonition, and their examples a noble provocation to the clergy of all ages. There is nothing that commonly moves or affects us more than great and good examples: they at once both pleasantly instruct, and powerfully excite us to the practice of our duty; they show us that rules are practicable, as having already been observed by men of like passions with ourselves; they are apt to inflame our courage by a holy contagion, and raise us to noble acts by provoking our emulation; they, as it were, shame us into laudable works, by upbraiding and reproaching our defects in falling short of the patterns set before us; they work upon our modesty, and turn it into zeal; they raise our several useful passions, and set us to work by exciting those inbred sparks of emulation, and principles of activity, that are lodged within us. And for this reason, whilst others have done good service by writing of the pastoral office and care in plain rules and directions, I have added the examples of the ancients to their rules; the better to excite us to tread those paths which are chalked out to us, by the encouragement of such instructive and provoking examples. Who can read that brave defence and answer[2] which St. Basil made to the Arian prefect, without being warmed with something of his zeal for truth upon any the like occasion? How resolute and courageous will it make a man, even against the calumnies of spite and malice, to contend for the faith, when he reads[3] what base slanders and reproaches were cast upon the greatest luminaries of the church, and the best of men, Athanasius and Basil, for standing up in the cause of religion against the Arian heresy! Again, how peaceable, how candid, how ingenuous and prudent will it make a man in composing unnecessary disputes that arise among catholics in the church, always to have before his eyes that great example of candour and peaceableness, which Nazianzen describes in the person of Athanasius,[4] who by his prudence reconciled two contending parties, that for a few syllables, and a dispute about mere words, had like to have torn the church in pieces? To instance but once more, who that reads that great example of charity and self-denial in the African fathers at the collation of Carthage,[5] and considers with what a brave and public spirit they despised their own private interest for the good, and peace, and unity of the church, will not be inspired with something of the same noble temper, and ardent love of Christ; which will make him willing to do or suffer any thing for the benefit of his church, and sacrifice his own private interest to the advantage of the public; whilst he persuades himself, with those holy fathers, that he was made for the church of Christ, and not the church for him? As it is of the utmost consequence to the welfare of the church, to have these and the like virtues and graces planted in the hearts of her clergy; so, among other means that may be used for the promoting this end, there is none perhaps more likely to take effect, than the recommending such virtues by the powerful provocation of such noble examples. And he that offers such images of virtue to public view, may at least be allowed to make the apology, which Sulpicius Severus[6] makes for his writing the Life of St. Martin: *Etsi ipsi non viximus, ut aliis exemplo esse possimus: dedimus tamen operam, ne illi laterent, qui essent imitandi.*

Sect. 5. Some particular rules recommended to observation. 1st, Relating to the ancient method of training up persons for the ministry.

But whilst I am so earnest in recommending the examples of the ancients, I must not forget to inculcate some of their excellent rules. Such as their laws about training up young men for the ministry under the *magister disciplinæ*, whose business was to form their morals, and inure them to such studies, exercises, and practices, as would best qualify them for higher offices and services in the church. This method of education being now changed into that of universities and schools of learning, it highly concerns them on whom this care is devolved, to see that the same ends however be answered, that is, that all young men who aspire to the sacred profession, be rightly formed both in their studies and morals, to qualify them for their great work and the several duties of their calling. And they are the more concerned to be careful in this matter, because bishops now cannot have that personal knowledge of the morals of such persons, as they had formerly, when they were trained up under their eye, and liable to their inspection: but now, as to this part of their qualification, they must depend first upon the care, and then upon the testimony, of those who are intrusted with their education. Besides, a late eminent writer,[7] who inquires into the causes of the present corruption of Christians, where he has occasion to speak of the pastoral office, and the ordinary methods now used for training up persons to it, makes a double complaint of the way of education in several of the universities of Europe. As to manners, he complains that young people live there licentiously, and are left to their own conduct, and make public profession of dissoluteness: nay, that they not only live there irregularly, but have privileges, which give them a right to commit with impunity all manner

[2] See Book VI. chap. 3. sect. 10. [3] Ibid.
[4] See chap. 3. sect. 9.
[5] See chap. 4. sect. 2.
[6] Sever. de Vita S. Martin. in Prologo.
[7] Ostervald's Causes of the Corruption of Christians, part 2. c. 3. p. 333.

of insolencies, brutalities, and scandals, and which exempt them from the magistrate's jurisdiction. Now, such universities as are concerned in this accusation, (which by the blessing of God those of our land are not,) have great reason to consider how far they are fallen from the primitive standard, and what a difference there is between the ancient way of educating under the inspection of a bishop, and the conduct of a master of discipline in every church, and the way of such academies, where, if that learned person say true, "the care of masters and professors does not extend to the regulating of the manners of their disciples." The other complaint he makes, is in reference to the studies which are pursued at universities, in which he observes two faults. One in reference to the method of teaching. "Divinity is treated there, and the Holy Scripture explained, altogether in a scholastical and speculative manner. Common places are read, which are full of school terms, and of questions not very material. This makes young men resolve all religion into controversies, and gives them intricate and false notions of divinity." The other fault, he thinks, is more essential: "Little or no care is taken, to teach those who dedicate themselves to the service of the church, several things, the knowledge of which would be very necessary to them. The study of history and of church antiquity is neglected: morality is not taught in divinity schools, but in a superficial and scholastic manner; and in many academies it is not taught at all. They seldom speak there of discipline, they give few or no instructions concerning the manner of exercising the pastoral care, or of governing the church. So that the greater part of those who are admitted into this office, enter into it without knowing wherein it consists; all the notion they have of it is, that it is a profession which obliges them to preach and to explain texts." I cannot think all universities are equally concerned in this charge, nor shall I inquire how far any are, but only say, that the faults here complained of were rarely to be met with in the methods of education in the primitive church; where, as I have showed, the chief studies of men devoted to the service of the church, both before and after their ordinations, were such as directly tended to instruct them in the necessary duties and offices of their function. The great care then was to oblige men carefully to study the Scriptures in a practical way, and to acquaint themselves with the history and laws and discipline of the church, by the knowledge and exercise of which they became expert in all the arts of curing souls and making pious and holy men, which is the business of spiritual physicians, and the whole of the pastoral office: in which therefore their rules and examples are proper to be proposed to all churches for their imitation.

Sect. 6. 2dly. Their rules for examining the qualifications of candidates for the ministry.

Another sort of rules worthy our most serious thoughts and consideration, were those which concerned the examination of the candidates for the ministry. For by these such methods were prescribed, and such caution used, that it was scarce possible for an unfit or immoral man to be admitted to an ecclesiastical office, unless a bishop and the whole church combined as it were to choose unworthy men, which was a case that very rarely happened. It was a peculiar advantage in the primitive church, that by her laws ordinarily none were to be ordained but in the church where they were personally known; so that their manners and way of living might be most strictly canvassed and examined; and a vicious man could not be ordained, if either the bishop or the church had the courage to reject him. Now, though this rule cannot be practised in the present state of the church, yet the main intent of it is of absolute necessity to be answered and provided for some other way; else the church must needs suffer greatly, and infinitely fall short of the purity of the primitive church, by conferring the most sacred of all characters upon immoral and unworthy men. The only way which our present circumstances will admit of, to answer the caution that was used in former days, is to certify the bishop concerning the candidates' known probity and integrity of life, by such testimonials as he may safely depend upon. Here therefore every one sees, without my observing it to him, that to advance the present church to the purity and excellency of the primitive church, there is need of the utmost caution in this matter; that testimonials in so weighty an affair be not promiscuously granted unto all; nor to any but upon reasonable evidence and assurance of the things testified therein: otherwise we partake in other men's sins, and are far from consulting truly the glory of God and the good of his church, whilst we deviate so much from the exactness and caution that is showed us in the primitive pattern.

The other part of the examination of candidates, which related to their abilities and talents, was made with no less diligence and exactness. The chief inquiry was, whether they were well versed in the sense and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; whether they rightly understood the fundamentals of religion, the necessary doctrines of the gospel, and the rules of morality as delivered in the law of God; whether they had been conversant in the history of the church, and understood her laws and discipline; and were men of prudence to govern, as well as of ability to teach, the people committed to their charge. These were things of great importance, because most of them were of daily use in the exercise of the ministry and pastoral care; and therefore proper to be insisted on in examinations of this nature. These were the qualifications, which,

joined with the burning and shining light of a pious life, raised the primitive church and clergy to that height of glory, which we all profess to admire in them: and the very naming that is a sufficient provocation to such as are concerned in this matter, to express their zeal for the welfare and glory of the present church, by keeping strictly to the measures, which were so successfully observed in the ancient church; and without which the ends of the ministry cannot be fully attained in any church, whilst persons are ordained that want proper qualifications.

Sect. 7. 3rdly, Their rules about private address, and the exercise of private discipline.

I shall not now stand to inculcate any other rules about particular duties, studying, preaching, or the like, but only beg leave to recommend the primitive pattern in two things more. The one concerns private pastors, the other is humbly offered to the governors of the church. That which concerns private pastors, is the duty of private address, and the exercise of private discipline toward the people committed to their charge. Some eminent persons,[8] who have lately considered the duties of the pastoral office, reckon this one of the principal and most necessary functions of it; which consists in inspecting the lives of private persons, in visiting families, in exhortations, warnings, reproofs, instructions, reconciliations, and in all those other cares, which a pastor ought to take of those over whom he is constituted. "For," as they rightly observe, "neither general exhortations nor public discipline can answer all the occasions of the church. There are certain disorders, which pastors neither can nor ought to repress openly, and which yet ought to be remedied by them. In such cases, private admonitions are to be used. The concern of men's salvation requires this, and it becomes the pastoral carefulness to seek the straying sheep, and not to let the wicked perish for want of warning." But now, because this is a nice and difficult work, and requires not only great diligence and application, but also great art and prudence, with a proportionable share of meekness, moderation, and temper, to perform it aright; it is often either wholly neglected, or very ill performed; whilst some think it enough to admonish sinners from the pulpit, and others admonish them indiscreetly, which tends more to provoke than reclaim them. To remedy both these evils, it will be useful to reflect upon that excellent discourse of Gregory Nazianzen, which has been suggested in the third chapter of this book,[9] where he considers that great variety of tempers that is in men, and the nicety of all matters and occasions, that a skilful pastor ought to consider, in order to apply suitable remedies to every distemper. And there the reader will also find some other excellent cautions and directions given by Chrysostom and others upon this head, with examples proper to excite him to the performance of this necessary duty.

Sect. 8. 4thly, Their rules for exercising public discipline upon delinquent clergymen, who were convict of scandalous offences.

The other thing I would humbly offer to the consideration of our superiors, who are the guardians of public discipline, and inspectors of the behaviour of private pastors, is the exercise of discipline in the ancient church. By which I do not now mean that general discipline, which was exercised toward all offenders in the church; but the particular discipline that was used among the clergy; by virtue of which, every clerk convict of immorality, or other scandalous offence, was liable to be deposed, and punished with other ecclesiastical censures; of which, both crimes and punishments, I have given a particular account in the three foregoing chapters of this book. It is a thing generally acknowledged by all, that the glory of the ancient church was her discipline; and it is as general a complaint of the misfortune of the present church, that corruptions abound for want of reviving and restoring the ancient discipline. Now, if there be any truth in either of these observations, it ought to be a quickening argument to all that sit at the helm of government in the church, to bestir themselves with their utmost zeal, that discipline, where it is wanting, may at least be restored among the clergy; that no scandals or offences may be tolerated among them, whose lives and practices ought to be a light and a guide to others. As there is nothing to hinder the free exercise of it here, so it is but fitting it should be exemplified in them; as for many other reasons, so particularly for this: that the laity may not think they are to be tied to any discipline, which the clergy have not first exercised upon themselves with greater severity of ecclesiastical censures. And if either rules or examples can encourage this, those of the primitive church are most provoking: her rules of discipline were most excellent and exact in themselves, and for the most part as exactly managed by persons intrusted with the execution of them.

Sect. 9. Julian's design to reform the heathen priests by the rules of the primitive clergy, an argument to provoke our zeal in the present age.

After these reflections made upon the laws and practice of the primitive clergy, it will be needless to make any long address to any orders of the clergy of the present age. I will therefore only observe one thing more, that Julian's design to bring the laws of the primitive clergy into use among the heathen priests, in order to reform them, as it was then a plain testimony of their excellency, so it is now a proper argument to provoke the zeal of the present clergy, to be more forward

[8] Ostervald's Causes of the Corrupt. of Christians, p. 318. See also Bishop Burnet's Pastoral Care, c. 8. p. 96.

[9] See Book VI. chap. 3. sect. 8.

and ambitious in their imitation. I have already, in part, recited Julian's testimony and design, out of his letter to Arsacius, high priest of Galatia: I shall here subjoin a more ample testimony from a fragment of one of his epistles[10] printed among his works, where, speaking of the Gentile priests, he says, It was reasonable they should be honoured, as the ministers and servants of the gods, by whose mediation many blessings were derived from heaven upon the world: and so long as they retained this character, they were to be honoured and respected by all, but if wicked and vicious, they should be deposed from their office,[11] as unworthy of their function. Their lives were to be so regulated, as that they might be a copy and pattern of what they were to preach to men. To this purpose they should be careful in all their addresses to the gods, to express all imaginable reverence and piety,[12] as being in their presence and under their inspection. They should neither speak a filthy word, nor hear one; but abstain as well from all impure discourse, as vile and wicked actions, and not let a scurrilous or abusive jest come from their mouths. They should read no books tending this way, such as Archilochus and Hipponax, and the writers of loose, wanton comedies; but apply themselves to the study of such philosophers as Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, and Zeno, whose writings were most likely to create piety in men's minds. For all sorts of books were not fit to be read by the priests: even among philosophers, those of Pyrrho and Epicurus were wholly to be rejected by them; and instead of these they[13] should learn such divine hymns, as were to be sung in honour of the gods, to whom they should make their supplications publicly and privately thrice a day, if it might be; however, twice at least, morning and evening. In the course of their public ministrations in the temples,[14] which at Rome commonly held for thirty days, they were to reside all the time in the temples, and give themselves to philosophic thoughts, and neither go to their own houses, nor into the forum, nor see any magistrate but in the temple. When their term of waiting was expired, and they were returned home, they might not converse or feast promiscuously with all, but only with their friends and the best of men; they were but rarely then to appear in the forum, and not to visit the magistrates and rulers, except it were in order to be helpful to some that needed their assistance. While they ministered in the temple, they were to be arrayed with a magnificent garment; but out of it, they must wear common apparel, and that not very costly, or in the least savouring of pride and vain-glory. They were in no case[15] to go to see the obscene and wanton shows of the public theatres, nor to bring them into their own houses, nor to converse familiarly with any charioteer, or player, or dancer belonging to the theatre. After this he signifies, out of what sort of men the priests should be chosen. They should be the best that could be found in every city, persons that had true love for God and man, and then it mattered not whether they were rich or poor; there being no difference to be made between noble and ignoble in this case: no one was to be rejected upon other accounts, who was endued with those two qualities, piety to God and humanity to men. Whereof the former might be evidenced by their care to make all their domestics as devout as themselves; and the latter, by their readiness to distribute liberally to the poor, out of that little they had, and extending their charity to as many as was possible. And there was the more reason to be careful in this matter, because it was manifestly the neglect of this humanity in the priests, which had given occasion to the impious Galileans (by whom he means the Christians) to strengthen their party by the practice of that humanity, which the others neglected. For as kidnappers steal away children, whom they first allure with a cake; so these begin first to work upon honest-hearted Gentiles with their love-feasts, and entertainments, and ministering of tables, as they call them, till at last they pervert them to atheism and impiety against the gods.

Now from this discourse of Julian, I think, it is very evident, that he had observed what laws and practices had chiefly contributed to the advancement of the character and credit of the Christian clergy, and of the Christian religion by their means: and therefore he laboured to introduce the like rules and discipline among the idol-priests, and intended to have made many other alterations in the heathen customs, in compliance with the envied rites and usages of the Christian religion, as is observed both by Gregory Nazianzen[16] and Sozomen,[17] who give us a particular account of his intended emendations. The very mentioning which, if I mistake not, is a loud call to us, to be at least as zealous as Julian was, in copying out such excellencies of the primitive clergy, as are proper for our imitation. It is the argument which the apostle makes use of in a like case: "I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, by a foolish nation will I anger you," Rom. x. 19. I must needs say, it will be but a melancholy consideration for any man, to find hereafter, that the zeal of an apostate heathen shall rise up in judgment against him and condemn him.

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[10] Julian. Fragment. Epist. p. 542.
[11] Ibid. p. 543.
[12] Ibid. p. 547.
[13] Ibid. p. 551.
[14] Ibid. p. 553.
[15] Ibid. p. 555.
[16] Naz. Invect. 1. in Julian.
[17] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 16.

Sect. 10. The conclusion by way of address to the clergy of the present church.

We all profess (as it is our duty to do) a great zeal for the honour and welfare of the present church. Now, if indeed we have that zeal which we profess, we shall be careful to demonstrate it in all our actions; observing those necessary rules and measures which raised the primitive church to its glory. We are obliged, in this respect, first to be strict and exemplary in our lives; to set others a pattern of sobriety, humility, meekness, charity, self-denial, and contempt of the world, and all such common graces as are required of Christians in general to adorn their profession: and then to add to these the peculiar graces and ornaments of our function, diligence, prudence, fidelity, and piety in the whole course of our ministry; imitating those excellencies of the ancients which have been described; confining ourselves to the proper business of our calling, and not intermeddling or distracting ourselves with other cares; employing our thoughts and time in useful studies, and directing them to their proper end, the edification of the church; performing all divine offices with assiduity and constancy, and in that rational, decent, and becoming way, as suits the nature of the action; making our addresses to God with a serious reverence, and an affecting fervency of devotion; and in our discourses to men, speaking always as the oracles of God, with Scripture eloquence, which is the most persuasive: in our doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech that cannot be condemned: in our reproofs, and the exercise of public and private discipline, using great wisdom and prudence, both to discern the tempers of men, and to time the application to its proper season, mixing charity and compassion with a just severity, and endeavouring to restore fallen brethren in the spirit of meekness; showing gentleness and patience to them that are in error, and giving them good arguments with good usage in order to regain them; avoiding all bitter and contumelious language, and never bringing against any man a railing accusation; treating those of our own order, whether superiors, inferiors, or equals, with all the decency and respect that is due to them, since nothing is more scandalous among clergymen, than the abuses and contempt of one another; endeavouring here, as well as in all other cases, to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; showing ourselves candid and ingenuous in moderating disputes among good catholics, as well as resolute and prudent in opposing the malicious designs of the professed enemies of truth; briefly, employing our thoughts day and night upon these things, turning our designs this way, and always acting with a pure intention for the benefit and edification of the church; even neglecting our own honours, and despising our own interest, when it is needful, for the advantage of the public. Such actions will proclaim our zeal indeed, and draw every eye to take notice of it. Such qualities, joined with probity and integrity of life, will equal our character to that of the primitive saints; and either give happy success to our labours, or at least crown our endeavours with the comfort and satisfaction of having discharged a good conscience in the sight of God. The best designs indeed may be frustrated, and the most pious and zealous endeavours be disappointed. It was so with our Lord and Master himself, and no one of his household then is to think it strange if it happen to be his own case. For though he spake as never man spake, though he had done so many miracles among the Jews, yet they believed not on him. This seems to be written for our comfort, that we should not be wholly dejected, though our endeavours fail of success, since our Lord himself was first pleased to take his share in the disappointment. It will still be our comfort, that we can be able to say with the prophet[18] in this case, Though we have laboured in vain, and spent our strength for nought, yet surely our judgment is with the Lord, and our work with our God: and then, though Israel be not gathered, yet shall we be glorious in the eyes of the Lord, and our God shall be our strength.

[18] Isa. xlix. 4, 5.

BOOK VII.

OF THE ASCETICS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FIRST ASCETICS AND MONKS, AND OF THE FIRST ORIGINAL OF THE MONASTIC LIFE.

Sect. 1. Ascetics always in the church: monks not so.

THEY who are conversant in the writings of the ancients, will very often meet with the name, *ἀσκηταὶ*, ascetics, applied to some Christians by way of distinction from others. The generality of writers in the Romish church, wherever they meet with this word, lay hold of it as an argument to prove the antiquity of monks in the church; whereas, indeed, there was a very wide difference between them: for though, in the writers of the fourth and fifth ages, when the monastic life was fully established, ascetics and monks often signify the same persons; yet for the greatest part of the three first centuries, it was otherwise: for there were always ascetics in the church, but not always monks retiring to the deserts and mountains, or living in monasteries and cells, as in after ages.

Sect. 2. This difference acknowledged by some ingenuous writers in the Romish church.

This difference is freely confessed by some of the more frank and ingenuous writers of the Romish church; as Valesius[1] and Mr. Pagi,[2] who correct the mistakes of Baronius, Christopherson, and others in this matter. Eusebius, speaking of Philo Judæus his description of the Egyptian *therapeutæ*, says, he therein exactly described the life of the Christian ascetics[3] that lived in those times. Where, by ascetics, Christopherson and Baronius understand monks and religious, as they speak in the modern style: but Valesius rightly observes, that there were no monks in the time of Philo, but both the name and institution of them was of much later date. Ascetic was a more general name than that of monk: for though every monk was an ascetic, yet every ascetic was not a monk; but anciently every Christian that made profession of a more strict and austere life, was dignified with the name of ascetic; which is a name borrowed by the Christians from the ancient philosophers, as Valesius shows out of Arian, Artemidorus, and Philo; and signifies, as the word imports, any one that exercises himself by the severe rules of abstinence and virtue; of which kind there were always ascetics, without being monks, from the first foundation of the church by the apostles.

Sect. 3. What the primitive ascetics were.

Such were all those that inured themselves to greater degrees of abstinence and fasting than other men. As those mentioned by Origen,[4] who abstained from flesh and living creatures, as well as the Pythagoreans, but upon very different principles and designs: the Pythagoreans abstained upon the fond imagination of the transmigration of souls, lest a father should kill and eat his own son in the body of a living creature; but the ascetics, says he, among us do it only to keep under the body, and bring it into subjection; to mortify their members upon earth, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, and all inordinate passions and affections. Such abstinence the Apostolical Canons call *ἄσκησις*,[5] the exercise of an ascetic life, saying, If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other of the clergy, abstain from marriage, flesh, or wine, *οὐ διὰ ἄσκησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ βδελυρίαν*, not for exercise' sake, but as abominating the good creatures of God, &c., let him either reform himself, or be deposed and cast out of the church. So that all who exercised themselves with abstinence from flesh, only for mortification, and not out of an opinion of its uncleanness, (as some heretics did,) were reckoned ascetics, whether they were of the laity or clergy. Some of these not only abstained from flesh, but often continued their fasts for two or three days

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[1] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 2. c. 17.

[2] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 62. n. 4.

[3] Euseb. lib. 2. c. 17. *Τὸν βίον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσκητῶν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἀκριβέστατα ἱστορῶν*, &c.

[4] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 5. p. 264. *Ὅρα τὴν διαφορὰν τȣ͂ ἀιτίου τῆς ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσκητῶν.*

[5] Canon. Apost. c. 51.

together without taking any food at all; of which there are frequent instances in Irenæus,[6] and Dionysius of Alexandria,[7] and Epiphanius,[8] and others: and such again were called ascetics[9] from the severe exercise of fasting, to which they accustomed themselves. Secondly, In like manner, they who were more than ordinary intent upon the exercise of prayer, and spent their time in devotion, were justly thought to deserve the name of ascetics. Whence Cyril of Jerusalem,[10] speaking of Anna the prophetess, (who departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer, night and day,) styles her *ἀσκήτρια εὐλαβεστάτη*, the religious ascetic, which the common translations, not so correctly, render, *monialis*, as if she had been confined to a monastery or a cloister, of which we read nothing in those times in Jerusalem. Thirdly, The exercise of charity and contempt of the world in any extraordinary degree, as when men gave up their whole estate to the service of God or use of the poor, was another thing that gave men the denomination and title of ascetics. In this respect St. Jerom calls Pierius[11] a wonderful ascetic, because, among other things, he embraced a voluntary poverty, and lived an austere and philosophic life. And perhaps, for the same reason, he gives Serapion, bishop of Antioch, the same title,[12] as having freely given up his whole estate to the service of the church upon his ordination; which was a practice very common in those days, as appears from the examples of Cyprian, Paulinus, Gregory Nazianzen, and many others. Fourthly, The widows and virgins of the church, and all such as confined themselves to a single life, and made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, were reckoned into the number of ascetics, though there was then neither cloister nor vow to keep them under this obligation. Thus Epiphanius[13] observes of Marcion, that before he fell into his heresy he lived an ascetic life, professing celibacy under his father, who was bishop of Sinope in Pontus, by whom he was excommunicated for corrupting one of the virgins of the church. Origen, in like manner, alludes to this name, when he says, the number of those who exercised themselves in perpetual[14] virginity among the Christians, was great in comparison of those few who did it among the Gentiles. And hence, in after ages, the word *ascetriæ*, in the civil law,[15] is commonly put to signify the widows and virgins of the church. Lastly, All such as exercised themselves with uncommon hardships or austerities for the greater promotion of piety and religion, as in frequent watchings, humicubations, and the like, had the name of ascetics also. In allusion to which Athanasius, or whoever is the author of the Synopsis Scripturæ among his works, styles Lucian the martyr, *μέγαν ἀσκητὴν*,[16] the great ascetic, because of the hardships he endured in prison; being forced to lodge on sharp potsherds for twelve days together, with his feet and hands so bound in the stocks that he could not move; and being denied all sustenance, except he would eat things sacrificed to idols; rather than pollute himself with which he chose to die with famine, as the acts of his martyrdom relate the story. Now, from this account that has been given of the primitive ascetics, it plainly appears, that originally they were not monks, but men of all orders, that freely chose such a way of living as engaged them upon some austerities, without deserting their station or business in the world, whether it were ecclesiastical or secular, that they were otherwise engaged in: and therefore, wherever we read of ascetics in the writers of the three first ages, we must not with Baronius dream of monks and regulars, but take them for persons of another character, agreeable to this description. Valesius[17] makes this observation upon several passages in Eusebius his book of the martyrs of Palestine, who suffered in the beginning of the fourth century in the Diocletian persecution. There he terms one of them Peter the ascetic,[18] and another called Seleucus, a follower of the religious ascetics,[19] whose chief exercise was to take care of the fatherless and widows, and minister to the sick and the poor. These were no monks, as Valesius rightly observes: for St. Jerom says, there were no monks in Palestine before Hilarion, who brought the monastic life into use in that country, not till about fifty years after the death of those martyrs. Cotelerius[20] makes the like remark upon the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, who speaks[21] of ascetics among other orders of Christians, but never of monks: whence he concludes, not without some probability, that that author wrote before the monastic life was settled in the church; else it is hardly to be imagined that he should not some where in his collections have taken notice of monks as well as others.

[6] Iren. ap. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24.
[7] Dionys. Ep. Canon. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2.
[8] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 22.
[9] Antioch. Homil. 7. in Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 1037.
[10] Cyril. Catech. 10. n. 9.
[11] Hieron. de Script. Eccles. c. 76. Constat hunc miræ ἀσκήσεως appetitorem et voluntariæ paupertatis.
[12] Ibid. c. 41. Leguntur ejus breves epistolæ, auctoris sui ἀσκήσει et vitæ congruentes.
[13] Epiphan. Hær. 42. n. 1. Τὸν δὲ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ βίον παρθενίαν δῆθεν ἤσκει, μονάζων γὰρ ὑπῆρχε, &c.
[14] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 7. p. 365. Ἀσκοῦσι τὴν παντελῆ παρθενίαν, &c.
[15] Justin. Novel. 123. c. 43.
[16] Athan. Synop. t. 2. p. 157.
[17] Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Martyr. Palæst. c. 11.
[18] Euseb. de Mart. Pal. c. 10.
[19] Ibid. c. 11.
[20] Coteler. Not. in Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 13.
[21] Constit. Apost. ibid.

Sect. 4. When the monastic life first began.

Ascetics, then, there were always in the church: but the monastic life, neither name nor thing, was not known till toward the fourth century. Mr. Pagi[22] fixes its original to the time of Constantine, and he cites Holstenius[23] and Papebrochius[24] for the same opinion. The rise of it was thus: In the Decian persecution, which was about the middle of the third century, many persons in Egypt, to avoid the fury of the storm, fled to the neighbouring deserts and mountains, where they not only found a safe retreat, but also more time and liberty to exercise themselves in acts of piety and Divine contemplations; which sort of life, though at first forced upon them by necessity, became so agreeable to some of them, that when the persecution was over they would not return to their ancient habitations again, but chose rather to continue in those cottages or cells, which they had made themselves in the wilderness. The first and most noted of these were Paul and Antonius, two famous Egyptians, whom therefore St. Jerom calls[25] the fathers of the Christian hermits. For though some deduced them from John the Baptist and Elias, yet they who understood the matter best, reckoned Paul the Thebæan the first author, and Antony the great encourager of that way of living among the Christians: to which opinion, as the truest, St. Jerom himself[26] subscribes. But as yet there were no bodies or communities of men embracing this life, nor any monasteries built, or any regular societies formed into any method of government; but only a few single persons scattered here and there in the deserts of Egypt, till Pachomius, in the peaceable reign of Constantine, when the persecutions were ended, procured some monasteries to be built in Thebais in Egypt, from whence the custom of living as regulars in societies was followed by degrees in other parts of the world in the succeeding ages. This is evident, from what Papebrochius and Pagi[27] have observed out of the ancient writer of the Acts of Pachomius, where the author brings in Antony the hermit thus comparing the different states of monachism together. When I first became a monk, says he, there was as yet no monastery[28] in any part of the world, where one man was obliged to take care of another; but every one of the ancient monks, when the persecution was ended, exercised a monastic life by himself in private. But afterward your father Pachomius, (he speaks to one of Pachomius's disciples,) by the help of God, effected this. That is, he brought the monks to live in communities, and under rules, which they had not done before. So that here we see at once the rise and progress of the monastic life. Till the year 250, there were no monks, but only ascetics in the church: from that time to the reign of Constantine, monachism was confined to the Anchorets living in private cells in the wilderness: but when Pachomius had erected monasteries in Egypt, other countries presently followed the example, and so the monastic life came to its full maturity in the church. Hilarion, who was scholar to Antonius, was the first monk that ever lived in Palestine or Syria: for St. Jerom[29] says plainly, there was neither monastery nor monk before he came there, but he was the founder and beginner of that sort of life in those provinces. Not long after Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia, brought it into the regions of Armenia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, as Sozomen[30] informs us: but as yet there were no monasteries in Thrace, or Illyricum, or amongst the Europeans, as the same author testifies. Baronius[31] owns there were no monasteries in Italy or Rome, till Athanasius came thither, anno 340, and taught the Anchorets to live in societies, after the example of Pachomius and the Egyptian monks: which is confirmed by St. Jerom,[32] who says, Marcella was the first noble woman that embraced the monastic life at Rome, and that she was instructed by Athanasius, and Peter his successor, who fled to Rome for shelter against the Arian persecution. It was some time after this that St. Martin, bishop of Tours, fixed his cell in France, and eighty other monks[33] followed his example: from whence, some learned men[34] think, Pelagius brought the monastic life first into Britain in the beginning of the fifth century; beyond which period I think it needless to carry the present inquiry. They who would know the rise and distinction of the several later orders, may consult Hospinian, Creccelius, and others, who pursue this history through all ages. *Vid. Hospinian. de Origin.*

[22] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 318. n. 12. Initium monachatûs ætati Constantini imputandum.

[23] Holsten. Præf. ad Regulas Veter. Monachor.

[24] Papebroch. Com. in Acta Pachomii, Maii 14.

[25] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 16. Hujus vitæ auctor Paulus, illustrator etiam Antonius.

[26] Id. Vit. Pauli, t. 1. p. 237. Affirmant Paulum quendam Thebæum principem istius rei fuisse: quod non tam nomine quam opinione nos quoque comprobamus.

[27] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 318. n. 12.

[28] Acta Pachomii, c. 77. ap. Papebroch. die 14 Maii. Quo ego primum tempore monachum cœpi agere, nullum uspiam extabat cœnobium, in quo de aliorum salute cura aut metus cuiquam erat: sed quisque antiquorum monachorum, persecutione jam finita, privatim in vita sese monastica exercebat. Postea vero pater vester (Pachomius) tantum bonum, Deo adjuvante, effecit.

[29] Hieron. Vit. Hilarion. c. 11. Necdum enim tunc monasteria erant in Palæstina, nec quisquam monachos ante sanctum Hilarionem in Syria noverat. Ille fundator et eruditor hujus conversationis et studii in hac provincia fuit.

[30] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14.

[31] Baron. an. 340. n. 7.

[32] Hieron. Ep. 16. Epitaph. Marcellæ.

[33] Sever. Vit. Martin. c. 7.

[34] Sutlif. de Monach. Institut. c. 6.

Monachor. Crecceli Collectanea de Origine et Fundat. Ordinum Monastic. &c.

Sect. 5. In what the ascetics differed from monks.

But it may now be properly inquired, since monks are of so much later date than ascetics, how the ancient ascetics differed from them? To which it may be replied, Chiefly in these three things: 1. That the monks were men that retired from the business and conversation of the world, for they either lived in private cells singly by themselves, or if in monasteries and societies, yet those were remote from cities, in some far distant mountain or a desert wilderness; but the first ascetics, as their name implies, were always men of an active life, living in cities, as other men, and in nothing differing from them save only in this, that they were more intent and zealous in attempting greater heights and heroical acts of Christian virtue. 2. The monks, by their first institution, as we shall see hereafter, were to be no more than laymen; for being confined to the wilderness, the clerical and monastic life were, upon that account, incompatible states, and for almost one whole age they were scarce ever joined together: but the ancient ascetics were indifferently persons of any order of men, clergy as well as laity, because the clerical and ascetic life were then consistent with each other; the business of each being to converse with men, and exercise themselves in acts of piety and charity among them. 3. The monks, at least such as lived in monasteries and societies, were always brought under certain private rules and laws of discipline: but the ancient ascetics had no laws but those of the gospel, and the church where they lived, to be governed by; their exercises were freely chosen, and as freely pursued, in what manner, and to what degree, they pleased, without any binding laws or rules of compulsion. And these things are a further proof that the first ascetics were no monks, however some writers unwarily confound them together.

Sect. 6. What other names they were called by.

The reader may take notice of one thing more concerning the primitive ascetics, that they were sometimes called by other names. Eusebius[35] calls them σπουδαῖοι, and Epiphanius[36] uses the same appellation; meaning persons more eminent for their sanctity, and diligence in the exercises of fasting, and prayer, and almsdeeds, and the like. Clemens Alexandrinus[37] styles them ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι, the elect of the elect; for all Christians, as has been observed in another place,[38] were called the elect, and therefore the ascetics are termed the elect of the elect, because they were the more eminent or choice part of Christian professors.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SEVERAL SORTS OF MONKS, AND THEIR WAYS OF LIVING IN THE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. Several sorts of monks distinguished by their different ways of living.

Having hitherto showed the difference between the first ascetics and monks, I come now to speak a little more particularly of the monks alone, so far as may be necessary to inform the reader of the true state of the monastic life at its first appearance and settlement in the church. And here we are to observe, that the ancient monks were not like the modern, distinguished into orders, and denominated from the authors and founders of them; but they had their names either from the places where they inhabited, as the monks of Mount Scethis, Tabennesus, Nitria, Canopus in Egypt, &c., or else they were distinguished by their different ways of living, some in cells, others on pillars, others in societies, and others by a roving and rambling kind of life, which were always reckoned a dishonour and reproach to the church.

Sect. 2. The first called Anchorets, ἀναχωρηταί.

The first sort were commonly known by the name of Anchorets, from their retiring from society, and living in private cells in the wilderness. Such were Paul, and Antony, and Hilarion, the first founders of the monastic life in Egypt and Palestine; from whom other monks took their model. Some of these lived in caves, ἐν σπηλαίοις, as Chrysostom says[1] the monks of Mount Casius, near Antioch, did; and others in little tents or cells, οἰκίσκοι, Evagrius[2] calls them, and Chrysostom, σκῆναι, tabernacles. When many of these were placed together in the same wilderness at some distance from one another, they were all called by one common name, *laura*, which, as Evagrius[3] informs us, differed from a *cœnobium* or community in this, that a *laura* was many cells divided from each other, where every monk provided for himself; but a *cœnobium* was but one habitation, where the monks lived in society, and had all things in common. Epiphanius[4] says, Laura or Labra was the name of a street or district where a church stood at Alexandria; and it is probable, that from thence the name was taken, to signify a multitude of cells in the wilderness, united as it were in a certain district, yet so divided

[35] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 11.
[36] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 22.
[37] Clem. Alex. Homil. Quis dives salv. n. 36. ap. Combefis Auctar. Novissim. p. 181.
[38] Book I. chap. i. sect. 1.
[1] Chrysos. Hom. 17. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 215.
[2] Evagr. lib. i. c. 21.
[3] Evagr. ibid.
[4] Epiph. Hær. 69. n. 1.

as to make up many separate habitations; whereas a *cœnobium* was more like a single house for many monks to dwell in.

Sect. 3. The second, Cœnobites, or Synodites.

And hence arose a second sort of monks, who from their different way of living were commonly called *Cœnobitæ;* and their habitations, *cœnobia*, κοινόβια, because they lived in common. In the Theodosian Code[5] they are also called *Synoditæ;* which does not signify the attendants of monks, as some civilians[6] by mistake explain the word, deriving it from σὺν and ὁδίτης, *viator;* but it denotes the monks themselves, who were so called from their living ἐν συνόδοις, in communities, or convents. And in this they differed from Anchorets, as has been noted before. Gennadius[7] applies these two names indifferently to this second sort of monks, when he says, Evagrius wrote a book concerning Cœnobites and Synodites, containing rules and directions for leading a life in common. St. Jerom[8] says, the Egyptians called this sort of monks, *Sauches*, in their proper tongue, which signifies the same as Cœnobites in the Greek and Latin church; and that the Anchorets were of a different order from them, and had their name from living in solitude, or singly by themselves in the wilderness.

Sect. 4. The third, *Sarabaitæ.*

There was another sort, he says, whom the Egyptians called Remboth, who were a sort of monks that would live as they listed themselves, only two or three[9] together, under no rule or government. These did not resort to the wilderness as the others, but lived chiefly in cities and castles, where every thing they did might be seen and valued by men, which was the only end they aimed at. For they turned religion into an art, and made a real gain of pretended godliness. Whatever they sold of the work of their own hands, was at a higher price than any others. And this made them very turbulent and contentious: for living upon their own labour, they would be subject to no superiors. They fasted to an extraordinary degree; but then they made that which should have been a private exercise, matter of strife and public victory and triumph. Every thing about them was affected, loose sleeves, wide stockings, coarse clothes, often sighing, making frequent visits to the virgins, and always bitterly inveighing against the clergy. But if ever there came a feast-day, they would indulge themselves even to riot and excess. These therefore St. Jerom justly brands as the pests and banes of the church. He that would see more of their character, may consult Cassian[10] among the ancient writers, who exposes them under the name of *Sarabaitæ;* and Spalatensis[11] among the moderns, who draws the parallel between them and the Minorites, Dominicans, Carmelites, Servites, and Minims of the Romish church.

Sect. 5. Of the *Stylitæ*, or Pillarists.

Another sort of monks in the ancient church (of which there were but a very few) were the *Stylitæ*, or Pillarists, so called from their taking up a singular way of living perpetually upon a pillar. Simeon, surnamed Stylites, who lived about the time of the council of Chalcedon, was the first, Evagrius[12] says, that introduced this sort of life among the monastic orders. And Theodorus Lector[13] observes, that the novelty of it at first was so offensive to the Egyptian monks, that they sent anathematizing letters against him; but upon better information, coming to understand the worth and conversation of the man, they afterward communicated with him. The severity of this way of living was not very inviting, and therefore it made but few proselytes. Theodorus Lector[14] mentions one Daniel, a disciple of Simeon's, and Evagrius[15] speaks of another Simeon, in the time of Mauricius, who lived sixty-eight years upon a pillar, and is commonly called Simeon Stylites junior, to distinguish him from the former. Johannes Moschus[16] gives an account of two or three more of this way in the same age. Surius also, among his catalogue of saints, has the life of one Alipius, bishop of Adrianople, who renounced his see to live upon a pillar; where, if the story say true,[17] he continued seventy years; having two quires of virgins and one of monks attending him, with whom he sang psalms and hymns alternatively night and day. Beside these we scarce meet with any other of this way in ancient history. An argument that

[5] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 30. de Appellat. Leg. 57. Addictos supplicio, nulli clericorum vel monachorum, eorum etiam quos Synoditas vocant, per vim atque usurpationem vindicare liceat, &c. It. Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 4. de Episcopali Audientia, Leg. 6.

[6] Lexicon Juridic. voce Synoditæ, Genev. 1615.

[7] Gennad. de Scriptor. in Evagrio. Composuit de Cœnobitis ac Synoditis doctrinam aptam vitæ communis.

[8] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. Tria sunt in Ægypto genera monachorum: primum Cœnobitæ, quod illi Sauches gentili lingua vocant; nos, in commune viventes, possumus appellare. Secundum Anachoritæ, quod soli habitant per deserta, et ab eo quod procul ab hominibus recesserint, nuncupantur. Tertium genus est quod Remboth dicunt, deterrimum atque neglectum.

[9] Ibid. Hi bini vel trini nec multo plures simul habitant, suo arbitratu ac ditione viventes.——Habitant autem quamplurimi in urbibus et castellis: et quasi ars sit sancta, non vita, quicquid vendiderint majoris est pretii. Inter hos sæpe sunt jurgia, quia suo viventes cibo, non patiuntur se alicui esse subjectos. Revera solent certare jejuniis, et rem secreti victoriæ faciunt. Apud hos affectata sunt omnia, laxæ manicæ, caligæ follicantes, vestis crassior, crebra suspiria, visitatio virginum, detractio clericorum. Et si quando dies festus venerit, saturantur ad vomitum, &c.

[10] Cassian. Collat. 18. c. 7.

[11] Spalat. de Rep. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 12. n. 77.

[12] Evagr. lib. 1. c. 13.

[13] Theodor. Lect. lib. 2. p. 565.

[14] Ibid. lib. 1. p. 554.

[15] Evagr. lib. 6. c. 23.

[16] Mosch. Prat. Spir. c. 36, 57, 129.

[17] Surius, t. 6. Vid. Hospin. de Monach. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 22.

it was not of any great esteem, when it was first invented in the primitive church.

Sect. 6. Of secular monks. Beside these sorts of monks, who renounced the world, and lived in perpetual celibacy, Spalatensis[18] thinks there was another order, which did neither of those things, but lived in a married state, and enjoyed their own property and possessions, only they exercised themselves in acts of austerity and religion, as the primitive ascetics were used to do, of whom we have given an account in the former chapter. Thus much is certain from the express words of Athanasius and St. Austin, that in their time some went by the name of monks, who were married men, and possessed of estates. For Athanasius, writing to Dracontius, a monk, to persuade him to accept of a bishopric, (to which he was averse, because he thought it would not consist with his ascetic way of living,) uses this argument to him: You may still, says he, after you are made a bishop,[19] hunger and thirst with Paul, and abstain from wine with Timothy, and fast frequently as St. Paul was wont to do. Let not therefore your counsellors throw such objections in your way. For we know many bishops that fast, and monks that eat and drink; we know bishops that drink no wine, and monks that do; we know bishops that work miracles, and monks that work none. Many bishops are not married; and on the other hand, many monks are fathers of children: you may also find bishops that are fathers of children, and monks that are not so; clergy that eat and drink, and monks that fast. For these things are at liberty, and no prohibition laid upon them: every one exercises himself as he pleases; for it is not men's station, but their actions, for which they shall be crowned. From these words of Athanasius it seems plain, that as yet the rules of the monastic life obliged no man to renounce either his possessions or a married state, but he might use both, if he pleased, without any ecclesiastical censure. And though the case was a little altered with some monks before St. Austin's time, yet others reserved to themselves their ancient privilege: for St. Austin, writing against the heretics who called themselves Apostolics, says, They[20] arrogantly assumed to themselves that name, because they rejected all from their communion, who had either wives or estates, of which sort the catholic church had many both monks and clergy. So that at least some monks were still at liberty to enjoy both a conjugal state and possessions of their own, without any impeachment of apostacy or breach of vow in the catholic church. For which reason I have given this sort of monks the distinguishing name of seculars.

Sect. 7. All monks originally no more than laymen. Though, to avoid ambiguity in terms, it must be observed, that all monks at first might properly be called seculars, as that name is opposed to ecclesiastics. For monks in their first original were generally laymen, nor could they well be otherwise by their proper constitution, and the general laws of the catholic church. For the first monks were generally hermits, that is, persons confined by their own rules to some desert or wilderness, where solitude was thought to help forward the exercises of contemplation and repentance, and they had none to take care of but their own souls: but the clerical life required men to live in towns and cities, where crowds of people afforded them proper occasions to exercise the offices of the clerical function; and it was against the rules of the catholic church, as I have showed[21] in another place, for any clerk to be ordained without a proper cure or title in some church, where he might do the duties of his function. For this reason it was a thing impracticable in itself, as well as against the rules of the two different states of the clerical and monastic life, that the generality of monks should be clergymen; which, to the confusion of ancient rules and discipline, has been the unwarrantable practice of later ages, especially since the time of Clement V., anno 1311, who obliged[22] all monks to take holy orders, that they might say private mass for the honour of God, as he esteemed it; which was in truth a manifest trampling on the laws of the ancient church, and an affront to her practice. For anciently monks were put into the same class with laymen, as they generally were, and considered only as such. St. Jerom gives us at once both the rule and the practice, when he says, the office of a monk is not[23] to teach, but to mourn; and that the case of the monks and clergy is very different from each other: the clergy are those that feed the sheep, but the monks (among whom he reckons himself) are those that are fed. It is true, St. Jerom was not only a monk, but a presbyter likewise; but being ordained against his will, and resolving to continue a monk, he refused to officiate as a presbyter: which shows, that he had no great opinion of joining the monk and the clerk together, much less of making all monks in general become clerks, according to the modern practice. The

[18] Spalat. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 11. n. 22.

[19] Athan. Ep. ad Dracont. t. 1. p. 958.

[20] Aug. de Hæres. c. 40. Apostolici se isto nomine arrogantissime vocaverunt, eo quod in suam communionem non reciperent utentes conjugibus, et res proprias possidentes; quales habet catholica ecclesia et monachos et clericos plurimos

[21] Book IV. chap. 6. n. 2.

[22] Vid. Clementin. lib. 3. Tit. 10. c. 1.

[23] Hieron. Ep. 55. ad Ripar. Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium. Id. Ep. 1. ad Heliodor. Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor.

council of Chalcedon once or twice very expressly distinguishes the monks from the clergy, and reckons them with the laymen. In one canon it says,[24] Whoever are instrumental in getting others ordained or promoted to any office in the church for money or filthy lucre; such transactors, if they be clergymen, shall be deposed; if laymen or monks, excommunicated. And another canon[25] forbids monks to meddle with ecclesiastical affairs. Both which canons plainly imply, that the monks then were not of the clergy, but merely laymen. Pope Leo[26] at the same time speaks of them as such, telling Maximus, bishop of Antioch, that he should not permit monks or laymen, however learned, to usurp the power of teaching or preaching, but only the priests of the Lord. And therefore when any monk was to be ordained presbyter or bishop, he was obliged first to go through all other orders of the church, as it was then customary for laymen to do, before the superior orders were conferred upon them. This we learn from a decree of Pope Gelasius,[27] which orders, that if a monk of good life and learning was minded to be ordained a priest, he should first be made a reader, or a notary, or a defensor, and after three months an acolythist, after six months a subdeacon, after nine months a deacon, and at the year's end a presbyter. So that the difference between a monk and any other layman was only this, that a monk by virtue of his education in a school of learning and good discipline (such as monasteries then were) was supposed to be a better proficient than other laymen, and therefore allowed the benefit of a quicker passage through the inferior orders than other candidates of the priesthood. All which shows, that anciently the generality of monks were only laymen, or at most but in a middle state betwixt common laymen and the clergy; as the learned men of the Romish church, Habertus,[28] Lindanus,[29] and others, scruple not to confess, though they are willing to defend the modern practice. Nay, even Gratian himself,[30] who is most concerned for the moderns, owns it to be plain from ecclesiastical history, that to the time of Pope Siricius and Zosimus the ancient monks were only simple monks, and not of the clergy.

Sect. 8. In what cases the clerical and monastic life might be conjoined together.

But though monks did not anciently aspire to be ordained; nor was it consistent with the rules of the church that all of them should be so; yet in several cases the clerical and monastic life was in some measure capable of being conjoined. As, first, when a monastery happened to be at so great a distance from its proper episcopal or parochial church, that the monks could not ordinarily resort thither for Divine service; which was the case of the monasteries in Egypt and other parts of the East, where the monks lived in great deserts sequestered from the rest of mankind; then some one or more of the monks were ordained for the performance of Divine offices among them. Thus Cassian often speaks of the churches of the monasteries of Scethis or Scythia in the deserts of Egypt, one of which had two presbyters, Paphnutius[31] and Daniel; and three others, single presbyters, residing, and performing Divine offices in them: these were the abbots or fathers of the monasteries, and presbyters of the churches together; whom Cassian mentions with this remarkable circumstance,[32] that all of them, except Paphnutius, being overrun with the heresy of the Anthropomorphites; when Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, sent one of his paschal letters among them, (to give notice of Easter according to custom,) and therein made some sharp reflections on that absurd heresy, they would not so much as suffer his epistle to be read in their churches. Sozomen likewise tells us,[33] that Prines the monk, whom the Arians made use of as their instrument to conceal Arsenius, while they accused Athanasius of his murder, was a presbyter of one of the monasteries in the deserts of Thebais. Where it seems the monasteries were vastly great: for Cassian[34] assures us, that one of them had no less than five thousand monks in it: and it cannot be thought strange, that such monasteries in remote deserts should have their proper churches, and presbyters to officiate in them. But it was not only in the deserts that monasteries were allowed presbyters in them, but in some places the city monasteries (as soon as they began to get footing there) had the same privilege likewise. For Eutyches the heretic was not only archimandrite, but presbyter also of his monastery

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24 Conc. Chalced. c. 2.

25 Ibid. c. 4.

26 Leo, Ep. 60. al. 62. Illud quoque convenit præcavere, ut præter eos qui sunt Domini sacerdotes, nullus sibi jus docendi et prædicandi audeat vendicare, sive sit ille monachus, sive laicus, qui alicujus scientiæ nomine glorietur.

27 Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episc. Lucan. c. 3. Si quis de religioso proposito, et disciplinis monasterialibus eruditus, ad clericale munus accedat——continuò lector vel notarius, aut certe defensor effectus, post tres menses existat acolythus: sexto mense subdiaconi nomen accipiat; nono mense diaconus, completoque anno sit presbyter.

28 Habert. Archieratic. p. 601.

29 Lindan. Panopl. lib. 4. c. 75.

30 Gratian. Caus. 16. qu. 1. post cap. 39. Monachos vero usque ad tempus Eusebii, Zosimi et Siricii monachos simpliciter, et non clericos fuisse, ecclesiastica testatur historia.

31 Cassian. Collat. 3. c. 1. Collat. 4. c. 1.

32 Collat. 10. c. 2. Ita est hæc epistola refutata ab his, qui erant in eremo Scythi commorantes, ut præter abbatem Paphnutium nostræ congregationis presbyterum, nullus eam cæterorum presbyterorum, qui in eadem eremo aliis tribus ecclesiis præsidebant, nec legi quidem ac recitari in suis conventibus prorsus admitterent.

33 Sozom. lib. 2. c. 23.

34 Cassian. de Institut. Renunciant. lib. 4. c. 1.

at Constantinople, as Liberatus[35] and other ancient writers style him. And that this was no unusual thing, appears from hence, that both the civil and the canon law allows the practice. Justinian in one of his Novels[36] has a proviso both for such monasteries as had churches of their own, and such as had not: for those which had none of their own, it is ordered, that the monks should repair to the parish church with their abbot, and after Divine service immediately return to their monastery again; but such monasteries as had churches in them, might have four or five of their own body ordained, presbyters, or deacons, or of the inferior orders, as there was occasion. And before this the council of Chalcedon[37] speaks of churches in monasteries, and clergy belonging to them; allowing a deputation to any such church to be a sufficient title to qualify a man for holy orders. So that in these circumstances there is no question to be made but that the clerical and monastic life were often joined together.

2. Another case in which the same thing was practised, was when monks were taken out of monasteries by the bishops, and ordained for the service of the church. Which thing was frequently done, and not only allowed, but encouraged, both by the imperial and ecclesiastical laws: when once monasteries were become schools of learning and pious education, they were thought the properest nurseries for the church. Therefore Arcadius made it an instruction to the bishops, that if at any time they needed to augment their clergy,[38] they should do it out of the monks. Gothofred, in his learned observations on this law, has abundantly showed the church's practice from the testimonies of Athanasius,[39] St. Jerom,[40] St. Austin,[41] Epiphanius,[42] Palladius,[43] St. Basil,[44] Marcellinus Chronicon, and the code of the African church.[45] To which may be added the letters of Siricius,[46] Innocent, and Gelasius, alleged by Gratian, and the councils of Agde[47] and Lerida, which allow a bishop to take any monk out of a monastery with the consent and approbation of the abbot, and ordain him for the service of the church. And in this case they usually continued their ancient austerities and ascetic way of living, and so joined the clerical and monastic life together. Upon which account both these and the former sort were by the Greeks styled ἱερομοναχοὶ, clergy-monks, to distinguish them from such as were only laymen.

3. It happened sometimes, that a bishop and all his clergy chose an ascetic way of living, by a voluntary renunciation of all property, and enjoying all things in common, in imitation of the first church under the apostles. St. Ambrose[48] seems to say, that Eusebius Vercellensis was the first that brought in this way of living into the Western church. For before his time the monastic life was not known in cities; but he taught his clergy to live in the city after the rules and institution of monks in the wilderness. Which must be understood chiefly, I conceive, of their austerities, and renouncing their property, and having all things in common, as the other had. St. Austin set up the same way of living among the clergy of Hippo, as we learn from his own words, who says,[49] he made the bishop's house a monastery of clergymen, where it was against the rule for any man to enjoy any property of his own, but they had all things in common. Which is also noted by Possidius in his Life, That his clergy[50] lived with him in the same house, and eat at the same table, and were fed and clothed at a common expense. And so far as this was an imitation of the Cœnobites' way of living and having all things common, it might be called a monastic as well as clerical life, as Possidius and St. Austin call it. But as yet there was no monastery in the world, where all the monks were ordained only to say private mass, without being fixed to any certain cure, where they might perform the several offices of the clerical function. The monastery of St. Austin consisted only of such as had public offices and business in the church, and were not men confined to a cloister.

Sect. 9. The original of canons regular.

Therefore the hermits of St. Austin, and many other modern orders which assume his name, do but falsely pretend to derive their original from him; who, it is certain, never was a hermit himself, nor wrote any rules for them, though a great many sermons are fathered on him as preached to the hermits in the wilderness. They who count the rise of canons regular from him, as Duarenus[51] and others, have something more of probability on their side: because, as I have showed, the clergy of Hippo were under some of the exercises of a monastic life, which

[35] Liberat. Breviar. c. 11.
[36] Justin. Novel. 133. c. 2.
[37] Conc. Chalced. c. 6 et 8.
[38] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 32. Si quos forte episcopi deesse sibi clericos arbitrantur, ex monachorum numero rectius ordinabunt.
[39] Athanas. Ep. ad Dracont.
[40] Hieron. Ep. 3 et 4.
[41] Aug. Ep. 67, 76, 81.
[42] Epiphan. Expos. Fidei.
[43] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 21.
[44] Basil. Ep. 403. ad Amphiloc.
[45] Cod. Afric. c. 80. al. 83.
[46] Gratian. Caus. 16. qu. 1. c. 20, 22, 28.
[47] Conc. Agathen. c. 27. Conc. Ilerd. c. 3.
[48] Ambros. Ep. 82. ad Eccles. Vercel. p. 254. Hæc enim primus in Occidentis partibus diversa inter se Eusebius sanctæ memoriæ conjunxit, ut et in civitate positus instituta monachorum teneret, et ecclesiam regeret jejunii sobrietate
[49] Aug. Serm. 49. de Diversis, t. 10. p. 519. Volui habere in ista domo episcopi meum monasterium clericorum. Ecce quomodo vivimus. Nulli licet in societate habere aliquid proprium.
[50] Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 25. Cum ipso semper clerici, una etiam domo ac mensa, sumptibusque communibus alebantur et vestiebantur.
[51] Duaren. de Minist. et Benefic. lib. 1. c. 21.

made them a sort of canons regular: and yet Onuphrius,[52] and Hospinian,[53] who have inquired very nicely into these matters, make Gelasius the first founder of them under that name in the Lateran church, where they continued to the time of Boniface VIII., who expelled them thence. How soon the name or order came into other churches, Hospinian will inform the curious reader.

Sect. 10. Of the monks called *Acœmetæ*, or Watchers.

About the beginning of the fifth century, or, as Baronius[54] thinks, toward the middle of it, at Constantinople, under Gennadius the patriarch, one Alexander set up an order of monks, whom the writers of that and the following ages commonly style Ἀκοίμηται, that is, Watchers: the reason of which name is taken from their manner of performing Divine offices day and night without intermission. For they divided themselves into three classes, and so one succeeded another at a stated hour, and by that means continued a perpetual course of Divine service without any interval, as well by night as by day, whence they had the name of Watchers given them. The piety of this order procured them great esteem and veneration, and many monasteries were builded for their use at Constantinople. Among others, one Studius, a nobleman of Rome, and a man of consular dignity, renounced the world, and became one of their order; erecting a famous monastery for them himself, which from the founder was[55] called *Studium*, and the monks of it *Studitæ*. And this, perhaps, is the first time we meet any monks that took their denomination from any founder. But these monks in a little time sunk in their credit, because they were many times found to be favourers of the heresy of Nestorius, for which they are frequently reflected on[56] by ecclesiastical writers.

Sect. 11. Of those called Βοσκοὶ, or Grazers.

In the regions of Syria and Mesopotamia, Sozomen[57] takes notice of another sort of monks, who, from their peculiar way of living, were commonly called Βοσκοὶ, the Grazers. For they lived after the same manner as flocks and herds upon the mountains, never dwelling in any house, nor eating any bread or flesh, nor drinking wine, but continuing instantly in the worship of God, in prayers and hymns, according to the custom of the church, till eating time was come; and then every man went with his knife in his hand to provide himself food of the herbs of the field, which was their only diet and constant way of living.

Sect. 12. Of the Benedictins, and *Gyrovagi*, in Italy.

I take no notice here of those called by some the monks of St. Basil and St. Jerom; for it is certain those fathers never set up any distinct orders of their own, though both of them were promoters of the monastic life in general. The Rule, which goes under the name of St. Jerom, is known to be a forgery of some later writer: and the ascetics commonly ascribed to St. Basil, are by some learned men[58] rather thought to be the offspring of Eustathius of Sebastia. But admitting them to be his, as most learned men do, they do not argue him the author of any new order, but only a director of those which were already founded. Therefore passing by these, I shall only take notice of two orders more, the Benedictins in Italy, and the Apostolics in Britain. The Benedictins had their rise from Benedict, a famous Italian monk in the time of Justinian, about the year 530. His first settlement was at Sublaqueum, in the diocese of Tibur in Italy, where he erected twelve monasteries of twelve monks apiece in the neighbouring wilderness; one of which, in after ages, grew so great, that it was not only exempt from episcopal power, against all ancient rules, but, as a modern writer[59] observes, had no less than fourteen villages under its own proper jurisdiction. From this place he removed to Mount Cassin, where he erected another monastery, from whence he propagated his order into other countries with so great success, that for six hundred years after the greatest part of the European monks were followers of his rule; and so, whatever other names they went by, Carthusians, Cistercians, Grandimontenses, Præmonstratenses, Cluniacks, &c., they were but different branches of the Benedictins, till about the year 1220 the Dominicans and Franciscans took new rules from their leaders. Hospinian[60] reckons up twenty-three orders that sprang from this one, and observes out of Volateran, that in his time it was computed that there had been of the order two hundred cardinals, sixteen hundred archbishops, four thousand bishops, fifteen thousand seven hundred abbots, by which it is easy to judge of the prodigious increase of this order. I shall not concern myself to give any further account of them, but only observe one thing out of the rule of Benedict himself, that he never intended his monks should be called after his own name, or reckoned a new order; much less that so many new orders should be derived from it. For he professes only to write in general for the use of the Cœnobites and

[52] Onuphr. Annot. in Platin. Vit. Gelas. p. 62. Gelasius canonicos, ut vocant, regularis ordinis Sti. Augustini Laterani primus collocavit, qui ibidem usque ad Bonifacium VIII., a quo expulsi sunt, permanserunt. Ex Archivis Basilicæ Lateranensis.

[53] Hospin. de Orig. Monachat. lib. 3. c. 6. p. 72.

[54] Baron. an. 459. ex Actis Marcelli ap. Surium, Dec. 29.

[55] Niceph. Hist. lib. 15. c. 23. [56] Vid. Nicephor. ibid.

[57] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 33. Vid. Evagr. lib. 1. c. 21. Moschus, Prat. Spir. c. 19.

[58] Hospin. de Orig. Monach. p. 69. Sutclif. de Monachis, c. 7. Vid. Sozomen. lib. 3. c. 14.

[59] Baudrand. Lexic. Geograph. voce Sublaqueum.

[60] Hospin. de Monach. lib. 4. c. 5. p. 116 et 132.

Anchorets of the primitive church, which in his time were the only two standing orders that the churches of Italy allowed. He says, indeed, there were four sorts of monks in all, Cœnobites, Anchorets, *Sarabaitæ*, and *Gyrovagi:* but the two last were only scandals and reproaches to the church. Of the *Sarabaitæ* he gives much the same account that St. Jerom and Cassian do before him.[61] And the *Gyrovagi* he thus describes: That they were a sort of rambling monks, that spent their whole life[62] in running about from one province to another, and getting themselves well entertained for three or four days together at every cell they came at, being arrant slaves to their bellies, and wholly addicted to their pleasures, and in all things worse than the very *Sarabaitæ* themselves. So that he professes to pass over their miserable conversation in silence, and to write only for the instruction and use of the ancient Cœnobites of the church. By which it is plain, that in the time of St. Benedict, the monks had not distinguished themselves into very many different orders allowed in the Western church.

Sect. 13. Of the Apostolics in Britain and Ireland.

About the year 596, the Bendictins came with Austin the monk into Britain, and so all the monasteries which the Saxons built were for monks of that order. But the ancient Britons had long before this entertained the monastic life. Some say Pelagius[63] first brought it out of the East into Britain: others make him also abbot of the college of Bangor, and speak of two thousand monks under him: but this is justly censured by learned men[64] as a mere fable of modern authors. However, it is certain, from Bede, that there was a monastery at Bangor (whoever was the first founder of it is not very material to inquire) before Austin and his monks came into England; and here was such a number of monks,[65] that the monastery being divided into seven parts, each part had a rector, and no less than three hundred persons in it: all which were wont to live by the labour of their own hands. Hospinian and Bale give this the name of the Apostolic order; but whether upon good grounds I cannot say. In one thing it is certain they make a great mistake, in that they confound this monastery of Banochor, or Bangor, with that of Benchor in Ireland; which was another famous monastery founded by Congellus about the year 520. Out of this monastery sprang many thousand monks, and many other monasteries in Ireland and other nations also. St. Bernard[66] says, Luanus, one of the monks of this congregation, himself alone founded a hundred monasteries. And Bishop Usher has observed[67] of Brendanus, one of Congellus his first disciples, that he presided over three thousand monks, who by their own labours and handy-work did earn their own living. Columba was another of his disciples, who, having first founded the monastery of Deermach in Ireland, went and converted the Northern Picts to the Christian faith, anno 565, and builded a monastery in the isle of Hy, from whence many other monasteries, both in Britain and Ireland, as Bede[68] observes, were propagated by his disciples. Columbanus and Gallus were also monks under Congellus, the latter of which is famous for founding the monastery of St. Gall, in Helvetia, which is since become an eminent city; and the other for founding that of Lexovium, or Lisieux, in Normandy, where the monks (like the *Acœmetæ*, or Watchers, of Constantinople, mentioned before) were used to divide themselves into several quires, to succeed one another, and continue Divine service day and night without intermission, as St. Bernard[69] informs us. I have been the more particular in giving a distinct account of these two famous monasteries, Benchor and Bangor, not only because they were the most ancient in Ireland and Britain, but because they are so unhappily by Hospinian and Bale confounded into one.

Sect. 14. Of some uncommon names of monks in the ancient church.

I will shut up this chapter with a few remarks upon the different names which the ancients gave to some, or all kinds of monks in general. Beside the names of monks and ascetics, we find them frequently styled by other titles, respecting some particular act of their profession. In regard to their retirement and quiet way of living, some are styled by Justinian,[70] in one of his Novels, Ἡσυχασταὶ, *Hesychastæ*, Quietists. Suicerus[71] and Habertus[72] take it to be only another name for Anchorets. But according to Justinian's account, it seems rather to mean persons who lived among the Cœnobites, but for greater exercise were allowed to retire from the community, and live (though within the bounds of

[61] Vid. sect. 4.

[62] Benedict. Regul. Monachor. c. 1. Quartum genus est monachorum, quod nominatur Gyrovagum, qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diversorum cellas hospitantur; semper vagi et nunquam stabiles; propriis voluptatibus et gulæ illecebris servientes, et per omnia deteriores Sarabaitis: de quorum omnium miserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui. His ergo omissis, ad Cœnobitarum fortissimum genus disponendum, adjuvante Domino, veniamus.

[63] Hospin. de Monach. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 115.

[64] Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. 1. p. 291.

[65] Bede, Hist. Anglor. lib. 2. c. 2. In monasterio Bancor tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum, ut cum in septem portiones esset cum præpositis sibi rectoribus monasterium divisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet, qui omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant.

[66] Bernard. Vit. Malachiæ, c. 5. p. 1934.

[67] Usher, Relig. of the Anc. Irish, c. 6. p. 46.

[68] Bede, lib. 3. c. 4.

[69] Bernard, ibid. Vit. Malachiæ, c. 5.

[70] Justin. Novel. 5. c. 3.

[71] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce ἡσυχαστής.

[72] Habert. Archierat. p. 588.

a *cœnobium*) in particular cells by themselves, and those cells were called ἡσυχαστήρια upon that account. Otherwhiles monks are styled *continentes*, because of their great abstinence and continent life; as in the third council of Carthage, which forbids the clergy and persons[73] professing continence, to go to the virgins or widows without the leave of the bishops or presbyters. So also in a law of Valentinian in the Theodosian Code,[74] and other places. Sometimes, again, they are noted by the names ἀποταξάμενοι, and *renunciantes*, renouncers, from renouncing the world and a secular life; as in Palladius,[75] and Cassian,[76] who particularly entitles one of his books, De Institutis Renunciantium. Sometimes they are termed philosophers, as by Isidore of Pelusium,[77] Palladius,[78] Theodoret[79] and others, because their way of living seemed to resemble the philosophic life more than others. The author under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite seems to give them the name of *therapeutæ*,[80] though that was once a common name of Christians in Egypt, if the accounts of Eusebius and St. Jerom may be trusted.[81] Palladius sometimes uses the term φιλοθεΐα for the monastic life,[82] because they made a profession of renouncing all for the love of God: and upon this account Theodoret[83] gives one of his books the title of Philotheus, or Religious History, because it contains the lives of the most famous ascetics of his time. The reader will sometimes also meet with the name of *Silentiarii*, given to some monks in ancient history: but this was not a name of any particular order, but given to some few for their professing a more than Pythagorean silence; such as Johannes Silentiarius, who was first bishop of Colonia in Armenia, but renounced his bishopric to become a monk in Palestine, where he got the name of *Silentiarius*, from his extraordinary silence, as Cyril[84] of Scythopolis, the writer of his Life, informs us. Though it must be noted, that the name *Silentiarii* is more commonly given to another sort of men, who were civil officers in the emperor's palace, and served both as apparitors to execute public business, and as guards to keep the peace about him, whence they had the name of *Silentiarii*, under which title they are spoken of in the Theodosian Code,[85] which joins them and the *Decuriones* together, where in Gothofred's learned notes the curious reader may find a further account of them. Another name which the historians give to some Egyptian monks, who were deeply concerned in the disputes between Theophilus and Chrysostom, is the title of Μακροὶ, or *Longi*; but this was peculiar to four brethren, Dioscorus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius, who were noted by this name for no other reason, as Sozomen[86] observes, but only because they were tall of stature. In Sidonius Apollinaris they are sometimes called *cellulani*, from their living in cells,[87] and *insulani*, islanders, because the famous monastery in the isle of Lerins was the place where most of the French bishops and learned men in those ages had their education. So this was a peculiar name for the monks of Lerins. The monasteries, beside the common names of μοναστήρια and μοναὶ, were also sometimes termed σεμνεῖα, as Suicerus shows out of Balzamon, and Methodius, and Suidas, though that anciently in Eusebius and Philo signified a church. They were also called ἡγουμενεῖα and μάνδραι, whence *hegumenus* and *archimandrita* are names for an abbot, who is the chief father of a monastery, or governor of it. And they are sometimes styled φροντιστήρια, places of education and schools of learning, because, as I show in the next chapter, they were anciently made use of to that end, and had their φρονтισταὶ, or curators, particularly designed for that purpose.

CHAPTER III.

AN ACCOUNT OF SUCH ANCIENT LAWS AND RULES, AS RELATE TO THE MONASTIC LIFE, CHIEFLY THAT OF THE CŒNOBITES.

Sect. 1. The *curiales* not allowed to turn monks.

HAVING thus far taken a view of the several sorts of monks and their several titles, I proceed to give a short account of the principal laws and rules, made partly by the joint concurrence of the civil and ecclesiastical power, and partly by the authority of private superiors, for the government of the Cœnobites, or such monks as lived in communities, which were chiefly regarded in the church. And here we must first look to the laws relating to their admission: for all men were not allowed to turn monks at pleasure,

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[73] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 25. Ut clerici vel continentes, ad viduas vel virgines, nisi jussu vel permissu episcoporum et presbyterorum, non accedant. Vid. Cod. Can. Afric. c. 38. al. 41.

[74] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episcop. Leg. 20. Qui continentium se volunt nomine nuncupari, &c.

[75] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 15.

[76] Cassian. lib. 4 de Institut. Renunc.

[77] Isidor. lib. 1. Ep. 1. [78] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 8.

[79] Theodor. lib. 4. c. 28.

[80] Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccl. c. 6. p. 386.

[81] See Book I. chap. 1. sect. 1.

[82] Pallad. Lausiac. c. 12. [83] Theodor. φιλόθεος, t. 4.

[84] Apud Papebroch. Acta Sanctorum, Maii 13. t. 3. p. 231.

[85] Cod. Th. lib. 6. Tit. 23. de Decurionibus et Silentiariis.

[86] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 30. Οἱ μακροὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ὠνομάζοντο.

[87] Sidon. lib. 9. Ep. 3. ad Faustum. Precum peritus insulanarum, quas de senatu Lyrinensium cellulanorum in urbem transtulisti. So Eucherius ad Salon. lib. 1. Insulani Tyrones. And Faustus de Natali S. Maximi Stadium Insulanum. Vid. Savaro, Not. in loc. Sidonii.

because such an indiscriminate permission would have been to the detriment both of church and state. Upon this account the civil law forbids any of the *curiales* to become monks, unless they parted with their estates to some others, that might bear the offices of their country in their stead. To this purpose is that law of Valentinian and Valens in the Theodosian Code,[1] which taking notice of some *curiales*, who pretended to associate themselves with the monks in Egypt, only to avoid bearing the offices of their country, orders them to be fetched back from the monasteries by force, and to be compelled to do their duty in their civil station, or else to part with their estates to others that should officiate for them. This was agreeable to all those ancient laws, which forbade any of the *curiales* to be ordained among the clergy, except upon the same condition of quitting their estates to others to bear the offices of their country in their stead: and yet Baronius[2] is so offended at this law, that he reckons it was but the *prœludium* to a severe persecution, which Valens, shortly after the death of Valentinian, brought upon the monks in the East, when, as St. Jerom[3] and Orosius inform us, he by another law obliged them to turn soldiers, and ordered such as refused to be bastinadoed to death. Gothofred,[4] by mistake, reckons this law the very same with the former; but Mr. Pagi[5] corrects both him and Baronius together, and shows them to be distinct laws, and plainly to refer to different times and things; the one being made while Valentinian was alive, the other by Valens alone after his death; the one a very severe law, raising a great persecution against the monks, the other laying no greater burden on them than was always laid upon the clergy by other laws, which prohibit the *curiales* to be ordained, unless they found proper substitutes to bear the offices of their country in their room. And the reason of these laws, as they referred both to the monks and clergy, was one and the same, that men, who by their estates were tied to the service of their country, might not exempt their estates from that service under pretence of entering into a religious life.

Sect. 2. Nor servants without their master's consent.

For the same reason, the most ancient laws both of church and state forbid any servant to be admitted into any monastery without his master's leave, because that was to deprive his master of his legal right of service, which by the original state and condition of his servants was his due. To this purpose Valentinian III. has a law at the end of the Theodosian Code, which equally forbids servants to become either clerks or monks[6] against their master's will, to evade the proper bonds and duties of their station. Baronius[7] has a sour reflection upon this law also; for he says, nothing ever prospered with Valentinian after the making of it: and yet he could not but know, that the same thing had been before determined by the council of Chalcedon,[8] and that at the instance of the emperor Marcion, who himself drew up the law, and desired the fathers in synod to make a canon of it, as appears from the acts[9] of that council. The words of the canon are, That no one shall be received into any monastery, to continue there as a monk, without the consent of his own master. So little reason was there to charge Valentinian with an innovation in this matter, when an emperor and a general council had determined the same before him. But Justinian cancelled all these former laws by a new edict of his own, which first set servants at liberty[10] from their masters, under pretence of betaking themselves to a monastic life. So that what innovation was made in this matter is justly to be ascribed to him as its proper author.

Sect. 3. Nor husbands and wives without mutual consent of each other.

Another caution which the ancients prescribed to be observed in this matter was, that married persons should never betake themselves to a monastic life without mutual consent of both parties. Thus Ammus and his wife acted by consent, as Socrates and Palladius[11] relate the story. And so Martinianus and Maxima, mentioned by Victor;[12] Paulinus, bishop of Nola, and Therasia his wife, by mutual consent. But Paulinus inveighs severely against the contrary practice, blaming Celantia and others, who indiscreetly dissolved their marriage

[1] Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurion. Leg. 63. Quidam ignaviæ sectatores, desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta, et specie religionis cum cœtibus monazonton congregantur. Hos igitur atque hujusmodi intra Ægyptum deprehensos, per comitem Orientis erui e latebris consulta præceptione mandavimus, atque ad munia patriarum subeunda revocari, aut pro tenore nostræ sanctionis familiarium rerum carere inlecebris: quas per eos censuimus vindicandas, qui publicarum essent subituri munera functionum.

[2] Baron. an. 375. p. 369.

[3] Hieron. Chronic. an. 376. Valens lege data, ut monachi militarent, nolentes fustibus jussit interfici. Oros. Hist. lib. 7. c. 33. Tribuni et milites missi, qui sanctos et veros Dei milites alio nomine persecutionis abstraherent, interfecerunt ibi agmina multa sanctorum.

[4] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decurion. Leg. 63.

[5] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 375. n. 12 et 13.

[6] Valent. 3. Novel. 12. Nullus originarius, inquilinus, servus, vel colonus, ad clericale munus accedat, neque monachis et monasteriis aggregetur, ut vinculum debitæ conditionis evadat.

[7] Baron. an. 452. p. 179.

[8] Conc. Chalced. c. 4. Μηδένα προσδέχεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις ἐπὶ τὸ μονάσαι παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότου.

[9] Conc. Chalced. Act. 6. p. 609.

[10] Justin. Novel. 5. c. 2.

[11] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23. Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 8.

[12] Vict. Uticens. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 1.

vow, and thereby exposed their husbands to the sin of adultery, making themselves partakers in their guilt,[13] by acting against the rule of the apostle, which says, "The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife." St. Austin[14] argues upon the same ground, that such engagements are not to be made but by mutual consent; and if either party inconsiderately enter into any such vow, they are rather to repent of their rashness, than perform their promise. This was his constant sense, as appears from other places of his writings:[15] and herein St. Jerom,[16] St. Basil,[17] and all the ancients agree, except Theonas in Cassian,[18] who, having forsaken his wife to turn monk, is said to have done it with the approbation of the fathers in Scethis, though Cassian himself dares not undertake to excuse it, as knowing it to have been against the general sense and practice of the catholic church. Justinian, indeed, gave some encouragement to this unwarrantable practice by a law, wherein he authorizes the deserting party, man or woman, to claim their own fortune again,[19] and not be liable to the least punishment for their desertion. But the church never approved of this law; and it is remarked even by Bellarmine[20] himself, that Gregory the Great wrote against it.

Sect. 4. Nor children without the consent of their parents.

It was anciently also thought unreasonable to admit children into the monastic life without or against the consent of their parents. The council of Gangra[21] seems to reflect on this practice, as encouraged by Eustathius the heretic, in a canon which decrees, That if any children, under pretence of religion, forsook their parents, and did not give them the honour due to them, they should be anathematized. St. Basil's directions are conformable to the rule of that council, that children should not be received into monasteries,[22] unless they were offered by their parents, if their parents were alive. But Justinian a little enervated the force of this ancient rule by a new law,[23] forbidding parents to hinder their children from becoming monks or clerks, and evacuating their wills, if they presumed to disinherit them upon that account. And this seems to have been the first step toward the contrary practice; which some learned writers[24] of the Romish church have been so far from approving, that they have with the utmost zeal and vehemence declaimed against it, as repugnant to the laws of reason and Scripture, and the general practice of the primitive church.

Sect. 5. Children, though offered by their parents, not to be retained against their own consent.

Nor was it only the parents' right that was to be considered in this case, but also the right that every person is presumed to have in himself: for if a parent offered a child before he was capable of giving his own consent, the act was of no force, unless the child confirmed it voluntarily, when he came to years of discretion: which the second council of Toledo reckons to be about the age of eighteen, decreeing, That all such as were entered in their infancy by their parents[25] into the clerical or monastic state, should be instructed in the bishop's house till they came to that age, and then they should be interrogated, whether they intended to lead a single life or marry, that accordingly they might now resolve either to continue in their present state, or betake themselves to a secular life again; which, by the decree of this council, they had still liberty to do. And virgins had the same liberty till forty, by an edict of the emperors Leo and Majorian,[26] at the end of the Theodosian Code. But the fourth council of Toledo[27] was more severe in this respect to infant monks: for there it was decreed, anno 633, that whether their parents' devotion or their own profession made them monks, both should be equally binding, and there should be no permission to return to a secular life again. This, as Spalatensis[28] rightly observes, was the first canon that ever was made to retain children in monasteries, who were only offered by their parents, without requiring their own consent at years of discretion.

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[13] Paulin. Ep. 14. ad Celant. inter Epist. Hieronymi. Multa jam per hujusmodi ignorantiam et audivimus et vidimus scissa conjugia; quodque recordari piget, occasione castitatis adulterium perpetratum, &c.

[14] Aug. Ep. 45. Armentario et Paulinæ. Vovenda talia non sunt a conjugatis, nisi ex consensu et voluntate communi. Et si præpropere factum fuerit, magis est corrigenda temeritas quàm persolvenda promissio.

[15] Aug. Ep. 199. ad Ecdiciam.

[16] Hieron. Ep. 46. ad Rusticum. De non divellendo matrimonio sine utriusque consensu.

[17] Basil. Regul. Major. qu. 12. [18] Cassian. Collat. 21. c. 9.

[19] Cod. Just. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episcop. et Cler. Leg. 53.

[20] Bellarm. de Monachis, c. 38.

[21] Conc. Gangren. c. 16. Εἴ τινα τέκνα γονέων, μάλιστα πιστῶν, ἀναχωροίη προφάσει θεοσεβείας, καὶ μὴ τὴν καθήκουσαν τιμὴν τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀπονέμοι——ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

[22] Basil. Regul. Major. qu. 15.

[23] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 55. Ut non liceat parentibus impedire, quo minus liberi eorum volentes monachi aut clerici fiant, aut eam ob solam causam exhæredare, &c.

[24] Ærodius de Patrio Jure ad Filium, &c.

[25] Conc. Tolet. 2. c. 1. De his, quos voluntas parentum a primis infantiæ annis in clericatus officio vel monachali posuit, pariter statuimus observandum, ut mox cum detonsi vel ministerio electorum contraditi fuerint, in domo ecclesiæ sub episcopali præsentia a præposito sibi debeant erudiri. At ubi octavum decimum ætatis suæ compleverint annum, coram totius cleri plebisque conspectu, voluntas eorum de expetendo conjugio ab episcopo perscrutetur, &c.

[26] Leo, Novel. 8.

[27] Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 48. Monachum aut paterna devotio aut propria professio facit. Quicquid horum fuerit alligatum, tenebit. Proinde his ad mundum revertendi intercludimus aditum, et omnes ad seculum interdicimus regressus.

[28] Spalat. de Repub. lib. 2. c. 12. n. 29.

Sect. 6. Of the tonsure and habit of monks.

The manner of admission was generally by some change of their habit and dress, not to signify any religious mystery, but only to express their gravity and contempt of the world. And in this the sober part of them were always careful to observe a decent mean betwixt vanity and lightness on the one hand, and hypocritical affectations on the other. Long hair was always thought an indecency in men, and savouring of secular vanity; and therefore they polled every monk at his admission, to distinguish him from the seculars; but they never shaved any, for fear they should look too like the priests of Isis. This, then, was the ancient tonsure, in opposition to both those extremes. Long hair they reckoned an effeminate dress, and against the rule of the apostle: therefore Epiphanius[29] blames the Mesopotamian monks for wearing long hair against the rule of the catholic church; and St. Austin[30] censures such under the name of *criniti fratres*, the long-haired brethren. St. Jerom, according to his custom, expresses himself with satire and indignation against them; for, writing to Eustochium,[31] he bids her beware of such monks as affected to walk in chains, and wear long hair, and goats' beards, and black cloaks, and go barefoot in the midst of winter. For these were but arguments and tokens of a devil. From which invective it may be easily collected, that such sort of affectations in habit and dress were not approved then by wise men in the church. But, on the other hand, the ancient tonsure was not a shaven crown; for St. Jerom,[32] St. Ambrose,[33] and others, equally inveigh against this as a ceremony of the priests of Isis: it was only an obligation on the monks and clergy to wear decent and short hair, as it is evident from all the canons that appoint it.[34] As to their habit and clothing, their rules were the same, that it should be decent and grave, as became their profession; not light and airy, nor slovenly and affected. The monks of Tabennesus in Thebais, which lived under the institution of Pachomius, seem to have been the only monks in those days which were confined to any particular habits: Cassian[35] has a whole book among his Institutes to describe them; where he speaks of their *cingula, cuculli, collobia, redimicula, palliola* or *mafortes, melotes*, their sheep-skins, and *caligæ*, their sandals; all which, they that are curious in this matter may find there particularly described. But he owns, these habits were not in use[36] among the Western monks; and some of them, particularly the cowl and the sheep-skins, would have exposed them only to derision to have worn them. St. Jerom often speaks of the habit of monks, but he never once intimates that it was any particular garb differing from others, save only in this, that it was a cheaper, coarser, meaner raiment[37] than others wore, expressing their humility and contempt of the world, without any singularity or affectation. For as to the affecting of black cloaks, and appearing in chains, we have heard him already express himself severely against them. And he is no less satirical[38] against those who wore cowls and sackcloth for their outward garment: because these were vain singularities, which religious persons ought to avoid, and rather observe a becoming mean in their habit[39] between gaiety and slovenliness, without any notable distinction to draw the eyes of the world upon them. Palladius takes notice of some who loved to walk in chains, but he says,[40] Apollo, the famous Egyptian monk, was used to inveigh severely against them. And Cassian justly blames some others, as having more zeal than knowledge, because they, literally interpreting that saying of our Saviour, "He that taketh not up his cross and followeth me, is not worthy of me," made themselves wooden crosses, and carried them continually about their necks; which, as he rightly observes,[41] was not to edify, but raise the laughter of all spectators. Such affectations were generally condemned by the ancients, and it was only the ignorant or superstitious

[29] Epiphan. Hær. 80. n. 6.

[30] Aug. de Oper. Monach. c. 31. Vereor in hoc vitio plura dicere propter quosdam crinitos fratres, quorum præter hoc multa et pene omnia veneramur.

[31] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustochium, c. 12. Viros fuge, quos videris catenatos; quorum fœminei contra apostolum Paulum crines, hircorum barba, nigrum pallium, et nudi in patientia frigoris pedes. Hæc omnia argumenta sunt diaboli.

[32] Id. Com. in Ezek. c. 44.

[33] Ambros. Ep. 36. ad Sabin.

[34] Vid. Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 44. Conc. Agath. c. 20. Conc. Tolet. 3. c. 12. Tolet. 4. can. 40.

[35] Cassian. lib. 1. de Habitu Monachor.

[36] Cassian. ibid. c. 11. Nam neque caligis nos neque collobiis seu una tunica esse contentos hyemis permittit asperitas; et parvissimi cuculli velamen vel melotis gestio derisum potius quam ædificationem ullam videntibus comparabit.

[37] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Sordidæ vestes candidæ mentis indicia sunt. Vilis tunica contemptum sæculi præbet. Id. Ep. 13. ad Paulin. Tunicam mutas cum animo, nec pleno marsupio gloriosas sordes appetis, &c. Id. Ep. 15. ad Marcellam de Laud. Asellæ. Tunica fusciore induta se repente Domino consecravit.

[38] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustochium, c. 12. Sunt quæ ciliciis vestiuntur et cucullis fabrefactis: ut ad infantiam redeant, imitantur noctuas et bubones.

[39] Ibid. Vestis sit nec satis munda, nec sordida, et nulla diversitate notabilis: ne ad te obviam prætereuntium turba consistat, aut digito demonstreris.

[40] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 52. in Bibl. Patr. G. Lat. t. 2. p. 985.

[41] Cassian. Collat. 8. c. 3. Quod quidam districtissimi monachorum, habentes quidem zelum Dei, sed non secundum scientiam, simpliciter intelligentes, fecerunt sibi cruces ligneas, easque jugiter humeris circumferentes, non ædificationem, sed risum cunctis videntibus intulerunt

that approved them. So that upon the whole matter it appears, that the Western monks used only a common habit, the philosophic *pallium*, which many other Christians in those times did; whence, as I have noted[42] in another place, the heathens called Christians, Greeks and impostors; and sometimes the looser sort of Christians gave monks the same name for the same reason, as St. Jerom[43] seems to intimate, when he says, If a man did not wear silk, he was reckoned a monk; if he did not appear in gay clothing, he was presently termed a Greek and impostor. And Salvian[44] reflects on the African people, and especially those of Carthage, for the same treatment of them: for he says, They could scarce ever see a man with short hair, and a pale face, and habited in a *pallium*, that is, a monk, without bestowing some reviling and reproachful language on him. These words of Salvian I take to be an exact description of their ancient habit and tonsure.

Sect. 7. No solemn vow or profession required of them.

As to any solemn vow or profession required at their admission, we find no such thing: for it was not yet the practice of those ages; but whatever was done in that kind, was only a private transaction between God and themselves. St. Basil[45] says plainly, that there was no express promise of celibacy taken of any, but they seemed only to promise it tacitly by becoming monks. He advises, indeed, that a profession should be required of them for the future: but that implies, that as yet no such promise had been exacted before. There were some monks that lived in a married state, as appears from what has been alleged from Athanasius and St. Austin in the foregoing chapter:[46] and it is certain a promise of celibacy could not be exacted of them. And for others that lived in communities, their way of admission was not upon any explicit promise, but a triennial probation, during which time they were inured to the exercises of the monastic life in the greatest severity; and if, after that term was expired, they liked to continue the same exercises, they were then admitted without any further ceremony or solemnity into the community, to cohabit as proper members of it. This was the method prescribed by the rule of Pachomius, the father of the monks of Tabennesus, from which all others took their model, as the reader may find in Palladius[47] and Sozomen,[48] where the rule is at large recited.

Sect. 8. What meant by their renunciation of the world.

There was as yet no solemn vow of poverty required neither: though it was customary for men voluntarily to renounce the world, by disposing of their own estates to charitable uses, before they entered into a community, where they were to enjoy all things in common. Thus Hilarion divided all his substance between his brethren and the poor, reserving nothing to himself, as St. Jerom[49] and Sozomen report of him. And Paulinus, a rich senator's son, with his wife Therasia, by mutual consent disposed of both their estates (which were very great) to the poor, and then betook themselves to a monastic life at Nola, where Paulinus, after he was made bishop of the place, continued the same voluntary poverty still; insomuch that St. Austin[50] says of him, that when the Goths were ravaging and plundering the town, he made this prayer to God, *Domine, ne excrucier propter aurum et argentum: ubi enim sint omnia mea, tu scis:* Lord, let not the barbarians torture me for my silver or gold, for thou knowest where all my treasure is. Such instances of voluntary poverty are every where obvious in ancient history. But then one thing they were very careful to avoid in those early times, that is, that when they had once renounced their own estates, they did not afterward seek to enrich themselves or their monasteries by begging or accepting the estates of others. It was a remarkable answer to this purpose, which Isaac Syrus, bishop of Ninive,[51] is said to have given to his monks, when they desired him to receive some lands that were offered him for the use of his monastery: he replied, *Monachus qui in terra possessiones quærit, monachus non est,* A monk that seeks for possessions in the earth, is not a monk. The Western monks were not always precise to this rule, as appears from the complaints of St. Jerom[52] and Cassian,[53] and some imperial laws,[54] made to restrain their avarice: but the monks of Egypt were generally just to their own pretensions: their monasteries had no lands or revenues belonging to them, nor would they have any, nor suffer any monk to enjoy more than was necessary for his daily subsistence. For they thought it a contradiction to their profession, that men who made a show of renouncing the world, should grow rich in monasteries, who perhaps were poor before they came thither. And therefore if ever they received any donation, it was not for their own use, but the

[42] Book I. chap. 2. n. 4.

[43] Hieron. Ep. 23. ad Marcellam. Nos quia serica veste non utimur, monachi judicamur.—Si tunica non canduerit, statim illud de trivio, impostor et Græcus est.

[44] Salvian. de Gubern. lib. 8. p. 295. Inter Africæ civitates, et maxime intra Carthaginis muros, palliatum et pallidium, et recisis comarum fluentium jubis usque ad cutem tonsum videre, tam infelix ille populus quam infidelis sine convicio atque execratione vix poterat.

[45] Basil. Ep. Canon. c. 19. Κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον δοκοῦσι παραδεδέχθαι τὴν ἀγαμίαν, &c.

[46] See chap. 2. sect. 6.

[47] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 38.

[48] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14.

[49] Hieron. Vit. Hilar. c. 3. Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14.

[50] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 1. c. 10.

[51] Vid. Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. 2. p. 185.

[52] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.

[53] Cassian. Instit. lib. 4. c. 15.

[54] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 20.

use of the poor. Nay, they would not suffer any monk to enjoy any thing to call it his own; but in a community they would have all things in common. And therefore St. Jerom[55] tells a remarkable story of one of the monks of Nitria in Egypt, how he was punished for hoarding up but a hundred shillings as his own property, which he had saved out of his daily labour. At his death, when the thing came to be discovered, a council of all the monks was called, to advise what should be done with the money; and they were about five thousand who met at this consultation: some said it should be distributed among the poor; others, that it should be given to the church; and others, that it should be remitted to his parents. But Macarius, and Pambo, and Isidore, and the rest of those called fathers among them, decreed that it should be buried with him in his grave, saying, Thy money perish with thee. So little regard had those ancient monks for any thing more than what was necessary for their daily sustenance.

Sect. 9. Of the difference between the renouncing and the communicative life.

Some indeed did not thus renounce all property, but kept their estates in their own hands, and yet enjoyed no more of them than if they had actually passed them over to others: for they distributed their whole yearly revenue constantly to the poor, and such charitable uses as men's daily needs required. Of this sort Palladius[56] and Sozomen[57] mention one Apollonius, who kept his estate in his own possession, but expended the annual income in providing physic and other necessaries for the sick monks, as there was occasion. Palladius also speaks of two brothers,[58] Pacesius and Esaias, sons of a rich merchant, who betaking themselves to a monastic life, disposed of their estates in these different ways: the one gave away his whole estate at once to churches and prisons, and such monasteries as needed relief, and then betaking himself to a small trade for his own subsistence, he spent the rest of his life in labour and prayer; but the other kept his estate in his own possession, and therewith first building a monastery, and taking to himself a few associates, he entertained all strangers travelling that way, took care of sick, entertained the aged, relieved the poor, and on every Saturday and Lord's day spread three or four tables for the refreshment of such as needed. Palladius calls this rightly, *κοινωνικὸν βίον*, the communicative life, and the other, *ἀποταξαμένου βίον*, the life of a renouncer: and adds, that the question being put by some brethren to Pambo, the famous Egyptian, concerning these two brothers, Whether of them took the better course? he replied, They were both equally perfect and acceptable in the sight of God; the one imitating the hospitality of Abraham, and the other the zeal of Elias.

Sect. 10. All monks anciently maintained by their own labour.

Hence it appears that the ancient monks had no regard to estates and possessions; for one way or other they discharged themselves of the burden of them. And then, since monasteries had no standing revenues, all monks whatever were obliged to exercise themselves in bodily labour, partly to maintain themselves without being burdensome to others, and partly to keep their souls well guarded, and, as it were, out of the way of Satan's strongest temptations. For Cassian notes it[59] as a very wise saying of the old Egyptian fathers, That a labouring monk was but tempted with one devil, but an idle one was exposed to the devastation of a legion. And therefore St. Jerom, writing to his friend Rusticus the monk, bids him be sure to exercise himself in some[60] honest labour, that the devil might always find him employed. This, he tells him, was the custom of the Egyptian monasteries, to admit none without working with their own hands, as well to supply their bodily wants, as to preserve their souls from danger. They had then no idle mendicants among them, as Duarenus himself[61] rightly observes. They looked upon a monk that did not work, as no better than a covetous defrauder. For so Socrates[62] tells us the Egyptian fathers were used to express themselves concerning such as eat other men's bread for nought. We have already heard out of Bede[63] how the monks of Bangor, two thousand in number, maintained themselves with their own labour. And Bishop Usher has collected[64] a great many other instances of the same nature in relation to the first monasteries of Ireland and Britain. It would be

[55] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 14. Quod ante non plures annos Nitriæ gestum sit, referamus. Quidam ex fratribus parcior magis quam avarior, nesciens triginta argenteis Dominum venditum, centum solidos, quos lina texendo acquisierat, moriens dereliquit. Initum est inter monachos consilium (nam in eodem loco circiter quinque millia divisis cellulis habitabant) quid hinc facto opus esset. Alii pauperibus distribuendos esse dicebant: alii dandos ecclesiæ; nonnulli parentibus remittendos. Macarius vero et Pambo et Isidorus, et cæteri quos patres vocant, sancto in eis loquente Spiritu, decreverunt infodiendos esse cum eodem, dicentes, pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem.

[56] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 14.

[57] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 29. [58] Pallad. ibid. c. 15.

[59] Cassian. Instit. lib. 10. c. 23. Hæc est apud Ægyptum antiquis patribus sancta sententia, operantem monachum uno dæmone pulsari; otiosum vero innumeris spiritibus devastari.

[60] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Fac et aliquid operis, ut te semper diabolus inveniat occupatum.——Ægyptiorum monasteria hunc morem tenent, ut nullum absque operis labore suscipiant, non tam propter victus necessaria, quam propter animæ salutem.

[61] Duaren. de Minister. et Benefic. lib. 1. c. 20. Nec ita otio erant dediti, more pseudomonachorum nostri temporis.

[62] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23. Μοναχὸς, εἰ μὴ ἐργάζοιτο, ἐπίσης τῷ πλεονέκτῃ κρίνεται. [63] Bed. lib. 2. c. 2.

[64] Usher, Relig. of the Ancient Irish, c. 6.

endless to produce passages of ancient writers that relate to this matter: therefore I shall content myself to refer the reader to the places themselves cited[65] in the margin, and only observe one thing further, That anciently monks by the labour of their hands did not only provide themselves of sufficient maintenance, but had superfluities also to relieve the necessities of others. Sozomen[66] says, Serapion presided over a monastery of ten thousand monks near Arsinoe in Egypt, who all thus laboured with their own hands, going to reap in the fields in the time of harvest, so that they had enough and to spare for the use of the poor. Which is confirmed by St. Austin,[67] who, speaking of the labour of the monks of his own time, assures us, they many times sent away whole ships laden with necessaries, to supply the needs of such countries as were exceeding barren and poor. He means the deserts of Libya, of which Cassian speaks, telling us, that the fathers in Egypt would never suffer their monks to receive any thing by way of maintenance[68] from others, but they had sufficient out of their labour not only to entertain strangers and travellers that came to visit them, but also to send abundance of provisions into the famished parts of Libya, and to supply the wants of men in prison in other places; reckoning that hereby they offered a reasonable and true sacrifice to God of the fruit of their own hands by such an oblation. It seems they did not then think that working was inconsistent with the other duties of a monk, but one necessary part of his office and station. And St. Austin wrote a whole book[69] to prove this to be their duty, wherein he takes occasion to answer all the plausible objections that have ever been made to the contrary.

Sect. 11. Proper officers appointed in monasteries for this purpose, viz. *decani, centenarii, patres, &c.*

Now, the better to promote this and all their other duties, the monasteries were commonly divided into several parts, and proper officers appointed over them. Every ten monks were subject to one, who was called the *decanus*, or dean, from his presiding over ten; and every hundred had another officer, called *centenarius*, from presiding over a hundred. Above these were the *patres*, or fathers of the monasteries, as St. Jerom and St. Austin commonly term them; which in other writers are called *abbates*, abbots, from the Greek *ἀββᾶς*, a father; and *hegumeni*, presidents; and archimandrites, from *mandra*, a sheepfold; they being, as it were, the keepers or rulers of these sacred folds in the church. The business of the deans was to exact every man's daily task, and bring it to the *œconomus*, or steward of the house, who himself gave a monthly account to the father of them all, as St. Jerom[70] and St. Austin[71] inform us.

Sect. 12. The power of the fathers or abbots very great in point of discipline over the rest.

The fathers were commonly of the order of presbyters, both for the performance of Divine offices, and the exercise of discipline among them. And their power was very considerable: for though it was not absolute and unlimited, yet it was seldom or never disputed by their inferiors; it being, as St. Jerom observes,[72] a prime part of their confederation to obey their superiors, and do whatever they commanded them. And in case of wilful transgression, they had power to inflict both spiritual and corporal punishments on them. Their spiritual punishments were the censures of the church, suspension from the eucharist, and excommunication. For these powers were lodged in their hands, as appears from several passages in Cassian, who often speaks[73] of the abbots casting the monks out of the church, and forbidding the rest to pray with them, till they had done a very submissive penance prostrate upon the ground, and had been reconciled and absolved by the abbot publicly before all the brethren. He particularly notes of Paphnutius, abbot of Scethis,[74] that he struck out a monk's name out of the diptychs of the church, and could scarce be prevailed with to let him be mentioned in the obla-

[65] Epiphan. Hær. 80. n. 6. Chrysost. de Compunct. Cordis, lib. 1. c. 6. Hieron. Ep. 77. ad Marcum Celedensem. Cassian. Instit. lib. 10. c. 22. Id. Collat. 15. c. 4. Justin. Novel. 133. c. 6. Id. Cod. lib. 11. Tit. 25. de Mendicantibus Validis. Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. cap. 7, 10, 20, 28, 30, 39, 76, 89, 96, 112. Moschus, Prat. Spir. cap. 22, 114, 160, 161, 183, 194.

[66] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 28.

[67] Aug. de Morib. Eccles. c. 31. Usque adeo ut oneratas etiam naves in ea loca mittant, quæ inopes incolunt, &c.

[68] Cassian. Instit. lib. 10. c. 22. Non solum a nullo quicquam ad usum victus sui accipere patiuntur, sed etiam de laboribus suis non tantum supervenientes et peregrinos reficiunt, verum etiam per loca Libyæ, quæ sterilitate ac fame laborant, nec non etiam per civitates his qui squalore carcerum contabescunt, immanem conferentes dirigunt alimoniæ victusque substantiam, de fructu manuum suarum rationabile ac verum sacrificium Domino tali oblatione se offerre credentes.

[69] Aug. de Opere Monachor. c. 17, &c.

[70] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. Opus diei statum est, quod decano redditum, fertur ad œconomum, qui et ipse per singulos menses patri omnium cum magno tremore reddit rationem.

[71] Aug. de Morib. Eccles. Cathol. c. 31.

[72] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. Prima apud eos confœderatio est, obedire majoribus, et quicquid jusserint facere.

[73] Cassian. Instit. lib. 2. c. 16. Si quis pro admisso quolibet delicto fuerit ab oratione suspensus, nullus cum eo prorsus orandi habet licentiam, antequam submissa in terram pœnitentia, reconciliatio ejus et admissi venia coram fratribus cunctis publice fuerit ab abbate concessa. Id. lib. 4. c. 16. Tamdiu prostratus in terram veniam postulabit, donec orationum consummetur solennitas, impetraturus eam, cum jussus fuerit abbatis judicio de solo surgere. Vid. ibid. c. 20. It. Collat. 18. c. 15.

[74] Cassian. Collat. 2. c. 5. Vix a presbytero abbate Pafnutio potuit obtineri, ut non inter byothanatos reputatus, etiam memoria et oblatione pausantium judicaretur indignus.

tion for those that are at rest in the Lord, because he had murdered himself at the instigation of Satan, who appeared to him in the form of an angel of light, persuading him to throw himself into a deep well, with confidence that no harm could befall him for the great merit of his labours and virtues. Socrates[75] speaks of the like power in Arsenius, who used it, he says, with this discretion, that he never excommunicated the junior monks, but only the seniors, because the juniors were likely to become more refractory by it, and contemn his discipline, but the seniors were quickly amended by it. The reader may find some other instances in Palladius[76] to the same purpose. As to their corporal punishments, Cassian[77] tells us they were these two, whipping and expulsion; and he particularly enumerates the crimes for which they were inflicted. Palladius also mentions the *flagellum monachorum:* for he says,[78] in the church of Mount Nitria, there were three whips hanged upon three palm trees, one for the offending monks, another for the correcting of thieves, and a third for the punishment of strangers, whom they entertained in an hospital adjoining. But as yet we read nothing of voluntary whipping of themselves by way of exercise: that is a later invention of the modern monks, whom Spondanus[79] and Prateolus[80] themselves cannot forbear ranking among heretics, and a late French writer[81] has more fully exposed them in a discourse on purpose, entitled Historia Flagellantium, to which I refer the curious reader.

Sect. 13. Allowed also some peculiar privileges in the church.

The abbots or fathers were also of great repute in the church. For many times they were called to councils, and allowed to sit and vote there in the quality of presbyters. As Benedict in the council of Rome under Boniface II., anno 531. Which I relate upon the authority of Dr. Cave,[82] who has it from Antonius Scipio in his Elogium Abbatum Cassinensium. The like privilege we find allowed in the council of Constantinople under Flavian, anno 448, where twenty-three archimandrites subscribe with thirty bishops to the condemnation of Eutyches, as appears from the fragments of that council related in the council of Chalcedon.[83] But it is justly noted by learned men[84] as a new thing, to find abbesses, as well as abbots, subscribing in the council of Becanfeld in Kent, anno 694, and that before both presbyters and temporal lords, as the author of the Saxon Chronicle[85] reports it. For this is the first time we meet with any such thing in the records of the ancient church.

Sect. 14. Yet always subordinate to the power of bishops.

But though such power and privileges were granted to abbots, yet neither they nor their monasteries were as yet exempt from the jurisdiction of bishops. For by the ancient laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, no monastery was to be erected in any place without the leave of the bishop of the diocese. This was one of those things which the emperor Marcian proposed to the council of Chalcedon, and at his request it was there enacted into a canon, that no one should build[86] either monastery or oratory without the consent of the bishop of the city or country where it was to be erected. And by Justinian's law,[87] the bishop was to make a sort of consecration of the ground before they went to building. It is further provided in the forementioned canon, that all monks shall be subject to the bishop of the diocese, and give attendance to their own proper duties of fasting and prayer, not intermeddling themselves either in ecclesiastical or secular affairs, except upon great and urgent necessity, and that by the permission of the bishop of the city or diocese to which they belonged. But I have already had occasion to speak of this matter more fully in another place:[88] I shall therefore here only observe two or three mistakes committed by some modern authors in their descants upon the words of Bede, which are commonly alleged to prove the contrary. In one place Bede,[89] speaking of the isle of Huy, and the monastery founded there by Columba, says, The island was always governed by a presbyter abbot, under whose power the whole province, and the bishops also, were subjected after an unusual manner, pursuant to the example of the first founder, who was not a bishop, but only a presbyter and a monk. Carolus a Sancto Paulo[90] unluckily mistakes this island for Hibernia, and so makes all the bishops of Ireland subject to one abbot: others mistake the province for all Scotland, and so make the same false deduction in reference to that: whereas in truth Bede is speaking only of one small part of Scotland, the country of the Northern Picts, who were converted by Columba, in the time of King Bridius, who gave him the isle of Huy to build a monastery

[75] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 23. [76] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 40.
[77] Cassian. Collat. 2. c. 16. Vel plagis emendantur, vel expulsione purgantur.
[78] Pallad. Hist. Laus. c. 6.
[79] Spondan. an. 1349. n. 2.
[80] Prateol. Elench. Hæret. lib. 6. c. 8.
[81] Historia Flagellantium, Paris. 1700. 8vo.
[82] Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. 1. p. 402.
[83] Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. t. 4. p. 230.
[84] Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. 2. p. 240.
[85] Chron. Saxon. an. 694.
[86] Conc. Chalced. can. 4. Ἔδοξεν μηδένα μὲν μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν, μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου.
[87] Justin. Novel. 5. c. 1. Novel. 131. c. 7.
[88] Book II. chap. 4. sect. 2.
[89] Bed. Hist. lib. 3. c. 4. Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus, sed presbyter extitit et monachus.
[90] Carol. a S. Paulo, Geogr. Sacr. lib. 6. p. 170.

in, whence that province of the Northern Picts became subject to the abbot of that monastery: but that this subjection was in spirituals Bede says not, but it seems to have been an acknowledgment of some civil jurisdiction over the bishops, which may very well consist with their superiority in spirituals, as the learned bishop of Worcester[91] shows at large in his discourse of the Culdees among his antiquities of the British church. Another passage in Bede, which has been grossly mistaken, is where he speaks of the council of Herudford, anno 673. In one of the canons of this council, according to some corrupt printed copies of Bede, there is this decree, That the bishops[92] who are monks, shall not wander from one monastery to another without leave of their abbot, but continue in that obedience which they promised at the time of their conversion. But this is nothing but a mere mistake of the first editors of Bede, who not minding the abbreviations of the manuscript, read *episcopi monachi*, instead of *ipsi monachi*, as some later editions rightly have it. So that there is nothing said in this place either for the exemption of monasteries, or in derogation of the episcopal power, as some seem wilfully to have mistaken. Yet I deny not but that before this time there might be some monasteries exempt. For Habertus is of opinion,[93] that the third council of Arles, anno 455, granted an exemption to Faustus, abbot of the monastery of Lerins, which he thinks was the first that was ever granted. But from that time the bishops of Rome took occasion to exempt monasteries in the West, as other patriarchs did in the East, whence such monasteries by the later Greeks are called patriarchal monasteries, as being exempt from episcopal visitations, and only subject to patriarchal jurisdiction.

Sect. 15. The spiritual exercises of monks: First, Perpetual repentance.

But I return to the ancient monks; and having given an account of their bodily exercises, I proceed to speak of those that were spiritual. For the improvement of the spiritual life was the thing originally aimed at by men's retiring from the world. Here they thought they should have more leisure and better opportunities for the great business of repentance. Upon which account the life of a monk is, by St. Jerom[94] and others, so often styled the life of a mourner. And in allusion to this, the isle of Canobus near Alexandria, formerly a place of great lewdness, was upon the translation and settlement of the monks of Tabennesus there, called *Insula Metanœæ*, the Isle of Repentance; as may be collected from St. Jerom, who speaks of its changing its name upon the building of a monastery there:[95] and so both Valesius and others understand it.[96]

Sect. 16. Secondly, Extraordinary fasting.

To their extraordinary repentance they usually joined extraordinary fasting. For the Egyptian monks kept every day a fast till nine o'clock, that is, till three in the afternoon, except on Saturdays and the Lord's day, and the fifty days of Pentecost, or other days when any brother came to visit them. For then they had their relaxations, as we learn from Cassian and St. Jerom. The fifty days of Pentecost they kept always festival in compliance with the public rules and practice of the catholic church, whose custom was, as Tertullian says,[97] to keep all the time between Easter and Whitsuntide festival in memory of our Saviour's resurrection. Therefore St. Jerom,[98] speaking of their daily fasts, says, They fasted every day alike throughout the year, except in Lent, when their fasts were a little more strict, that is, not only till nine o'clock, but till evening; and in Pentecost, when they turned their suppers into dinners, in compliance with the custom of the church. Cassian[99] often speaks of their daily fasts till nine, but then he excepts likewise the time of Pentecost[100] for the same reason assigned by St. Jerom; and Saturdays and Sundays also,[101] because both these days were always festival in the Eastern church, being days of solemn assembly, on which they received the eucharist at morning service. Some indeed exercised themselves with greater austerities, fasting two, three, four, or five days together: but these were not generally approved. St. Jerom[102] and Cassian[103] both express themselves against such immoderate fasts; and Cassian[104] particularly notes it as a wise saying of Macarius, the famous Egyptian, That a monk should so fast and keep under his body, as if he were to live a hundred years; but so kill and mortify the affections of his soul, as if he

[91] Bp. Lloyd's Historical Account of Church Government, chap. 7. p. 180.

[92] Bed. Hist. lib. 4. c. 5. Ut episcopi monachi non migrent de loco in locum, hoc est, de monasterio in monasterium, nisi per dimissionem proprii abbatis, sed in ea permaneant obedientia, quam tempore suæ conversionis promiserunt.

[93] Habert. Archierat. p. 595.

[94] Hieron. Ep. 53. ad Ripar. Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium.

[95] Hieron. Prolog. in Regul. Pachomii. In monasterio Metanœæ, quod de Canobo in pœnitentiam felici nominis conversione mutatum est, &c. Bibl. Patr. t. 15.

[96] Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 3. c. 14.

[97] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3.

[98] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. Jejunium totius anni æquale est, excepta quadragesima, in qua sola conceditur strictius vivere. A Pentecoste cœnæ mutantur in prandia, quo et traditioni ecclesiasticæ satisfiat, et ventrem cibo non onerent duplicato.

[99] Cassian. Collat. 2. c. 25 et 26. Collat. 19. c. 16. Collat. 21. c. 23.

[100] Ibid. 21. c. 11 et 20.

[101] Ibid. 3. c. 1.

[102] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rusticum. Ep. 7. ad Lætam.

[103] Cassian. Instit. lib. 5. c. 9.

[104] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 41. Ita, inquit, debere monachum jejuniis operam dare, ut centum annis in corpore duraturum, &c.

were to die the next moment. By which it appears, that they did not think excessive abstinence of any use, but rather a disservice to religion. And therefore St. Austin observes, that the ancient rules[105] imposed no absolute necessity in this matter upon them, but left it to every man's power and every man's will to fast at discretion; no one condemning others, that could not imitate his own austerities, but always remembering that the Scripture had above all things recommended charity to men. The Rule of Pachomius was said to be given him by an angel, and there one of the angel's directions to him was, that he should permit every man to eat and drink and labour according to his strength,[106] and neither forbid them to fast nor to eat. Accordingly Palladius tells us,[107] there were among his monks in Tabennesus some that eat at seven o'clock, others at nine, others at ten, others not till even; some after two days, others after three, four, or five days: but all was matter of choice, not compulsion.

Sect. 17. Thirdly, Extraordinary devotions.

Their fastings were accompanied with extraordinary and frequent returns of devotion. The monks of Palestine had six or seven canonical hours of prayer, so those in Mesopotamia and other parts of the East. These were morning prayer at the first hour of the day, then the third, sixth, and ninth hours, and after that the eleventh hour, which Cassian[108] calls the *lucernaris hora*, or evening prayer. Besides which they had their constant vigils, or nocturnal meetings, of which Cassian gives a particular account in one whole book[109] of his Institutions. But he says the monks of Egypt were not tied to all these canonical hours, but only met twice a day for public devotion, that is, in their night assemblies, which was their morning prayer; and at nine o'clock, which was their evening prayer: but then the whole day was spent in devotion notwithstanding; for in their private cells,[110] whilst they were at work, they were always repeating the psalms and other parts of the Holy Scripture, and intermixing prayers and supplications continually with their labour. Which Cassian prefers before the observation of so many canonical hours, as being a more free and voluntary oblation. Some observed a course of constant devotion without intermission, as has been noted before[111] concerning the monks of Constantinople, and those of Lisieux[112] founded by Columbanus, who were used to divide themselves into several classes or quires to succeed and relieve one another in their continued stations. And Cassian tells us that the first monks[113] of Egypt were used to observe such a perpetual watch, to guard themselves against the assaults and incursions of midnight devils: for they durst not all betake themselves to sleep at once, but while some slept, others kept watch by turns, and exercised themselves in singing psalms, reading, and prayer. Whence we may infer, that though all monks then did not observe precisely the canonical hours, yet they were no less constant to their devotions than those that did; and their intermixing prayers with their labour, or worshipping by turns, was equivalent to so many canonical hours, or rather did exceed it. St. Jerom seems also to say[114] that the Egyptian monks had a sermon made by the abbot every day after evening prayer: for thus he describes their devotions: At nine o'clock they meet together, then the psalms are sung, and the Scriptures are read; and prayers being ended, they all sit down, and the father begins to discourse to them, whom they hear with the profoundest silence and veneration. His words make a deep impression on them, their eyes overflow with tears, and the speaker's commendation is the weeping of his hearers. Yet no one's grief expresses itself in any indecent strain; but when he comes to discourse of the kingdom of Christ, and future happiness, and the glory of the world to come, then one may observe, how each of them, with a moderate sigh, and eyes lift up to heaven, says within himself, Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then would I flee away and be at rest! This was their continual exercise of public devotion every day. Their private vacancies and intervals of labour were also spent in reading and prayer; for they daily learned some portion of Scripture, and more especially

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105 Aug. de Morib. Eccles. Cathol. c. 33. Inter hæc nemo urgetur in aspera, quæ ferre non potest; nulli quod recusat imponitur; nec ideo condemnatur a cæteris, quod in eis se imitandis fatetur invalidum, &c.

106 Pachom. Reg. apud Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 38.

107 Pallad. ibid. c. 39.

108 Cassian. Instit. lib. 3. c. 3. In his horis etiam evangelicus ille paterfamilias operarios conduxit in vineam suam. Ita enim et ille primo mane conduxisse describitur, quod tempus designat matutinam nostram solennitatem: deinde tertia, inde sexta, post hæc nona, ad extremum undecima, in qua lucernaris hora signatur.

109 Ibid. lib. 2.

110 Ibid. lib. 3. c. 2. Apud illos hæc officia, quæ Domino solvere per distinctiones horarum et temporis intervalla cum admonitione compulsoris adigimur, per totum diei spacium jugiter cum operis adjectione spontanea celebrantur.——Quamobrem exceptis vespertinis horis ac nocturnis congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem publica solennitas absque die sabbati vel Dominica celebratur, in quibus hora tertia sacræ communionis obtentu conveniunt.

111 Chap. 2. sect. 10.

112 Chap. 2. sect. 13.

113 Cassian. Collat. 7. c. 23. Ita dæmonum atrocitas grassabatur, et frequentes ac visibiles sentiebantur aggressus, ut non auderent omnes pariter noctibus obdormire, sed vicissim aliis degustantibus somnum, alii vigilias celebrantes, psalmis et orationibus seu lectionibus inhærebant.

114 Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. Manent separati, sejunctis cellulis, usque ad horam nonam. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius quem patrem vocant, incipit disputare, &c.

made it their meditation on the Lord's day, as St. Jerom observes of them in the forementioned place:[115] insomuch that many of them became so expert and well versed in the Holy Scripture, that they could repeat it by heart: which is particularly noted of Hilarion by Sozomen and St. Jerom,[116] and of Ammonius, Marcus junior, Eros, Serapion, Solomon, and some others by Palladius.[117] And by this means they were qualified to entertain their souls with spiritual exercises, singing of David's Psalms, and repeating other parts of Scripture, even at their bodily labours. Which practice is often mentioned with great commendation by Palladius,[118] Cassian,[119] and St. Jerom, who takes occasion upon this account to extol the quiet retirement of Christ's little village of Bethlehem above the noisy pomp and ambitious greatness of Rome, where so much time was spent in seeing and being seen, in receiving visits and paying them, in praises and detractions, things disagreeable to the life of a monk: whereas, at Bethlehem[120] there was nothing to be heard but psalms: one could not go into the field, but he should hear the ploughman singing his hallelujahs, the sweating mower solacing himself with hymns, and the vine-dresser tuning David's Psalms. Thus the ancient monks joined their bodily and spiritual exercise together, and made their common labour become acts of devotion to God. Their times of eating and refreshment were managed after the same manner. In some places they had the Scriptures read at table; which, Cassian says, was first brought up[121] in the monasteries of Cappadocia, to prevent idle discourse and contentions: but in Egypt they had no need of that remedy, for they were taught to eat their meat in silence. But when supper was ended, St. Jerom[122] says, they sung a hymn, and so returned to their cells. St. Chrysostom[123] also takes notice of this, and recommends it to secular men, as proper for their imitation; reciting the hymn which they used, which is in these words: "Blessed God, that hast fed me from my youth, that givest food unto all flesh, fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that we, having always what is sufficient for us, may abound unto every good work, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be glory, honour, and power, for ever. Amen. Glory be to thee, O Lord; glory be to thee, O Holy; glory be to thee, O King, who hast given us food for refreshment: fill our hearts with thy Holy Spirit, that we may be found acceptable in thy sight, and not be ashamed, when thou renderest to every man according to his works." Thus their ordinary refreshments, that is, their suppers, (for dinners, he says, they had none,) were sanctified with the word of God and prayer. And to express their humility, and avoid all contention about precedency and greatness, they served one another mutually at table, all of them taking their weekly turns: whence in Cassian[124] and St. Jerom[125] they are called *hebdomadarii*, week's-men, from their weekly service. On the Lord's day they were more intent upon their devotions, and spent it wholly upon reading and prayer. For no other employment, St. Jerom[126] says, was ever allowed among them on that day. Then every one received the communion, unless he was under some censure and suspension from it. And not only on Sundays, but on Saturdays also, it was customary for the Egyptian monks and others of the East to communicate. For the first and last day of the week were so appointed by Pachomius, the father of the Egyptian monks, to be communion days among them, as appears from his Rule[127] in Sozomen and Palladius. And Cassian frequently[128] speaks of it as their constant practice. Some were more strict, and let no day pass without receiving the eucharist: Palladius[129] says the Egyptian monks under Apollo observed this rule; for Apollo was used to instil this notion into his disciples, That a monk, if he had opportunity, ought to communicate every day; and accordingly he with his fraternity communicated every day at nine, or three o'clock in the afternoon, which was the time of their solemn assembly, before they went to their ordinary refreshment. Palladius[130] mentions one instance more of their devotion, which was only occasional, viz. their psalmody at the reception of any brethren: for that, it seems, was the first entertainment they gave them, to conduct them with singing of psalms to their habitation. Which has no relation to the processions of modern ages, but seems to be done in imitation of our Saviour's entrance and reception into Jerusalem.

Sect. 18. Of laws excluding monks from offices

These were the spiritual exercises of the ancient monks, whose life was

[115] Ibid. Dominicis diebus orationi tantum et lectionibus vacant: quod quidem et omni tempore completis opusculis faciunt. Quotidie aliquid de Scripturis discitur.

[116] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14. Hieron. Vit. Hilarion. c. 7.

[117] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 12, 21, 29, 83, 96.

[118] Pallad. ibid. c. 39.

[119] Cassian. Instit. lib. 11. c. 15.

[120] Hieron. Ep. 18. ad Marcel. In Christi villa tuta rusticitas est. Extra psalmos silentium est. Quocunque te verteris, arator stivam retinens alleluia decantat, sudans messor psalmis se advocat, &c.

[121] Cassian. Instit. lib. 4. c. 17.

[122] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. Nullus in cibo strepitus, nemo comedens loquitur.——Dehinc consurgunt pariter, et hymno dicto ad præsepia redeunt.

[123] Chrysost. Hom. 56. in Matth.

[124] Cassian. Instit. lib. 4. c. 19.

[125] Hieron. Prolog. ad Reg. Pachom. It. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15.

[126] Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. Dominicis diebus orationi tantum et lectionibus vacant.

[127] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14. Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 38.

[128] Cassian. Collat. 18. c. 15. Collat. 23. c. 21.

[129] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 52. p. 985. [130] Ibid. p. 984.

both ecclesiastical and civil.

a life of repentance, fasting, and devotion, which, joined with continual bodily labour, kept them always virtuously and honestly employed: and their laws did not allow them either to wander about as mendicants, or to interest themselves in civil or ecclesiastical offices, or any public affairs relating to church or state. There are three canons in the council of Chalcedon to this purpose. One indifferently[131] forbids both clergymen and monks to take to farm any estate or office, or involve themselves in secular affairs, except they be unavoidably required by the law to take upon them the guardianship of minors. Another[132] obliges monks particularly to live in their retirement, and to give themselves only to fasting and prayer, and not to leave their monasteries to engage themselves either in ecclesiastical or secular affairs, except the bishop of the city upon some urgent occasion permit them so to do. And a third canon[133] forbids both monks and clergy to take upon them any office, civil or military; anathematizing such as are guilty, and do not return to their first choice. So that monks were wholly excluded then from secular offices: and though some were called to ecclesiastial employments, yet then they were obliged to quit their monastery, and betake themselves wholly to a clerical life, only retaining so much of the former as would consist with the indispensable duties of the sacred function. Of these cases I have particularly spoken[134] in the foregoing chapter. But of monks continuing in their cloisters, and taking upon them at the same time the offices of the church, which did not concern their own monastery, we have scarce any instance in ancient history. Pope Pelagius, as he is cited by Gratian,[135] would not permit a monk to be a defensor, though that was but a low office in the church; because it was contrary to the state of a monastic life, which was to be spent in retirement, prayer, and bodily labour: whereas the office of a defensor was wholly taken up in hearing of causes, and other acts of a public and litigious nature, which were things inconsistent with one another. Till a monk therefore had first bid adieu to his monastery, he was not to be promoted to any such office in the church.

Sect. 19. No monks anciently encroached on the duties or rights of the secular clergy.

Much less were they then permitted to encroach upon the duties, or rights and privileges, of the secular clergy. For we find no complaints of this nature in ancient history, as too frequently in after ages. For the generality of monks being only laymen, and refusing any other subsistence or revenues but what arose out of their own labour, (as I have fully proved before,) they could have no temptation then to intermeddle either with the business and duties, or the maintenance and revenues of the clergy. And for such of them as were ordained presbyters or deacons, they were either only to serve their own monastery, or else such were taken out of monasteries by the bishops, and thenceforth reckoned among the secular clergy of the church. Valesius indeed is willing to have it thought otherwise: for he says,[136] in the latter end of the fourth century, it was very usual for monks to perform the offices of the clergy; and he alleges for proof the example of Eusebius Vercellensis and the church of St. Austin, which I have considered before,[137] and showed that they prove no more, but that some bishops and their clergy took up a way of living in common, in imitation of the monastic life, which is nothing to monks in cloisters intruding themselves into parochial cures. The only instance that looks any thing this way, is what Sozomen[138] relates of the church built by Ruffinus, the great statesman under Arcadius, at a place called Quercus, in the suburbs of Chalcedon, where, after he had built his church, he says, he placed some monks near it, whence the clergy of the church were supplied. But this may mean no more, but that when there wanted clergy in that church, they were to be chosen out of that neighbouring monastery, which indeed was then no unusual thing in the church: but that monks living in a monastery should perform Divine offices in other churches beside that of their own monastery, is not agreeable to ancient rules and practice. And therefore we meet with no instances of that kind, nor of tithes being received by monks, unless it was for the use of the poor; of which there is one instance in Cassian,[139] and besides that I do not remember any other. Their way of living upon their own labour made them not solicitous to receive any thing from other men, and therefore some of them would not receive maintenance from their own parents, as Cassian[140] relates of Antony, lest they should seem to live upon any thing that was not the work of their own hands.

Sect. 20. Not allowed at first to dwell in cities, but confined to the wilderness.

Beside all this, there was another reason then why monks could not ordinarily attend parochial cures, had they been otherwise qualified for them. For by the laws of their first institution, in all parts of the East, their habitation was not to be

[131] Conc. Chalced. can. 3.
[132] Ibid. can. 4.
[133] Ibid. c. 7.
[134] Chap. 2. sect. 8.
[135] Gratian. Caus. 16. Quæst. 1. c. 20. Omnimoda est illius habitus et istius officii diversitas. Illic enim quies, oratio, labor manuum: at hic causarum cognitio, conventiones, actus, publica litigia, &c
[136] Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. 8. c. 17.
[137] See chap. 2. sect. 8.
[138] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 17. Πλησίον δὲ μοναχοὺς συνώκισεν, οἳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κλῆρον ἐπλήρουν.
[139] Cassian. Collat. 21. c. 2.
[140] Ibid. 24. c. 12.

in cities, or places of public concourse, but in deserts and private retirements, where they might be sequestered from the noise of the world, and live in quiet and solitude, as their name seemed to imply. Whence St. Jerom, writing to Rusticus the monk, inveighs against those who were desirous[141] to live in cities, which was contrary to that singularity they made profession of. And giving instructions to Paulinus, he says, If you desire to be really, what you are in name, that is, a solitary, or one that lives alone, what have you to do in cities,[142] which are not habitations for solitaries, but the multitude? And it is observed both by him and Sozomen[143] of Antonius, that he was used to say, The wilderness was as natural to a monk, as water to a fish; and therefore a monk in a city was quite out of his element, like a fish upon dry land. By which it appears, that the monastic life in the first design was to exclude men from having any thing to do in cities and places of public concourse. And there are laws in both the Codes to the same purpose. Theodosius enacted, that all that made profession of the monastic life,[144] should be obliged by the civil magistrate to betake themselves to the wilderness and deserts, as their proper habitation. Baronius, by mistake, reckons[145] this law a punishment, and next to a persecution of the monks: but Gothofred[146] and Mr. Pagi[147] with better judgment correct his error, and observe with more truth, that it was so far from being a punishment, that it was only obliging them to live according to the rules of their first institution. Leo and Anthemius,[148] and after them Justinian, made laws to the same purpose, forbidding the Eastern monks to appear in cities; but if they had any business of concern to be transacted there, they should do it by their *apocrisiarii* or *responsales*, that is, their proctors or syndics, which every monastery was allowed for that purpose.

Sect. 21. What exceptions that rule admitted of.

Not but that in some extraordinary cases they took liberty to dispense with this rule, when a just occasion required their appearance. As in times of common danger to the faith, or great persecutions, or when it seemed necessary for them to interpose with the magistrate, and intercede for criminals in special cases. Thus St. Jerom[149] observes of Antonius, that he came to Alexandria at the request of Athanasius, to give testimony and countenance to the catholic faith, and to confute the Arian heresy. Theodoret makes the like observation[150] upon the behaviour of Aphraates and Julian, two Syrian monks, who left their cells in the desert to live in Antioch, when their presence was thought necessary to support the catholic doctrine and its professors in the time of the Arian persecution under Valens. And of Aphraates he tells this remarkable story: that Valens once observing him to pass the streets in haste, though he was an old man, asked him, Whither he was going with so much speed? To whom he replied, I am going, sir, to pray for your empire. But, said Valens, it would more have become you to do that at home in your retirement, according to the laws of your solitary life. Yes, sir, said Aphraates, you say very true, I ought so to do, and I always did so, as long as my Saviour's sheep were in peace: but now that they are disquieted and brought into great danger, very necessity compels me to take another course for their safety, that they may not be torn in pieces by wild beasts. Were I a virgin, confined to a single room, it would not become me to sit still, when I saw my father's house on fire, but to run abroad, fetch water, and extinguish the flame. Now, this is our case. You, sir, have set fire to the house of our common Father, and we have left our cells with no small concern, and are come abroad to put it out. Thus bravely did Aphraates answer Valens, and apologize for his appearing in the city in the time of common danger, when Valens himself was the occasion of it. Nor was it only in defence of religion they thus made a public appearance, but sometimes they thought it necessary to come and intercede with the emperors and judges for condemned criminals. As Sozomen[151] observes of Antonius, that he was frequently compelled by the complaints and lamentations of the distressed, to come and interpose his good offices with the princes and magistrates for them, and as soon as he had done, he returned to the wilderness again. The reader may find a more remarkable instance of this kind in one of St. Chrysostom's homilies[152] to the people of Antioch, where he relates how the city was delivered from imminent ruin (being under the displeasure of Theodosius for having demolished the imperial statues, and committing other crimes of a high nature) by the intercession of the neighbouring monks, who left their tabernacles and caves in the mountains, and came into the city, (when other philosophers for fear were fled out of it,) and interceding with the judges, prevailed with them to spare the criminals;

[141] Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Quid desideramus urbium frequentiam, qui de singularitate censemur?

[142] Ep. 13. ad Paulin. Si cupis esse quod diceris, id est solus: quid facis in urbibus, quæ utique non sunt solorum habitacula, sed multorum?

[143] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 13.

[144] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 3. de Monachis. Leg. 1. Quicunque sub professione monachi reperiuntur, deserta loca et vastas solitudines sequi atque habitare jubeantur.

[145] Baron. an. 390. n. 48.

[146] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 3. Leg. 1.

[147] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 390. n. 10.

[148] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 29. It. Novel. 123. c. 42.

[149] Hieron. Ep. 33. ad Castruc.

[150] Theodor. lib. 4. c. 26 et 27.

[151] Sozom. lib. 1. c. 13.

[152] Chrys. Hom. 17. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 215.

telling them, that the images of the emperor might easily be restored to their pristine beauty, and be set up again; but if they slew the images of God, it would be impossible to raise them up again, since it was beyond the art of man to join body and soul together: and if they would not hearken to their intercession, they should execute them too; for if it must be so, they were resolved to die with them. After this manner they were used to intercede with the judges for criminals in some such special cases as this before us. And they commonly did it with such prevalency, that they seldom failed in their petition, the magistracy expressing a particular reverence to them upon such occasions. But afterward this thing grew into abuse, and they would not be content to petition, but would sometimes come in great bodies or troops, *per drungos*, and by force deliver criminals, after sentence of condemnation was passed upon them. To repress which tumultuous way of proceeding, Arcadius the emperor was forced to publish a law[153] strictly forbidding both the monks and clergy to attempt any such thing, and commanding all bishops to prosecute the authors of such disorders, if any monks happened to be so engaged in their districts, under pain of his royal displeasure.

Sect. 22. Whether monks might betake themselves to a secular life again.

There remains but one inquiry more to be made concerning this order of men, which is, whether such as made profession of the monastic life, were afterward at liberty to alter their state as they thought convenient, and turn seculars again? To which it may be answered, that they were under no public vow to the contrary: many men embraced the life, who never intended to continue all their days in it. Julian himself was once in the monastic habit, to please his cousin Constantius, who began to suspect his inclination toward the philosophy of the Gentiles. Socrates says of him, that he assumed[154] the tonsure, and feigned the life of a monk in public, whilst he privately resorted to the lectures of Libanius the sophist. And Orosius observes the same[155] of Constans the son of Constantine, who usurped the empire in Britain in the time of Honorius, that he was first a monk before his father made him Cæsar, and sent him into Spain to promote his interest there. These men had no need of the pope's dispensation to set them at liberty from their vow; for it does not appear they were ever under any such obligation. Monasteries were anciently schools of learning, and places of pious and religious education of youth: which, though Bellarmine[156] thinks fit to deny it, is evidently proved from St. Chrysostom's third book[157] against the defamers of the monastic life, which is chiefly spent in advising parents to send their children to be educated in monasteries, as the safest places of good education; not with a design to oblige them always to continue in the monastic life, but only to train them up and settle them securely in the ways of virtue. And to the same purpose it is observed by Palladius, that the monks of Mount Nitria[158] had a *xenodochium* or hospital, where, for a week, they entertained any one that came to them, without working; if he continued longer, they set him either to work at some bodily labour, or to study: and so employed he might continue a year, or two or three, among them, till he saw his own time to depart from them. This Palladius[159] calls ἄσκησις γραφική, the exercise of letters, in opposition to that of bodily labour. So that men might enter a monastery for the sake of study, and leave it again when they pleased, if they laid upon themselves no further obligation. And they who tied up themselves stricter, and entered the monastic life with a design to continue in it, were never under any vow, unless a private resolution might be esteemed such, which might be altered at pleasure, especially if any unforeseen case or accident seemed to require a change in their way of living. As Cassian[160] tells of one in Egypt, who despairing to obtain the gift of continency, was preparing to enter into a married state, and return to a secular life again. The Rule of Pachomius, by which the Egyptian monks were governed, has nothing of any vow at their entrance, nor any punishment for such as deserted their station afterward: and there was one piece of discipline among the Egyptians, which I have mentioned before, that seems plainly to intimate that they were under no solemn vow; for one of their punishments was expulsion out of the monastery, which is inconsistent with a vow of continuing in a monastery for ever. So that at first the monastic life seems to have been a matter of free choice, not only at men's first entrance, but in their progress and continuance also; and men might quit it without any other punishment, unless it were a note of inconstancy fixed upon them.

Sect. 23. Marriage of monks anciently not annulled.

However, this is certain, that monks who betook themselves to a married state, were not anciently obliged by

[153] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 40. de Pœnis. Leg. 16. Addictos supplicio, nulli clericorum vel monachorum, eorum etiam quos cœnobitas vocant, per vim atque usurpationem vindicare liceat ac tenere, &c.

[154] Socrat. lib. 3. c. 1. Ἐν χρῶτι κειράμενος, τὸν τῶν μοναχῶν ὑπεκρίνετο βίον.

[155] Oros. Hist. lib. 7. c. 40. Constantinus Constantem filium suum, proh dolor, ex monacho Cæsarem factum——in Hispanias misit.

[156] Bellarm. de Monachis, lib. 2. c. 6.

[157] Chrysost. advers. Vituperatores Vitæ Monast. lib. 3. t. 4. p. 499.

[158] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 6.

[159] Pallad. ibid. c. 14.

[160] Cassian. Collat. 2. c. 13. Ut quia monachus esse non posset, nec refrænare stimulos carnis, et impugnationis remedia consequi prævaleret, uxorem duceret, ac relicto monasterio reverteretur ad sæculum.

any law to dissolve their marriage, and put away their wives, under pretence of any preceding obligation, according to the new rules of the council of Trent,[161] which pronounces such marriages null and void. In St. Austin's time some virgins and widows were under the obligation of a vow; yet if they married after that, he says, they were not to be separated[162] from their husbands as adulteresses: for their marriage was true marriage, and not adultery, as some falsely argued. He says, They offended highly in breaking their vow, but yet their marriage was valid; and in that case to separate them from their husbands, was only to make their husbands adulterers in marrying others while their wives were living. By parity of reason, then, the marriage of monks must be esteemed valid also, even supposing them under an equal obligation. And upon this account we find no instances of dissolving marriage in such cases left upon record in ancient history.

Sect. 24. What punishments ordinarily inflicted on deserters.

Yet in process of time, because monks were presumed to be under some private obligation by assuming this way of living, some punishments were thought of, as proper to be inflicted on such as relinquished their station and returned to a secular life again. By the first council of Orleans, a monk that had entered himself in a monastery,[163] if he afterwards married a wife, was for ever after incapable of holy orders, but no other censure is passed upon him. St. Austin was for inflicting the same punishment on such as left their monastery without their own bishop's leave, as appears from his letter to Aurelius,[164] bishop of Carthage, upon that subject. The civil law likewise excludes deserters from the privilege of ordination: for by a law of Honorius,[165] they were to be delivered up to the *curia*, or civil court of the city, there to serve all their lives; by which means they were rendered incapable of any office in the church, because curial and clerical offices were inconsistent with one another, as has been showed at large[166] in another place. Justinian added another punishment, that if they were possessed of any substance, it should all be forfeited to the monastery[167] which they deserted, while they themselves should be obliged to serve personally among the officials of the judge of the province where they lived. For by this time monasteries began to have estates and possessions in some places, though the most exact rules of the Egyptian monks were against it. The censures of the church were likewise inflicted on deserting monks in the fifth century. Spalatensis[168] thinks the first council that ever decreed excommunication against them, was the fourth council of Toledo[169] under Honorius, anno 633. But did not advert to a former canon of the council of Chalcedon, made near two hundred years before, which decreed, that neither virgins consecrated to God, nor monks,[170] should marry; and such as did so, should be excommunicated: only the bishop of the place might moderate the censure. That is, if I rightly understand that canon, which is by some mistaken, he might shorten the term of their penance at his discretion; which was the only way of granting indulgences in the primitive church. And from hence again it appears, that when it was thought a crime for a monk to marry, yet they did not think it a nullity when done, or presume to void it upon that score, but only oblige him to do penance for such a term as the bishop should think fit to impose upon him. And I suppose the canons of St. Basil,[171] and the council of Trullo,[172] which speak of a penance of seven years or more, are to be understood with this limitation.

I have now put together all that I could think material to be said upon this subject of the monastic life: and some perhaps will think I have said too much, and others too little upon it: but I content myself to have said so much as seemed necessary to my own design, which was to give an account of ancient customs, and explain several laws and rules of the church. They whose curiosity leads them further, may easily have recourse to Cassian's Institutions and Collations, and Palladius's Historia Lausiaca, and Theodoret's Philotheus or Religious History, books written particularly upon this subject by professed admirers of the monastic life. My method now leads me to say something briefly of the virgins and widows, that were also reckoned among the ascetics of the church.

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161 Conc. Trident. Sess. 24. can. 9.

162 Aug. de Bono Viduitat. c. 10. Qui dicunt talium nuptias, non esse nuptias, sed potius adulteria, non mihi videntur satis acute ac diligenter considerare quid dicant. Fallit eos quippe similitudo veritatis, &c.

163 Conc. Aurel. 1. c. 21. Monachus in monasterio conversus, si pellici postea vel uxori fuerit sociatus, tantæ prævaricationis reus, nunquam ecclesiastici gradus officium sortiatur.

164 Aug. Ep. 76. ad Aurel. Ordini clericorum fit indignissima injuria, si desertores monasteriorum ad militiam clericatus eligantur, &c.

165 Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. Leg. 39. Si qui professum sacræ religionis sponte dereliquerit, continuo sibi eum curia vindicet, &c.

166 Book IV. chap. 4. sect. 4.

167 Justin. Novel. 5. c. 6. Si relinquens monasterium, ad quandam veniat militiam, aut ad aliam vitæ figuram: substantia ejus in monasterio remanente, ipse inter officiales clarissimi provinciæ judicis statuetur, &c. It. Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 3. Leg. 56.

168 Spalat. de Repub. lib. 2. cap. 12. n. 48.

169 Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 55.

170 Conc. Chalced. can. 16.

171 Basil. can. 60.

172 Conc. Trull. c. 44.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CASE AND STATE OF VIRGINS AND WIDOWS IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

Sect. 1. Of the distinction between ecclesiastical and monastical virgins.

As I have showed before that there were ascetics in the church long before there were any monks; so it must here be noted, that there were virgins who made public and open profession of virginity, before the monastic life or name was known in the world. This appears from the writings of Cyprian and Tertullian, who speak of virgins dedicating themselves to Christ before there were any monasteries to receive them. These for distinction's sake are sometimes called ecclesiastical virgins by the writers of the following ages, Sozomen[1] and others, to distinguish them from such as embraced the monastic life, after monasteries began to multiply in the world. The ecclesiastical virgins were commonly enrolled in the canon or *matricula* of the church, that is, in the catalogue of ecclesiastics, as we learn from Socrates,[2] who speaks of them under that title: and hence they were sometimes called *canonicæ*, canonical virgins, from their being registered in the canon or books of the church. They differed from the monastic virgins chiefly in this, that they lived privately in their fathers' houses, and had their maintenance from their fathers, or in cases of necessity from the church; but the other lived in communities and upon their own labour, as we learn from the third council of Carthage[3] and the writings of St. Austin.[4] Spalatensis long ago observed this difference,[5] and it is since acknowledged by Albaspinæus,[6] Valesius,[7] Cotelerius,[8] and other learned men of the Romish church. So that it is now out of dispute, that as the ascetics for the first three hundred years were not monks, so neither were the sacred virgins of the church monastical virgins, or nuns confined to a cloister, as in after ages.

Sect. 2. Whether they were under any profession of perpetual virginity.

If it be inquired how these were distinguished from other virgins, that were merely secular; I conceive it was by some sort of profession of their intention to continue in that state all their lives; but whether that was a solemn vow, or a simple profession, is not agreed among learned writers. The learned editor[9] of St. Cyprian reckons they were under no obligation of any formal vow in the age of Cyprian, but yet were some way bound by the resolution and purpose of their own mind, and the public profession of virginity: and in this he seems to speak not only the common sense of protestant writers, but the sense of that ancient author,[10] who says, They dedicated themselves to Christ, yet so as that if either they would not or could not persevere, it was better for them to marry than to burn, or to be cast into fire for their offences, as his words may literally be translated. From whence it may be collected, that then the profession of virginity was not so strict, as to make marrying after be thought a crime worthy of ecclesiastical censure.

Sect. 3. When first made liable to the censures of the church for marrying against their profession.

But in the following ages the censures of the church were inflicted on them. The council of Ancyra[11] determined universally against all such as, having professed virginity, afterward went against their profession, that they should be subjected to the same term of penance as digamists were used to be; that is, a year or two, as we learn from one of the canons of St. Basil.[12] The council of Chalcedon[13] orders them to be excommunicated if they married, but leaves the term of their penance to the bishop's discretion. The council of Valence in France is still more severe, forbidding[14] them to be immediately admitted to penance; and when they were admitted, unless they made full and reasonable satisfaction to God, their restoration to communion was still to be deferred. Now, from these canons, to mention no more, it evidently appears, that in the following ages next after the time of Cyprian, that is, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the censures of the church were severer against the marriage of professed virgins than they were before: and they seem to have risen in proportion to the esteem and value which men began to set upon celibacy and the monastic life.

[1] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 23. Παρθένοι ἐκκλησιαστικαί.

[2] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 17. Τὰς παρθένους τὰς ἀναγεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κανόνι, &c.

[3] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 33. Ut virgines sacræ, si parentibus, a quibus custodiebantur, privatæ fuerint, episcopi providentia vel presbyteri, si episcopus absens est, in monasterio virginum gravioribus fœminis commendentur, &c.

[4] Aug. de Morib. Eccles. c. 31. Lanificio corpus exercent, atque sustentant, vestesque ipsas fratribus tradunt, ab iis invicem quod victui opus est resumentes.

[5] Spalat. de Repub. lib. 2. c. 11. n. 25.

[6] Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Eliber. can. 13.

[7] Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. 8. c. 23.

[8] Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apost. lib. 8. c. 13.

[9] Fell, Not. in Cypr. Ep. 4. Animi proposito et publica virginitatis professione, non voto astrictæ.

[10] Cypr. Ep. 62. al. 4. ad Pompon. Si ex fide se Christo dicaverunt, pudice et caste sine ulla fabula perseverent; ita fortes et stabiles præmium virginitatis expectent. Si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt; melius est nubant, quam in ignem delictis suis cadant.

[11] Conc. Ancyr. can. 19. Ὅσοι παρθενίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, ἀθετοῦσι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τὸν τῶν διγάμων ὅρον ἐκπληρούτωσαν.

[12] Basil. Ep. Canon. c. 4.

[13] Conc. Chalced. can. 16.

[14] Conc. Valentin. can. 2. De puellis, quæ se Deo voverunt, si ad terrenas nuptias sponte transierint, id custodiendum esse decrevimus, ut pœnitentia his non statim detur: et cum data fuerit, nisi plene satisfecerint Deo, in quantum ratio poposcerit, earundem communio differatur.

Sect. 4. The marriage of professed virgins never declared null.

Yet two things are very observable amidst all the severity and rigour of those ages: first, that there never was any church decree for rescinding, or pronouncing null, such marriages. The emperor Jovian, indeed, as Sozomen relates,[15] made it a capital crime by law for any one to commit a rape upon a devoted virgin, or so much as to solicit her to forsake her present state of life, and forego her resolution and purpose: which law is still extant in both the Codes.[16] But then, as Valesius himself rightly observes, this law was only made against ravishers, and such as solicited those virgins to marry against their own will: but if a virgin did voluntarily quit her purpose and station, and then marry after that, there was nothing in this law[17] to prohibit her, much less to punish her for so doing. And for the laws of the church, though they appointed a spiritual punishment, yet they did not cancel or disannul the act, but confirmed and ratified such marriages, though done against the rules then prevailing in the church. Of which the testimony of St. Austin,[18] alleged before in the last chapter, sect. 23, is abundant proof: not to mention the silence of all ancient laws in the case, which speak of no other punishment beside excommunication, and penance as the consequent of that, in order to be received into the communion of the church again. Epiphanius[19] is very express and particular in the case, that if any professing virginity fell from their state by fornication, they had better marry publicly according to the laws, and then submit themselves to a course of penance, in order to obtain the communion of the church again, rather than live perpetually exposed to the secret darts of the devil. Which, I think, he would not have said, had it then been the custom of the church to disannul the marriages of professed virgins, under pretence of any preceding vow or obligation.

Sect. 5. Liberty granted by some laws to marry, if they were consecrated before the age of forty.

The other thing proper to be considered in this case, is, that by the imperial laws great liberty and indulgence was granted to all virgins that were consecrated before the age of forty. For though some canons[20] allowed them to be consecrated at twenty-five, and others[21] at sixteen or seventeen, which were reckoned to be years of discretion; yet time quickly showed, that neither of those terms were so conveniently fixed as they might be: and therefore other canons required virgins to be forty years old[22] before they were veiled, as may be seen particularly in the French and Spanish councils of Agde and Saragossa. And the imperial laws not only required that age in consecrated virgins, but further decreed, That if any virgin was veiled before that age, either by the violence or hatred of her parents, (which was a case that often happened,) she should have liberty to marry: as appears from the Novel of Leo and Majorian[23] at the end of the Theodosian Code, which says, That no virgin in such circumstances should be judged sacrilegious, who by her honest marriage declared, that either she never intended to take upon her any such vow, or at least was not able to fulfil it: forasmuch as the doctrine and institutes of the Christian religion have declared, that it is better for a virgin to marry, than to burn, and forfeit her virtue by leading an unchaste life, after she has made profession of virginity. Now, if these two things be rightly considered, first, that the consecration of a virgin was not to be reputed valid, till she was forty years of age: and, secondly, that if she married after her consecration at that age, yet her marriage was then reputed valid, and never disannulled; there will appear a very wide difference between the practice of the ancient church, and that of the church of Rome in this matter: for which reason I have spoken distinctly of this profession of virgins, both to explain the nature of their vow, and show the measures of its obligation.

Sect. 6. Of their habit, and form, and manner of consecration.

As to their consecration itself, it had some things very peculiar in it. For it was usually performed publicly in the church, and that with some solemnity, by the bishop himself, or at least some presbyter particularly deputed by the bishop for that purpose. For by the ancient canons, this act among others was reserved to the office of the supreme minister of the church, and therefore a presbyter without his commission or leave was not to intermeddle in it. The sixth canon in the African Code[24] seems universally to prohibit presbyters these three things,

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[15] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 3.

[16] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. Leg. 5. Si quis non dicam rapere, sed attentare tantum jungendi causa matrimonii sacratissimas virgines ausus fuerit, capitali pœna feriatur. Vid. Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 25. de Raptu Sanctimonialium, Leg. 2.

[17] Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. 6. c. 3. Lex Joviani adversus raptores virginum lata est; sed si sanctimonialis relicto proposito postea nubere voluisset, non prohibebatur hac lege.

[18] Aug. de Bono Viduit. c. 8, 9, 10.

[19] Epiphan. Hær. 61. Apostolic.

[20] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 4. [21] Basil. Ep. Canon. c. 18.

[22] Conc. Agathen. can. 19. Sanctimoniales, quantumlibet vita earum et mores probati sint, ante annum ætatis suæ quadragesimum non velentur. Conc. Cæsaraugust. can. 8. Non velandas esse virgines, quæ se Deo voverunt, nisi quadraginta annorum probata ætate, &c.

[23] Leo et Majorian, Novel. 8. Neque enim sacrilega judicanda est, quæ se hoc ante noluisse, aut certe non posse complere adpetiti conjugii honestate prodiderit; cum Christianæ religionis instituta atque doctrina melius esse censuerit virginem nubere, quam impatientiæ ardore naturali professæ pudicitiæ non servare virtutem.

[24] Cod. Afric. c. 6. Κορῶν καθιέρωσις ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων μὴ γένηται, &c.

the making of chrism, the public reconciliation of penitents, and the consecration of virgins. But this last point is to be interpreted by what is said in the third council of Carthage, that a presbyter is not to consecrate a virgin without[25] the bishop's leave. Which implies, that he might do it by his direction. And so Ferrandus in his Abbreviation[26] understands it. So that this was one of those things which bishops thought fit to reserve to themselves in those times, and did not allow their presbyters, without special direction, to perform it. Whence I conclude, it was a thing esteemed of some weight, and the bishop's character was concerned in it, to use an exact caution in the consecrating of virgins, as St. Ambrose[27] words it, that nothing might be done rashly to the dishonour of the church. Now, when a virgin had signified her purpose to the bishop, and her desire of the usual consecration, she was wont to come and make a public profession of her resolution in the church; and then the bishop, or presbyter appointed at the altar, put upon her the accustomed habit of sacred virgins, by which they were known and distinguished from all others. The matter is thus represented by St. Ambrose, who, speaking of his sister Marcellina, who was consecrated at Rome by Liberius, says, that on Christmas day,[28] in St. Peter's church, she signified the profession of virginity by the change of her habit, Liberius making an exhortation or discourse of her, suitable to the occasion, containing the duty of virgins, which the reader may find there recorded. This change of habit is frequently[29] mentioned in the ancient councils, and the civil law also takes notice of it, forbidding[30] all mimics and lewd women the public use of such habit, as was worn by virgins consecrated to God. Which implies plainly, that such virgins were known by some particular habit peculiar to themselves. One part of this was a veil, called the *sacrum velamen*, whence the phrase, *Velare virginem*,[31] To veil a virgin, is the same as consecrating her to God, in some ancient writers. Though I must note, that Tertullian's book de Velandis Virginibus, is not so to be understood: for he writes not to devoted virgins, but to all virgins in general, persuading them to use the grave habit of matrons, that is, to go veiled, according to the apostle's direction. Whence we must say, that the veil of consecrated virgins had some note of distinction from the common veil of others, and thereupon the name of sacred affixed to it, because it was a token or indication of their resolution. Optatus particularly observes this of another part of their habit, which he calls their purple and golden mitre. He says, they did not use it for any sacrament or mystery, but only as a badge of distinction, and to signify to whose service they belonged, that no one might pretend to ravish, or so much as court them. And therefore he blames[32] the Donatists for their blind and mad zeal in making the virgins of Christ do penance, and cast away their veils, and change their mitres, which were only innocent tokens of their profession. Eusebius takes notice of the same habit under the name of coronet: for speaking of one Ennathas, a virgin of Scythopolis in Palestine, who suffered martyrdom in the Diocletian persecution, he says of her,[33] that she was adorned with the coronet of virginity; alluding to what Optatus calls their golden riband or little mitre; unless he speaks metaphorically, and means the crown of virginity added to the crown of martyrdom in another world, of both which great things are often said in the ancient writers. Albaspiny[34] thinks Optatus speaks of another custom, which, he says, is still in use in the consecration of virgins, which is untying the hair, as was customary in secular marriages, in token of the woman's subjection to her husband. But Optatus's words[35] seem only to be a bare allusion to that secular custom: for the marriage of virgins to Christ was only figurative, or, as he words it, spiritual and heavenly; and, consequently, the custom referred to must be understood to be of the same nature, that is, not real and proper, but figurative only; which seems to be most agreeable to the mind of the author. Baronius[36] and Habertus[37] express themselves patrons of another custom, which began to creep in

[25] Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 36. Ut presbyter inconsulto episcopo virgines non consecret, chrisma vero nunquam conficiat.

[26] Ferrand. Breviat. Canonum, c. 91.

[27] Ambros. de Virgin. lib. 3. p. 124. Neque ego abnuo, sacerdotalis esse cautionis debere, ut non temere puella veletur.

[28] Ambros. de Virgin. lib. 3. p. 112. Cum in salvatoris natali, ad apostolum Petrum, virginitatis professionem vestis quoque mutatione signares, &c. Vid. Ambros. ad Virginem Lapsam, c. 5.

[29] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 12 et 104. Conc. Arausic. 1. c. 27.

[30] Lex Arcadii in Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 4. de Episc. Audient. Leg. 4. Mimæ et quæ ludibrio corporis sui quæstum faciunt, publice habitu earum virginum, quæ Deo dicatæ sunt, non utantur. Vid. Cod. Th. lib. 15. Tit. 17. Leg. 12.

[31] Innoc. Ep. 2. ad Victric. c. 13. Hæ vero quæ necdum sacro velamine tectæ, &c. Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episc. Lucaniæ, c. 12.

[32] Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. 6. p. 96. Jam illud quam stultum, quam vanum, ut virgines Christi agerent pœnitentiam, ut jamdudum professæ signa voluntatis capitibus, postea vobis jubentibus, immutarent; ut mitellas aureas projicerent, alias acciperent, &c.

[33] Euseb. de Martyr. Palæst. c. 9. Παρθενίας στέμματι καὶ αὐτὴ κεκοσμημένη.

[34] Albaspin. Not. in Optat. lib. 6. p. 159.

[35] Optat. lib. 6. p. 97. Spiritale nubendi hoc genus est: in nuptias sponsi jam venerant voluntate et professione sua, et ut sæcularibus nuptiis se renunciasse monstrarent, spiritali sponso solverant crinem, jam cœlestes celebraverant nuptias. Quid est quod eas iterum crines solvere coegistis?

[36] Baron. an. 57. n. 93. [37] Habert. Archieratic. p. 598.

among some, but was never allowed or approved by the catholic church. Eustathius the heretic was for having all virgins shorn or shaven at their consecration: but the council of Gangra immediately rose up against him, and anathematized the practice, passing a decree in these words, If any woman,[38] under pretence of an ascetic life, cut off her hair, which God hath given her for a memorial of subjection, let her be anathema, as one that disannuls the decree of subjection. Habertus and Baronius pretend that this decree was made only against married women and seculars, and not such as betook themselves to a monastic life; but the words of the canon are positively against such as did it upon pretence that they were entered upon an ascetic, or, as some call it, a religious life; and Valesius[39] ingenuously confesses this to be the true sense of the canon, proving hence, that anciently the sacred virgins were not shaven: as neither were they in France to the time of Carolus Calvus, as he shows from other canons, citing Hugo Menardus[40] for the same opinion. But the council of Gangra was not of sufficient force to repress this custom in all places: for in St. Jerom's time it prevailed in some monasteries of Syria and Egypt, though upon another principle, of cleanliness, not religion, as appears[41] from his epistle against Sabinian the deacon: yet it did not prevail every where in Egypt in the days of Athanasius; for Sozomen,[42] giving an account of the barbarous usage which the holy virgins met with from the heathen at Heliopolis, says, they added this indignity above all, that they shaved them also. Which plainly implies, that it was not then any approved custom of the church. Nor did it ever prevail by any law; for Theodosius the Great added a civil sanction[43] to confirm the ecclesiastical decree made against it, commanding all women, that under pretence of their profession cut off their hair, to be cast out of the church, and not to be allowed to partake of the holy mysteries, or make their supplications at the altar; and further laid the penalty both of deposition and excommunication upon any bishop that should admit such women to communion. From all which it manifestly appears, that the pretended tonsure of virgins and widows was anciently no allowed custom of the church, but rather an abuse, which both the civil and ecclesiastical laws endeavoured to correct and exterminate, however it came to prevail in the contrary practice of later ages. The Ordo Romanus has also a long form of prayer, and the ceremony of a ring and a bracelet at their consecration; but the ancient liturgies having nothing of this, their silence seems to be an argument against the antiquity of them. And lest any one should think the virgins were ordained to some special office in the church, as the deaconesses were, it is particularly remarked by the author of the Constitutions,[44] that their consecration was not an ordination; and therefore imposition of hands, for aught that I can find, was not any ancient ceremony belonging to it. I must note further, that as the society of virgins was of great esteem in the church, so they had some particular honours paid to them.

Sect. 7. Of some privileges bestowed on them.

Virgins and widows were commonly excused capitation money together with the clergy,[45] by the imperial laws of Valentinian and others. Their persons were sacred; and severe laws were made against any that should presume to offer the least violence to them; banishment, and proscription, and death, were the ordinary punishments[46] of such offenders. Constantine paid them a particular respect, by charging his own coffers and exchequer with their maintenance. And his mother, Helena,[47] was used to entertain them herself, and wait upon them at her own table. The church gave them also a share in her own revenues, and assigned them by way of respect a particular place or apartment in the house of God, whither, as St. Ambrose says,[48] the most noble and religious matrons were to resort with some earnestness to receive their salutations and embraces. But of this I shall have occasion to discourse further in the next book, when I come to treat of churches, and the distinct places of every order in them.

Sect. 8. Of the name *νονὶς* and *nonnæ*, and its signification.

I have but one thing more to observe, which relates to an ancient name of these virgins, *νονὶς* and *nonnæ*, whence I presume comes our English name,

[38] Conc. Gangr. can. 17. *Εἴ τις γυναικῶν διὰ τὴν νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν ἀποκείροιτο τὰς κόμας, ἃς ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ὡς ἀναλύουσα τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*

[39] Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 5. c. 10. Porro sciendum est, sacras virgines olim intonsas fuisse, ut constat ex concilio Gangrensi. Idque etiam in Gallia usitatum fuit temporibus Caroli Calvi, ut docet canon. 7. Concilii in Verno Palatio.

[40] Menard. Not. in Sacramental. Gregor.

[41] Hieron. Ep. 48. cont. Sabinian. Moris est in Ægyptiis et Syris monasteriis, ut tam virgo quam vidua, quæ se Deo devoverint, et sæculo renunciantes omnes delicias sæculi conculcarint, mundanum crinem monasteriorum matribus offerant desecandum, &c.

[42] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 10. *Τὸ τελευταῖον ἀνέκειρον αὐτὰς.*

[43] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 27. Fœminæ quæ crinem suum, contra Divinas humanasque leges, instinctu persuasæ professionis, absciderint, ab ecclesiæ foribus arceantur: non illis fas sit sacra adire mysteria, neque ullis supplicationibus mereantur veneranda omnibus altaria frequentare. Adeo quidem, ut episcopus, tonso capite fœminam si introire permiserit, dejectus loco etiam ipse cum hujusmodi contuberniis arceatur.

[44] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 24. *Παρθένος οὐ χειροτονεῖται*, &c.

[45] Cod. Th. lib. 13. Tit. 10. de Censu, Leg. 4.

[46] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 25. de Raptu Sanctimon. Leg. 2 et 3.

[47] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 17.

[48] Ambros. ad Virgin. Lapsam, c. 6.

nun. *Moniales*, and *ascetriæ*, and *sanctimoniales*, are common names for them in ancient writers. St. Jerom once uses the name *nonnæ*, and Palladius of Meursius's edition,[49] νονίς, but in Fronto Ducæus's edition it is γραῦς, an old woman. Hospinian[50] says it is an Egyptian name, and signifies a virgin; but St. Jerom[51] seems to extend the signification a little further, to denote indifferently widows professing chastity after a first marriage, as well as virgins; for he particularly applies it to women living in widowhood after their first husband's decease. The names *agapetæ* and *sorores* I pass over, as being rather names of reproach, and deriving their original from a scandalous abuse and unwarrantable practice of some vain and indiscreet men in the church, of which I have given a full account[52] in another place.

Sect. 9. Some particular observations relating to the widows of the church.

Concerning the widows of the church we have not many things further to be observed distinctly, they being generally under the same laws and rules as the ecclesiastical virgins were, as to what concerned their habit, consecration, profession, maintenance, and the like; the sum of which is thus expressed in one of the canons[53] of the first council of Orange, That a widow having made profession of continuing in her widowhood before the bishop in the church, and having her widow's garment put on by the presbyter, ought never after to violate her promise. That which was particular in their case, was, 1. That they must be such widows as had a long time ago lost their husbands, and lived many years a chaste, unblamable life, ruling their own houses well, as the author[54] of the Constitutions expresses himself almost in the words of the apostle: but such widows as had but lately buried their husbands were not to be trusted, for fear their passions should one time or other prove too strong for their promise. 2. It may hence be reasonably concluded, that the younger widows were generally refused by the church, and not allowed to make any solemn profession before they were forty or fifty years old, though this term be no where precisely fixed. For since, as I have showed before, virgins in some ages were not allowed to make their profession before forty, it is probable the same term was generally observed in the case of widows, or perhaps sixty required, according to the rule of the apostle. The widows that were chosen to be deaconesses in the church, were to be fifty or sixty years of age, as I have showed before[55] in speaking of their order; who, though they were not the widows we are now speaking of, yet being generally chosen out of them, and thence termed widows also, it may be presumed there was no great difference in point of age betwixt them. 3. Widows were to be such only as had been the wives of one man, that is, only once married, as the ancients generally understand it; though Theodoret gives a different sense of the words, only excluding such as had scandalously married a second time after having divorced themselves from a former husband; which seems to be the true sense and meaning of the apostle, as learned men now understand it.[56] 4. There was some difference between widows and virgins in the ceremony of their consecration, at least in the church of Rome in the time of Gelasius. For in one of his canonical epistles,[57] where he speaks of veiling of virgins on certain holidays, and not at other times, except in case of sickness, he peremptorily forbids the veiling of widows at any time, as contrary to custom and law, for no canon had prescribed it. Which seems to argue, that this particular ceremony was not used in their consecration. Though it came into use by the time that the Ordo Romanus was written; for there the form[58] of consecrating widows prescribes that they shall be veiled by the presbyter, or else take a veil consecrated by the bishop from the altar, and veil themselves. But it is no wonder to find such a change as this in the Roman church: a diligent inquirer may find many other that are more considerable, which I shall no further pursue, but here put an end to the discourse concerning the ascetics of the ancient church.

[49] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 46. al. 86.

[50] Hospin. de Monach. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 3.

[51] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 6. Maritorum expertes dominatu, viduitatis præferunt libertatem. Castæ vocantur et nonnæ, et post cœnam dubiam apostolos somniant.

[52] Book VI. chap. 2. sect. 13.

[53] Conc. Arausican. can. 27. Viduitatis servandæ professionem coram episcopo in secretario habitam, imposita a presbytero veste viduali, non esse violandam.

[54] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 25.

[55] Book II. chap. 22. sect. 4.

[56] See Book II. chap. 22. sect. 5.

[57] Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episc. Lucan. Devotis virginibus, nisi aut in Epiphaniarum die, aut in Albis Paschalibus, aut in Apostolorum Natalitiis sacrum minime velamen imponatur, &c. Viduas autem velare pontificum nullus attentet, quod nec authoritas Divina delegat, nec canonum forma præstituit. Ibid. c. 15.

[58] Ordo Roman. de Consecr. Viduæ, p. 167. Vidua, si seipsam vult Deo dare, debet et a presbytero velari, vel etiam consecratum ab episcopo velamen de altari accipere, et ipsa sibi, non episcopus, illud debet imponere.

BOOK VIII.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES, AND THEIR SEVERAL PARTS, UTENSILS, CONSECRATIONS, IMMUNITIES, ETC.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEVERAL NAMES AND FIRST ORIGINAL OF CHURCHES AMONG CHRISTIANS.

Sect. 1. Of the name *ecclesia*, and ἐκκλησιαστήριον.

HAVING hitherto given an account of the persons, as well clergy as laity, that made up the great body of the Christian church, I now proceed to speak of churches in another sense; first, as taken for the material buildings, or places of assembly set apart for Divine worship, and secondly, as taken for certain divisions or districts of dioceses, provinces, parishes, &c. into which the church catholic was divided. In speaking of the first it will be proper to begin with their names, and make a little inquiry into the first original of churches among Christians. One of the most common names of churches, as taken for the structures or buildings, is that of *ecclesia;* which yet among the ancient Greek writers often signifies the assembly or convocation of people, met together either upon sacred or civil affairs, and so it is sometimes used in Scripture, Acts xix. 40; Matt. xviii. 17. And so Isidore of Pelusium uses it likewise, distinguishing thus between ἐκκλησιαςήριον and ἐκκλησία; the ἐκκλησιαςήριον[1] is the temple, or building made of wood and stone, but the ἐκκλησία is the congregation of souls or people that meet therein. And in this sense, as St. Cyril observes,[2] there is a sort of pheronymy in the name ἐκκλησία, which is so called ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκκαλεῖν, because it is a convocation of men solemnly called together. But though this be a very ancient and common signification, yet it not less usually occurs in the other sense, denoting the place or building itself[3] where the congregation met together; and in this acceptation it is commonly opposed both to the synagogues of the Jews and the temples of the Gentiles; as appears from that noted passage in the epistle of Aurelian[4] the heathen emperor, where he chides the senate for demurring about the opening of the Sibylline books, as if they had been upon a debate in a Christian church, and not in the temple of all the gods; and from another passage in St. Ambrose,[5] where pleading with Theodosius in behalf of a Christian bishop, who had caused a Jewish synagogue to be set on fire, he asks him, whether it was fitting that Christians should be so severely animadverted on for burning a synagogue, when Jews and heathens had been spared, who had made havoc of the churches?

Sect. 2. Of the names *Dominicum* and κυριακὸν, (whence comes kirk and church,) and *domus columbæ*

Another common name among the Latins is, *Dominicum*, or *domus Dei*, God's house, which answers to the Greek κυριακὸν, whence with a little variation we have the Saxon name *kyrik*, or *kyrch*, and the Scotch and English kirk and church, which are all words of the same import, denoting a place set apart for the use and service of God. The name *Dominicum* is at least as old as Cyprian, but he applies it not only to the church, but to the Lord's supper,[6] and perhaps the Lord's day. For as the learned editor[7] and others[8] have observed, the word *Dominicum* signifies three things in ancient writers: 1. The Lord's day. 2. The Lord's supper. 3. The Lord's house. And Cyprian's words may be construed to either sense;

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[1] Isidor. Pelus. lib. 2. Ep. 246. Ἄλλο ἐςὶν ἐκκλησία, καὶ ἄλλο ἐκκλησιαςήριον, &c.

[2] Cyril. Catech. 18. n. 11. p. 270. Ἐκκλησία δὲ καλεῖται φερωνύμως, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, καὶ ὁμε͂ συνάγειν.

[3] Vide Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce Ἐκκλησία.

[4] Apud Vopiscum, Vit. Aurelian. Miror vos, patres sancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitasse libris; perinde quasi in Christianorum ecclesia, non in templo deorum omnium, tractaretis.

[5] Ambros. Ep. 29. ad Theodos. Synagoga incensa est, perfidiæ locus.——Ecclesia non vindicata est, vindicabitur synagoga?

[6] Cypr. de Opere et Eleemos. p. 203. Locuples et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corbonam omnino non respicis? quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?

[7] Bp. Fell in loc.

[8] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 3. n. 2.

for he thus addresses himself to a rich matron: Do you think you rightly celebrate the *Dominicum*, the Lord's day, or the Lord's supper, who have no regard to the corban? who come into the Lord's house without any sacrifice, and eat part of the sacrifice which the poor have offered? The same name occurs frequently in other Latin writers, as in Ruffin, who brings in the bishop who converted the philosopher in the council of Nice, thus addressing himself to his new convert, Arise and follow me to the *Dominicum*,[9] and there receive the seal of your faith, viz. baptism in the church. And St. Jerom[10] tells us, that the famous church of Antioch, which was begun by Constantine, and finished and dedicated by Constantius, had the name of *Dominicum aureum*, the golden dome, for its richness and beauty. The Greek name *κυριακὸν* is frequently to be met with in the councils of Ancyra,[11] and Neocæsarea,[12] and Laodicea,[13] and Eusebius, who says,[14] the persecuting emperor Maximinus restored the Christians their churches under that appellation in his edicts. And Constantine, having built several churches, gave them all the name of *κυριακὰ*, as being dedicated not to the honour of any man,[15] but him who is Lord of the universe. This is a plain account of the name: but whether we may hence conclude with a learned man,[16] that the Greeks, and not the Latins, were the first planters of Christianity in Britain, because of the near affinity between the names *κυριακὸν* and kirk, is what I think not so plain; but I leave it to every reader's judgment to determine.

Tertullian once uses the name of *domus columbæ*, the house of the dove, for a church. For writing against the Valentinian heretics, who affected secrecy in their doctrines, he compares them to the Eleusinian mysteries, whose temple was so guarded with doors and curtains, that a man must be five years a candidate, before he could be admitted to the *adytum* of the deity, or secrets of the sanctuary. Whereas, says he, the house of our dove[17] is plain and simple, delights in high and open places, affects the light, loves the figure of the Holy Ghost, (that is, fire and light, as I think Junius rightly interprets it,) and the orient, or morning sun, which is the figure of Christ. The house of the dove seems here to be the same as the house of Christ, who is pointed out by the dove, as Tertullian words it in the same place, *Christum columba demonstrare solita est;* or else, as Mr. Mede[18] explains it, we may take it for the house of the dove-like religion, or the dove-like disciples of Christ. For every way it will be the name of a church, as Tertullian plainly intended it.

Sect. 3. Of the distinction between *domus Dei*, *domus Divina*, and *domus ecclesiæ*.

There are two other names of near affinity with the former, which some readers may be apt to mistake for names of churches, when they are not always so; and therefore I cannot let them pass in this place without taking notice of them. The one is *domus Divina*, and the other *domus ecclesiæ*. The first of which is of frequent use in the civil law, where it signifies not a church, but the emperor's palace, or his house and family, according to the style of those times, when every thing belonging to them had the name of divine. As *constitutiones divinæ*, *divale præceptum*, *lex divalis*, *literæ sacræ*, *oraculum cœleste*, and such other terms, do not signify (as one would hastily imagine) the sacred inspired writings, or the laws and oracles of God, but the edicts and constitutions of the emperors, who themselves were called *divi*, and thence all things related to them styled divine. Agreeably to this style, when the emperor Theodosius junior decrees,[19] that no one, no, not of his own divine house, should receive corn in specie out of the public storehouses, before it was made into bread by the public bakers: it is plain, by his own divine house he does not mean the house of God, the church, but his own family of palatins, as Gothofred rightly explains it. The other name, *domus ecclesiæ*, *οἶκος ἐκκλησίας*, the house of the church, is used by Eusebius in relating the history of the heretic Paulus Samosatensis, who, notwithstanding that he was deposed by the council of Antioch, would not remove out of the house of the church,[20] and therefore the fathers appealed to the emperor Aurelian against him, who determined, that that party to whom the bishops of Italy and Rome should write, should have the house delivered up to them; and so Paul was turned out of the church with great disgrace by the secular power. The question here is, what Eusebius means by the house of the church. Mr. Mede[21] takes it for the church itself, and gives a very probable reason for it, because Eusebius expounds himself, when he says, Paul was turned out of the church: and he uses the same expression in another place, where it can signify nothing but the church, or house of sacred assembly. For speaking of the persecutor Maximinus,[22] he says, he neither allowed the Chris-

[9] Ruffin. Hist. lib. 1. c. 3. Si hæc ita esse credis, surge et sequere me ad Dominicum, et hujus fidei signaculum suscipe.

[10] Hieron. Chron. Olymp. 276. an. 3. In Antiochia Dominicum quod appellatur aureum, ædificari cœptum.

[11] Conc. Ancyr. can. 15.

[12] Conc. Neocæsar. c. 5.

[13] Conc. Laodic. c. 28.

[14] Euseb. lib. 9. c. 10.

[15] Id. de Laud. Const. c. 17.

[16] Beverege, Not. in Can. 15. Conc. Ancyr.

[17] Tertul. contra Valentin. c. 3. Nostræ columbæ domus simplex, etiam in editis et apertis et ad lucem. Amat figuram Spiritus Sancti, orientem Christi figuram, &c.

[18] Mede, Disc. of Chur. p. 329.

[19] Cod. Th. lib. 14. Tit. 16. de Frumento Urbis Constantinop. Leg. 2. Nulli, ne *divinæ* quidem *domui* nostræ, frumentum de horreis publicis pro annona penitus præbeatur, sed integer canon mancipibus consignetur, annonam in pane cocto domibus exhibendo.

[20] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.

[21] Mede's Disc. of Churches, p. 333.

[22] Euseb. lib. 9. c. 9. *Οὐ μὲν συνόδους ἐπικελεῦον ποι-*

tians to hold assemblies, nor build houses of assembly; which evidently refers to the building of churches. But yet in other places *domus ecclesiæ* seems to signify no more than the bishop's house, as in the second council of Toledo,[23] where it is decreed, that such children as were dedicated by their parents in their infancy to a clerical or monastic life, should be educated and instructed in the house of the church, under the bishop's eye, by the provost or governor that was set over them. This in other canons is called *domus sacerdotalis*, the bishop's house, to distinguish it from the church.

Sect. 4. Churches called oratories, or houses of prayer.

But to proceed: as the temple of God at Jerusalem is frequently in Scripture styled the house of prayer; so Christian churches, in regard that prayer was one of the principal offices performed in them, were usually termed *προσευκτήρια*, and *οἶκοι εὐκτήριοι*, oratories, or houses of prayer; of which there are innumerable instances in Eusebius,[24] Socrates,[25] Sozomen,[26] and other ancient writers. But in some canons the name, oratories, seems to be restrained to private chapels, or places of worship set up for convenience in private families, still depending upon parochial churches, and differing from them in this, that they were only places of prayer, but not for celebrating the communion; or if that was at any time allowed there to private families, yet at least upon the great and solemn festivals, they were to resort for communion to the parish churches. Gratian[27] cites a canon of the council of Orleans, which allows such oratories, but forbids any one to celebrate the eucharist there. The same privilege is granted in one of Justinian's Novels,[28] with the same exception. And so I think we are to understand that canon of the council of Trullo,[29] which allows the clergy to use the public offices or liturgy in such oratories, provided they did it with the consent and approbation of the bishop of the place. For no mention is made there of administering the sacraments in those places, though the Latin translations put in the word baptizing, which is not in the original, and is expressly forbidden in another canon[30] of the same council, requiring all persons to be baptized in the catholic, that is, public churches. But the council of Agde[31] in France allows the eucharist to be administered in private oratories, except upon Easter-day, or Christmas, or Epiphany, or Ascension, or Pentecost, or such other of the greater festivals; and upon these too, if they had the bishop's licence and permission for it. So that in those ages an oratory and a catholic church seem to have differed, as now a private chapel and a parochial church, though the first ages made no distinction between them.

Sect. 5. Why called *basilicæ*, and *ἀνάκτορα*.

Another common name of churches is that of *basilicæ*, which we may English, palaces of the Great King. This name frequently occurs in St. Ambrose,[32] St. Austin,[33] St. Jerom,[34] Sidonius Apollinaris,[35] and other writers of the fourth and fifth ages, before which time we scarce meet with it in any Christian author. For originally the *basilicæ* among the Romans were the public halls or courts of judicature, where the princes or magistrates sat to hear and determine causes; and other buildings of public use, such as state-houses, and exchanges for merchants, &c., went by the same name among them. But upon the conversion of Constantine many of these were given to the church, and turned to another use, for Christian assemblies to meet in; as may be collected from that passage in Ausonius,[36] where speaking to the emperor Gratian, he tells him, the *basilicæ*, which heretofore were wont to be filled with men of business, were now thronged with votaries praying for his safety. By which he must needs mean that the Roman halls or courts were turned into Christian churches. And hence, I conceive, the name *basilicæ* came to be a general name for churches in after ages. Though I know Durantus and Bona[37] have other reasons beside this for the appellation, as that it was because churches

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εἴσθαι, οὐδ' οἴκους ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομεῖν, &c. See lib. 8. c. 13.

[23] Conc. Tolet. 2. can. 1. De his quos voluntas parentum a primis infantiæ annis in clericatus officio vel monachali posuit, pariter statuimus observandum, ut in domo ecclesiæ sub episcopali præsentia a præposito sibi debeant erudiri.

[24] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 3. It. de Laud. Constant. cap. 17. De Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 48.

[25] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 18, 19.

[26] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 5.

[27] Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. I. c. 33. Unicuique fidelium in domo sua oratorium licet habere, et ibi orare: missas autem ibi celebrare non licet.

[28] Justin. Novel. 58.

[29] Conc. Trull. c. 31. Τοὺς ἐν τοῖς εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνουσι λειτουργοῦντας κληρικοὺς, ὑπὸ γνώμην τοῦτο πράττειν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐπισκόπου.

[30] Conc. Trull. c. 58. al. 59. Μηδαμῶς ἐν εὐκτηρίῳ οἴκῳ ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνοντι βάπτισμα ἐπιτελείσθω, &c.

[31] Conc. Agathen. can. 21. Si quis etiam extra parochias, in quibus legitimus est ordinariusque conventus, oratorium in agro habuerit, reliquis festivitatibus ut ibi missas teneat propter fatigationem familiæ justa ordinatione permittimus: Pascha vero, Natali Domini, Epiphania Domini, Ascensione Domini, Pentecoste, et Natali S. Johannis Baptistæ, et si qui maximi dies in festivitatibus habentur, non nisi in civitatibus aut in parochiis teneant, &c.

[32] Ambros. Ep. 33. ad Marcellinam de tradendis Basilicis.

[33] Aug. de Diversis, Serm. 12 et 122.

[34] Hieron. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. Ep. 53. ad Riparium.

[35] Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 17. Eusebius, in his Panegyric, c. 9, uses the Greek name, *ἀνάκτορον*.

[36] Auson. Gratiar. Actio ad Gratian. pro Consulatu, p. 190. Basilica olim negotiis plena, nunc votis, votisque pro tua salute susceptis.

[37] Durant. de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 1. n. 9. Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 19. n. 4.

were places where sacrifice was offered to God, the King of all the earth; or because they were only the more stately and magnificent churches which had the title; which is not true in fact, for ever since it came first into use, it appears to have been the common name of all churches.

Sect. 6. When first called temples.

The like observation is to be made upon the name temples, which for the three first ages is scarce ever[38] used by any Christian writer for a church, but only for the heathen temples, which were receptacles of idols, and cloisters of their gods. But when idolatry was destroyed, and statues every where demolished, and temples purged and consecrated into Christian churches, then the writers of the following ages make no scruple to give them the name of temples. As when St. Ambrose[39] says, he could not deliver up the temple of God, he certainly means the church, and not an idol temple. So does also Lactantius[40] when he says, he taught oratory in Bithynia, when the temple of God was destroyed; meaning the church of Nicomedia, which was the first that was demolished in the Diocletian persecution. Eusebius, speaking of the churches that were rebuilt after that persecution was over, gives them[41] the name of temples, and particularly the church built by Paulinus he calls the temple of Tyre.[42] Not to mention other passages of Chrysostom,[43] Theodoret,[44] Prudentius,[45] St. Hilary,[46] St. Austin,[47] and a thousand more to the same purpose, which show that they had no aversion to the name temple, when they could safely use it without ambiguity, and not be mistaken to mean the temples of the heathen. But from the name *phanum* they more religiously abstained, and never used it unless it were by way of contempt, to signify their resentments against some conventicle of heretics, whom they usually put into the same class with heathens. As we may observe in St. Ambrose,[48] who having occasion to speak of a conventicle of the Valentinians, will not vouchsafe it the name of a temple, or a church, but a *phanum*, a name always appropriated to the idol temples of the heathens, with whom he parallels the Valentinians, as no better than a pack of idolatrous Gentiles met together, for they worshipped idols and images as the heathen did.

Sect. 7. Churches sometimes called *synodi, concilia, conciliabula, conventicula.*

There is one general name more for churches, which I must not omit, because the ambiguity of the expression has led some learned men into strange mistakes about it. Constantine, in one of his laws in the Theodosian Code,[49] calls the church *sanctissimum catholicæ concilium*, which Alciat, the great lawyer, by mistake interprets an ecclesiastical synod; whereas, indeed, as Gothofred rightly observes, it signifies there the church, as in many other places of the ancient writers. For these words, *concilium, synodus, conventiculum, conciliabulum*, and the like, are words of various acceptation. For though they commonly signify ecclesiastical synods and councils, yet sometimes they denote other assemblies, and particularly the ordinary assemblies of the church for Divine service, and thence the name was tranferred from the assembly to denote the place of the assembly, or the church, as has been observed before upon the word *ecclesia*. Thus, when St. Jerom commends Nepotian for adorning the *conciliabula martyrum* with flowers and branches, he cannot mean councils of martyrs, but churches called by the names of martyrs.[50] And so again when he says, The persecutors' rage and barbarity was so exceeding fierce against us, that they proceeded to destroy our *conciliabula*, it is evident he means the Christian churches.[51] As Gaudentius must be understood in one of his sermons upon the dedication of a church,[52] which is called Concilium Martyrum. The church assembly itself is often called by the same name, *concilium*. As in the Passion of Cyprian, written by Pontius his deacon,[53] The Christians are commanded by the emperor to leave off their *conciliabula*, or meetings and assemblies in the cemeteries for the worship of God. So the word is used by St. Jerom,[54] speaking of the monks meeting in the church for Divine service; and by Tertulllian,[55] for any church assembly, when he says, the book of Hermes Pastor was reckoned to be

[38] Ignatius, Ep. ad Magnes. n. 7, once uses the name with some restriction, calling the church ναὸν Θεοῦ, the temple of God.

[39] Ambros. Ep. 33. ad Marcellin. Respondi quod erat ordinis, templum Dei tradi a sacerdote non posse.

[40] Lactant. lib. 5. c. 2. Cum ego in Bithynia literas oratorias accitus docerem, contigissetque ut eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur, &c.

[41] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 2. Νεὼς αὖθις ἐκ βάθρων εἰς ὕψος ἄπειρον ἐγειρομένους.

[42] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. Ἐν Τύρῳ νεὼς, &c.

[43] Chrysost. Hom. 4. de Verbis Esaiæ, t. 3. p. 865.

[44] Theodor. Hist. lib. 1. c. 31. [45] Prudent. Passio Laurentii et Hippolyti. [46] Hilar. Com. in Psalm. cxxvi. [47] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 8. c. 27.

[48] Ambros. Ep. 29. ad Theodos. Vindicabitur etiam Valentinianorum phanum incensum? Quid enim est nisi phanum, in quo est conventus Gentilium?

[49] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Leg. 4.

[50] Hieron. Ep. 3. Epitaph. Nepotian. Quod basilicas ecclesiæ et martyrum conciliabula diversis floribus et arborum comis, vitiumque pampinis adumbrarit, &c.

[51] Hieron. Com. in Zechar. cap. viii. In tantam rabiem persecutorum feritas excitata est, ut etiam conciliabula nostra destruerent.

[52] Gaudent. Serm. 17. in Dedicatione Basilicæ Martyrum.

[53] Pontii Pass. Cypr. Jussum est, ut nulla conciliabula faciant, neque cœmiteria ingrediantur.

[54] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. Post hoc concilium solvitur, et unaquæque decuria cum suo parente pergit ad mensam.

[55] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 10. Cederem tibi, si Scriptura Pastoris——non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa judicaretur.

apocryphal by the universal consent of every assembly of the Christian catholic churches. Now, what the Latins call *concilia*, the Greeks call *σύνοδοι*, and therefore it is observable, that the style of the imperial edicts, which in the Passion of Cyprian forbids Christians *conciliabula facere*, is in Eusebius[56] *συνόδουν ποιεῖσθαι*, which is a prohibition not of ecclesiastical synods, but of all church assemblies. For *synodus* and *ecclesia*, as Chrysostom observes,[57] are words of the very same import and signification, and therefore the one may denote a church or church assembly as well as the other. And because the Latin name *conventiculum* in its original notation signifies no more than an assembly, it is frequently used by ancient writers for a church. As by Lactantius,[58] who, speaking of the persecutors in the time of Diocletian, says, They were eagerly set upon shedding Christian blood, for one of them in Phrygia burned a whole people, together with their *conventiculum*, or church, where they were met together. And Arnobius[59] expresses himself in the same manner, making a like complaint: Why did our Bibles deserve to be thrown into the flames? Why did our churches, our *conventicula*, deserve to be so barbarously pulled down? By which it appears, that the name *conventicula* was not as yet appropriated to heretical meetings, but when the ancients had occasion to speak of them, they commonly joined the epithet of heretical to them, to distinguish them from the catholic churches, as may be seen in several laws of Theodosius,[60] and Arcadius, and Honorius, in the Theodosian Code.

Sect. 8. Why some churches called *martyria*, *memoria*, *apostoleia*, and *propheteia*.

All these were general names of churches: but there were some which had particular appellations given them upon reasons which could not extend to all. And it will not be amiss in our passage to take notice of them also. Such as were built over the grave of any martyr, or called by his name to preserve the memory of him, had usually the distinguishing title of *martyrium*, or *confessio*, or *memoria*, given them for that particular reason. Thus Eusebius[61] observes of Constantine, that he adorned his new city of Constantinople with many oratories and ample martyries, by which he at once did honour to the memory of the martyrs, and, as it were, consecrated his city to the God of the martyrs. And from this time, in all Christian writers of the following ages, a martyry is always put to signify such a church. Socrates speaks[62] of the martyry of Thomas the apostle at Edessa, and of Peter and Paul[63] at Rome, and of the martyry of Euphemia[64] at Chalcedon, where the body of that martyr lay buried, which was the church where the famous council of Chalcedon was held, whence, in the acts of that council, it is so often styled *μαρτύριον Εὐφημίας*, the martyry of Euphemia. And upon the same reason, because our Saviour Christ was the chief sufferer, and great martyr of his own religion, therefore the church which Constantine built at Mount Golgotha in memory of his passion and resurrection, is usually by Eusebius[65] and others styled *martyrium Salvatoris*, the martyry of our Saviour, of which the reader that pleases may find a more ample account given by the learned Valesius, in a particular dissertation[66] about it at the end of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. The Latins, instead of *martyrium*, commonly use the name *memoria martyrum* for such kind of churches. As in that noted passage of St. Austin,[67] where he says, We do not build temples to our martyrs as gods, but only memorials of them, as dead men, whose spirits still live with God; nor do we erect altars to them in those memorials, or offer sacrifice thereon to our martyrs, but to the only God, both theirs and ours. So that when St. Austin in another place[68] commends Eradius his presbyter for building a memorial of a holy martyr at his own expense, we are to understand, not a monument or a sepulchre, but a church. And so the name is used by Optatus[69] and several others. But if the person, in memory of whom the church was built, was either a prophet or an apostle, then the church respectively took the name of *ἀποςολεῖον* or *προφητεῖον*. As we may see in Sozomen,[70] who speaks of the *apostoleum* of Peter in Rome, and again, of the *apostoleum* of Peter and Paul

[56] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11. Vid. lib. 9. c. 2 et 9.

[57] Chrysost. Hom. in Psal. cxlix. t. 3. p. 632. Ἐκκλησία συςήματος καὶ συνόδου ἐςὶν ὄνομα.

[58] Lactant. lib. 5. c. 11. Aliqui ad occidendum præcipites extiterunt, sicut unus in Phrygia, qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo concremavit.

[59] Arnob. cont. Gent. lib. 4. p. 152. Nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? Cur immaniter conventicula dirui? in quibus summus oratur Deus, &c. Item Ambrosiaster in Ephes. iv. p. 948. Ubi omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cætera officia in ecclesiis ordinata sunt.

[60] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæreticis, Leg. 10. A conventiculis suis hæreticæ superstitionis turba propulsetur. It. lib. 16. Tit. 4. Leg. 4.

[61] Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 3. c. 48. Εὐκτηρίοις πλείοσιν, μαρτυρίοις τε μεγίςοις.

[62] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 18.

[63] Id. lib. 4. c. 23.

[64] Id. lib. 6. c. 6.

[65] Euseb. lib. 4. de Vit. Constant. c. 40.

[66] Valesii Epistola de Anastasi et Martyrio Hierosolymitano.

[67] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 10. Nos martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus: nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus martyribus, sed uni Deo et martyrum et nostro.

[68] Aug. Hom. 50. de Diversis, t. 10. p. 522. De opera ejus et expensa pecunia memoriam sancti martyris habemus.

[69] Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. p. 1. Præsentes sunt ibi duorum memoriæ apostolorum, &c.

[70] Sozom. lib. 9. c. 10. Ἤγαγε εἰς τὸ Πέτρου ἀποςολεῖον, &c.

at Quercus in the suburbs of Chalcedon, which Ruffin, the great statesman under Arcadius, built to the honour of the apostles, and called it[71] an *apostoleum* from them. So in the council of Constantinople, under Mennas, there is mention[72] made of the *propheteum* of St. Esaias the prophet, as also in Theodorus Lector,[73] who says, the relics of Samuel the prophet were laid up *ἐν τῷ προφητείῳ αὐτοῦ*, in his *propheteum ;* which can mean nothing else but churches called by their names, as Valesius rightly expounds it.

Sect. 9. Why called *cœmiteria*, and *mensæ*, and *areæ*.

Much the like account is to be given of two other names, *cœmiterium*, and *mensa*, which we find sometimes used to signify churches. The Christians in times of persecution were used to meet in private vaults or burying-places, and especially at the graves or monuments of their martyrs; as is evident both from the canons of the council of Eliberis,[74] which was held in the heat of the Diocletian persecution, and often speaks of their assembling in such places; as also from the edicts of the persecuting emperors, forbidding Christians to hold assemblies in their cemeteries, as has been noted[75] before. Now, when the persecutions were over, churches were actually erected over the graves of the martyrs, and in the places where the cemeteries were, and so a cemetery, or a grave of a martyr, came to be used for the name of a church. Thus, in the writings of St. Austin there is frequent mention of a church called *mensa Cypriani*, where St. Austin preached several[76] of his sermons. This was the place where Cyprian suffered martyrdom, which being the altar on which Cyprian was offered a sacrifice to God, a church was afterward built there, and an altar or communion table erected therein for the Christian sacrifice to be offered to God; and both these being a memorial of Cyprian's passion, they were jointly called by his name,[77] *mensa Cypriani*, Cyprian's altar, or Cyprian's church. For though it primarily signifies the altar, yet it is plain it was extended to be the name of the church also, where St. Austin preached so many sermons on Cyprian's day to the people of Carthage. The name cemetery continued also to be used in after ages for a church; as appears from one of the canons of the council[78] of Laodicea, which forbids catholics to frequent the cemeteries or martyries of heretics, upon pretence of prayer or Divine service. St. Chrysostom often uses the word *τάφοι μαρτύρων*, sepulchres of martyrs, for churches. As where he says[79] one might see whole cities running to the monuments of the martyrs. And again,[80] We depart not from their sepulchres: here kings lay aside their crowns, and continue praying for deliverance from dangers, and for victory over their enemies. Nay, he triumphs in this both over Jews and Gentiles, that the apostles in their deaths were more honourable than the greatest kings upon earth: for even at Rome,[81] the royal city, emperors, and consuls, and generals, left all, and ran to the sepulchres of the fisherman and tentmaker: and at Constantinople it was thought honour enough by those that wore the diadem, to lie buried, not with the apostles, but before their porches, and kings themselves were the fishermen's door-keepers. In all which places, it is evident, he means churches by the sepulchres of the apostles. And so Athanasius,[82] and Socrates, and others, take the word cemetery for a church. And perhaps St. Jerom intends the same by the sepulchres of the martyrs, when he says[83] it was his custom, when he was a boy at school in Rome, on Sundays to go about and visit the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs; but I will not be positive of this, because he joins the *cryptæ* or subterraneous vaults with them, which in his time were not churches; though they were in Tertullian's time, who calls them *areæ sepulturarum*,[84] telling us, that Hilarian the persecutor forbade them to hold assemblies there; but this was remarkably punished by the providence of God; for they who denied the Christians the liberty of their *areæ*, had their own *areæ*, meaning their storehouses or barnfloors, (which is another signification of the word *area*,) taken

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[71] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 17. Ἀποστολεῖον ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠνόμασε.

[72] Conc. Constant. sub Menna. Act. 3. t. 5. p. 67.

[73] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 568.

[74] Conc. Eliber. c. 34. Cereos in cœmiteriis per diem placuit non incendi, &c. It. can. 35. Placuit prohiberi, ne fœminæ in cœmiterio pervigilent, eo quod sæpe sub obtentu orationis scelera latenter committant.

[75] See sect. 7. Vid. Onuphrium de Cœmiteriis, cap. 11.

[76] See Serm. 94 et 237. de Diversis, Serm. 26. ex Editis a Sirmondo. Ser. 38 et 80. in Psal., all preached ad mensam Cypriani.

[77] Aug. Ser. 113. de Diversis. Sicut nostis, quicunque Carthaginem nostis, in eodem loco mensa Deo constructa est, tamen mensa dicitur Cypriani, non quia ibi est unquam Cyprianus epulatus, sed quia ibi est immolatus, et quia ipsa immolatione sua paravit hanc mensam, non in qua pascat sive pascatur, sed in qua sacrificium Deo, cui et ipse oblatus est, offeratur.

[78] Conc. Laodic. can. 9. Περὶ τοῦ μὴ συγχωρεῖν εἰς τὰ κοιμητήρια, ἢ εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα μαρτύρια πάντων τῶν αἱρετικῶν τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εὐχῆς ἢ θεραπείας ἕνεκα, ἀπιέναι.

[79] Chrys. Com. in. Psal. cxv. t. 3. p. 404. Σκόπει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μαρτύρων τοὺς τάφους τὰς πόλεις συντρεχούσας.

[80] Id. Hom. 1. in Psal. xlviii. ibid. p. 812. Οὐκ ἀναχωροῦμεν τῶν τάφων αὐτων, &c.

[81] Chrys. Demonstr. quod Christus sit Deus, t. 5. p. 839.

[82] Athan. Apol. 2. ap. Socrat. lib. 2. c. 28.

[83] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. c. 40. Dum essem Romæ puer, et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum cæteris ejusdem ætatis et propositi, diebus Dominicis sepulchra apostolorum et martyrum circuire, crebròque cryptas ingredi, &c.

[84] Tertul. ad Scapul. c. 3. Sicut sub Hilariano præside, cum de areis sepulturarum nostrarum adclamassent, areæ non sint: areæ ipsorum non fuerunt: messes enim suas non egerunt.

from them; for they had no harvest that year, by the just judgment of God upon them. The reader will meet with the name *area* for a place of prayer in the Acts of Purgation of Cecilian,[85] bishop of Carthage, and other records of that[86] age of persecutions, when they were forced to fly from their churches above-ground to their vaults underneath, and make a sort of temporary churches of them.

Sect. 10. Why *casæ*, *trophæa*, and *tituli*.

Casa is another name in the same Acts of Purgation of Cæcilian and Felix, which I take to be the name of a church also.[87] For though it might be something doubtful from that place alone, yet finding it so used in other authors, I conclude it was one of the ancient names of their churches. For Bede tells us[88] the town of St. Martin's, in Bernicia, a province of Britain, came to be vulgarly called Candida Casa, Whitern, or Whitchurch, from the church of stone which Bishop Ninyas built in it. And I leave it as a query, whether Casæ Nigræ in Africa, where Donatus was bishop, be not beholden to some such circumstance for its denomination also? But why churches should be called *casæ*, is not very easy to conjecture. Till a better reason can be found, let us suppose it to be from the plainness and simplicity of them, of which we shall have something more to say in the next chapter. Mr. Mede has observed another name for churches (which is not very common) in Caius Romanus, an ancient writer in Eusebius, who uses the term *trophæa apostolorum*, as Mr. Mede conjectures, to denote two churches of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome.[89] But I confess there is some reason to question, whether in that place it means churches, and not rather the monuments or sepulchres of those apostles. For Eusebius is only speaking of their bodies being buried at Rome; to confirm which opinion he quotes that ancient writer in these words: We can yet[90] show the trophies of the apostles; for whether you go to the Vatican, or the Via Ostiensis, you may there see the trophies of those who founded this church; meaning the church of Rome, which was founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, whose sepulchres were then to be seen, the former in the Vatican Hill, and the other in the way from Ostia to Rome. However, in after ages, when churches were built over their sepulchres, then their trophies became a name for those churches, as we may learn from those words of St. Jerom[91] to Marcella, who lived at Rome: You have there a holy church, you have there the trophies of the apostles and martyrs. For now it is certain their sepulchres were advanced into churches, and both together called trophies, as being manifest tokens and evidences of the victory which they had gained over their enemies, by resisting unto blood, and triumphing after death. There is yet another name, of which it is not easy to give so exact an account: that is, why some churches had the name of *tituli* given them peculiarly in Rome. In the Pontifical in the Life of Marcellus,[92] it is said of him, that he appointed twenty-five *tituli* in Rome, for the convenience of baptizing new converts. And in the same place one Lucina, a widow, is said to have dedicated her house[93] to be made a *titulus* or church, where they worshipped Christ day and night with prayers and hymns, till Maxentius the tyrant, hearing of it, turned the church into a stable, and forced Marcellus to be the keeper of it. These are supposed to be the same as parish churches, erected for the convenience of administering Divine offices, as the multitude of converts increased in Rome. But why they were called *tituli*, is not exactly agreed among learned men. Baronius[94] will have them to be so called, because they had the sign of the cross upon them, by which sign or title they were known to belong to Christ, as things which belonged to the emperor's exchequer were known to be his by an appendant veil, which had either his image or his name, by way of title, inscribed upon it. But it does not appear that the sign of the cross was so early fixed upon churches; or if it were, that it was the peculiar distinction of a parish church; for no doubt the cathedral or bishop's church had that sign as soon as any others. Mr. Mede[95] offers two other reasons, and leaves the reader to determine whether they were so called, because by their dedication the name of Christ our Lord was, as it were, inscribed upon them, as the

[85] Gesta Purgat. Cæcilian. ad Calcem Optati, p. 272. Cives in area martyrum fuerunt inclusi. Item, p. 277. Tollat aliquis de vestris in aream ubi orationes facitis.

[86] Vide Acta Concilii Cirtensis, ap. Baron. an. 303. n. 24. Passio Cypriani. Ejus corpus positum est in areis Macrobii Candidi.

[87] Gesta Purgat. p. 272. Nunquid populus Dei ibi fuit? Saturninus dixit, in casa majore fuit inclusus. It. p. 274. Præsens cum populo inclusus in casa majore.

[88] Bed. Hist. lib. 3. c. 4. Qui locus ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens, vulgo vocatur, ad candidam casam, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Britonibus more, fecerit.

[89] Mede's Discourse of Churches, p. 328.

[90] Euseb. lib. 2. c. 25. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι, &c.

[91] Hieron. Ep. 18. ad Marcellam. Est quidem tibi sancta ecclesia, sunt trophæa apostolorum et martyrum. So Gildas, de Excid. Britan., and Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 8, call them Signa victricia martyrum. Eusebius de Laud. Constant. c. 17. Τρόπαια νικητήρια.

[92] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. Hic fecit cœmiterium Via Salaria, et viginti quinque titulos in urbe Roma constituit, quasi diœceses, propter baptismum et pœnitentiam multorum, qui convertebantur ex paganis, et propter sepulturas martyrum.

[93] Pontifical. ibid. Lucina domum suam nomine tituli beati Marcelli dedicavit, ubi die noctuque hymnis et orationibus Domino Jesu Christo confitebantur, &c. Vid. Pii Epist. 4. ad Justum Vien. Presbyter pastor titulum condidit, &c.

[94] Baron. an. 112. n. 5. [95] Mede's Disc. of Church. p. 328.

manner then was to set the names or titles of the owners upon their houses and possessions; and so it would concur in notion with those other names of *κυριακὸν* and *basilica*, the Lord's, and the king's; or whether because they gave a title of cure, or denomination to the presbyters to whom they were committed. This last I take to be the true reason of the name, till one more probable can be thought of. As to the fancy of Onuphrius, that the number of these *tituli*[96] was exactly the same with that of cardinal presbyters now, and never exceeding the number of twenty-eight, it is an imagination without ground: for Optatus speaks of above forty churches in Rome before the time of the last persecution, as I shall have occasion to show more fully in the next book.

Sect. 11. Of tabernacles, and minsters, and some other less usual names of churches.

There are several other less usual names of churches in ancient writers, which I need not stand upon. Such as *limina martyrum*, the houses of the martyrs, used by St. Jerom;[97] *σηκὸς* and *τέμενος*, words of the same import with temple, which we sometimes meet with in Theodoret,[98] Synesius,[99] and Evagrius.[100] In Eusebius, *domus synaxeos*[101] sometimes occurs in the rescripts of heathen emperors for Christian churches, which signifies no more but houses of assembly. Chrysostom styles them the seat of doctrine,[102] from the exercise of preaching therein. And many such names are to be met with, which need no explication. But there are two names more used by Eusebius, which some learned men have greatly mistaken. In one place, speaking of the *Therapeutæ* in Egypt, whom he reckons the first Christians converted by St. Mark, and described covertly by Philo-Judæus, he gives their churches the name of *σεμνεῖα* and *μοναστήρια*, which some mistake for monasteries in the modern sense; whereas Eusebius[103] says expressly, it was the name which Philo gave, not to their habitations, but their churches. For, says he, Philo having described their habitations, afterward speaks thus of their churches in that region: In every one of their dwellings there is a sacred house or chapel, which they call their *semneum*, or monastery, where they perform the religious mysteries proper to their holy life. For hither they bring nothing ever of meat, or drink, or other bodily necessaries, but only their laws and inspired oracles of their prophets, their hymns, and whatever else tends to augment and consummate a life of piety and knowledge. This is not the description of a monastery in the modern sense, but of a church; and so we see the name was first used, as it is at this day among the Germans, who hence call some of their churches munsters, as we do minsters, which were heretofore collegiate churches and schools of learning, like St. Austin's monastery-church, of which I have given an account in the former book. This is further confirmed, because Eusebius joins the name *σεμνεῖον* to monastery to explain it, which, by the best critics, ancient and modern, Hesychius, Budæus, Suicerus, and others, is reckoned to signify a temple or place of Divine service. Eusebius has yet another name for a church, which I mention only because it is liable to the same mistake. He gives it the name of tabernacle: which is only a private appellation, belonging peculiarly to movable or travelling churches. For Eusebius, speaking of Constantine's intended expedition against the Persians, says, that among his other preparations for that war he erected himself[104] a tent or tabernacle in the form of a church, in which he might continually make his supplications to God the giver of victory, with the bishops and clergy that were to attend him in his expedition. Socrates,[105] speaking of the same thing, compares it to the tabernacle that Moses set up in the wilderness, and says, Constantine did it, that he might have a decent and convenient oratory, *εὐκτήριον ἠυτρεπισμένον*, in the most desert and barbarous places through which he was to travel. And from this example, as Sozomen[106] observes, it became a custom throughout the Roman army for every legion to have their tabernacle, and priests and deacons appointed to attend the service of it.

Sect. 12. Of the distinction between *ecclesia matrix* and *diœcesana*.

Whilst I am upon this head, it will not be amiss to give the reader an account of two other words, which have some relation to this subject, and by their ambiguity are often mistaken and confounded, that is, *ecclesia matrix* and *diœcesana*, which seem to be words of the same importance, but are often very different from one another. *Ecclesia matrix*, a mother-church, is sometimes taken for an original church planted immediately by the apostles, whence others were derived and propagated afterward. So Tertullian[107] calls those churches, to which the apostles preached either *viva voce*, or by their epistles, by which all doctrines are to be judged. And in this sense the church of Jerusalem is called the mother of all churches in the world, by the second general

96 Onuphr. Interpret. Vocum Ecclesiastic. p. 91.

97 Hieron. Ep. 15. ad Marcellam.

98 Theodor. Ser. de Martyr.

99 Synes. Ep. 58.

100 Evagr. lib. 1. c. 14. lib. 6. c. 8.

101 Euseb. lib. 7. c. 8. Vid. Gesta Purgationis Cæciliani.

102 Chrysost. Hom. 2. in Joh.

103 Euseb. lib. 2. c. 17. Εἶθ' ἑξῆς, τὰς οἰκήσεις αὐτῶν ὁποῖαί τινες ἦσαν διαγράψας, περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἐκκλησιῶν ταῦτα φησίν' ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ οἰκίᾳ ἔστιν οἴκημα ἱερὸν, ὃ καλεῖται σεμνεῖον καὶ μοναστήριον' ἐν ᾧ μονούμενοι τὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται, &c.

104 Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 4. c. 56. Τὴν σκηνὴν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σχήματι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου παράταξιν σὺν πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ κατειργάζετο.

105 Socrat. lib. 1. c. 18.

106 Sozom. lib. 1. c. 8.

107 Tertul. de Præscript. c. 21. Constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret, veritati deputandam.

council of Constantinople;[108] and Arles the mother-church of France, because supposed to be planted[109] by the apostle's missionary, Trophimus, first bishop of the place. At other times a mother-church denotes a metropolis, or the principal church of a single province, as in some of the African Canons,[110] where *matrix* is used sometimes for the primate's see, to which other bishops were to have recourse for judgment and decision of controversies. But most commonly it signifies a cathedral or bishop's church, which was usually termed the great church, and the catholic church, and the principal see, in opposition to the lesser *tituli* or parish churches committed to single presbyters. Thus, in the African Code, the matter is plain, in one canon every bishop is prohibited to alienate or sell the goods of the mother-church;[111] and presbyters, the goods belonging to their titles. The Greek translation of this canon is here imperfect and corrupt, as Suicerus[112] has rightly observed, and by it Cujacius and others have been led into a mistake to expound *matrix* by *matricula*, the catalogue or books of the church, whereas it means the cathedral or bishop's church. As also in another canon,[113] which says, If any bishop is negligent to deal with heretics in the mother-church, he shall be admonished of his fault by the neighbouring bishops, that he may have no excuse. The mother-church is here the bishop's church, or that which required both his care and residence, as the principal church of the diocese. This, by Fulgentius Ferrandus,[114] is plainly opposed to other inferior churches in the diocese, upon which only presbyters resided, both when he says, that the judgment of the mother-church shall be sufficient in the election of a bishop; and again, that the bishop of the mother-church shall not usurp any thing that is given to the churches in the diocese. These churches in the diocese are the same as we now call parish churches, though they themselves are sometimes termed dioceses in the Pontifical,[115] and the African Canons;[116] and in some other canons,[117] *ecclesiæ diœcesanæ*, diocesan churches; as in the council of Tarraco, which obliges all bishops to visit their dioceses once a year, to see that no diocesan church, that is, no church within the diocese, was out of repair. So that a mother-church and a diocesan church in that ancient style differed, as now a cathedral and a parish church with us. The mother-church being otherwise called the principal see,[118] *principalis cathedra*, where the bishop was obliged continually to reside: and sometimes the catholic church, as Valesius has observed[119] out of Epiphanius[120] and Nicephorus,[121] in opposition to the lesser churches that were subject to it. Though, as I noted before, the council of Trullo calls every baptismal church a catholic church,[122] in opposition to private oratories, where baptism was not allowed to be administered. It was necessary for me to be thus particular about the names of churches in the entrance upon this book, because some of them are curious, and others ambiguous, that the reader might find them explained at once, and not be at a loss about terms upon every occasion in the following discourse.

Sect. 13. Proofs of churches in the first century collected by Mr. Mede.

Our next inquiry is into the original of churches, that is, when Christians began to set them apart for Divine service? A very singular paradox has been advanced by some learned men in these last ages, that for the three first ages the Christians had no such distinct places of worship; grounding upon some mistaken passages of Origen, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius, who say, the Christians had no temples; which they take for a denial of their having any churches. Which opinion, though advanced with some show of learning by Vedelius,[123] Suicerus,[124] and others, is altogether without ground, contradicted by the authors which they allege, and by themselves who assert and maintain it. Mr. Mede has an elaborate discourse in confutation of this opinion, wherein he has learnedly collected the authorities of the an-

108 Epist. Synodic. ad Damasum. ap. Theodoret. lib. 5. c. 9. Τῆς δε γε μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, &c.

109 Libellus Precum Episcopor. Gallor. ad Leon. ap. Baron. an. 450. p. 125. Cujus honoris obtentu ecclesiam Arelatensem omnes decessores, prædecessoresque nostri vel ut matrem debito semper honore coluerunt, &c.

110 Cod. Afric. can. 119. al. 120. Μὴ προκριματισθῇ ἐν τῇ ματρικι, non præjudicetur in matrice, &c.

111 Cod. Afric. can. 33. Non habente necessitatem, nec episcopo liceat matricis ecclesiæ, nec presbytero rem tituli sui usurpare.

112 Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce Μάτριξ.

113 Cod. Afr. can. 123. Si in matricibus cathedris episcopus negligens fuerit adversus hæreticos, conveniatur a vicinis episcopis, &c.

114 Ferrand. Breviat. Canon. c. 11. Ut ad eligendum episcopum sufficiat matricis arbitrium ex concil. Septimunicensi et concil. Macrianensi. Item, c. 38. Ut episcopus matricis non usurpet quicquid fuerit donatum ecclesiis, quæ in diœcesi constitutæ sunt. Ex. Concil. Hipponiregiensi.

115 Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. Hic viginti quinque titulos in urbe Roma constituit, quasi diœceses, propter baptismum, &c.

116 Cod. Afric. can. 53 et 56.

117 Conc. Tarracon. can. 8. Reperimus nonnullas diœcesanas ecclesias esse destitutas. Ob quam rem hac constitutione decrevimus, ut annuis vicibus ab episcopo diœceses visitentur.

118 Conc. Carthag. 5. c. 5. Placuit, ut nemini sit facultas relicta principali cathedra, ad aliquam ecclesiam in diœcesi constitutam se conferre.

119 Vales. Not. in Theodor. Lector. lib. 1. 553.

120 Epiphan. Hæres. 69. n. 1.

121 Niceph. lib. 15. c. 22.

122 Conc. Trull. c. 58. al. 59.

123 Vedel. Exercit. in Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. c. 4.

124 Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce Ναὸς, p. 388.

cients, which for the three first ages prove the being of Christian churches. I shall briefly, for the sake of those who have not that author at hand, relate the substance of his proofs, and add some others to his collections. In the first place, he shows that the ancients, St. Austin,[125] St. Basil,[126] and the author under the name of St. Jerom, St. Chrysostom, Sedulius, Œcumenius, and Theophylact, in their comments on that passage of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 22, "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or despise ye the church of God?" took the word church there not for the assembly, but for the place set apart for sacred duties. And that the apostles always met together in a certain place for prayer and supplication upon Mount Sion, which was the *hyperoon* or *cœnaculum*, the upper room so often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; where the apostles were assembled when the Holy Ghost came upon them, Acts ii.; where our Saviour celebrated his last supper; where he appeared to his disciples two Sundays, one after another, after his resurrection, John xx. The place where the seven deacons were elected and ordained, Acts vi.; and where the first council of Jerusalem was held, Acts xv. Which place was afterward enclosed with a goodly church, called the church of Mount Sion, and the upper church of the apostles in the time of Cyril,[127] bishop of Jerusalem, and St. Jerom.[128] That this was the οἶκος, or house of assembly, mentioned Acts ii. 46, where the apostles continued breaking of bread, that is, celebrating the eucharist after their return from the temple. For he thinks, with many other critics, that the word ἐν οἴκῳ is not to be translated, from house to house, but, in the house, or place where the assembly was used to meet together. His next argument is drawn from what Eusebius[129] observes of the θεραπευταὶ in Egypt, whether Essenes or Christians, that they had their σεμνεῖα, or places appropriated for Divine worship, from the days of St. Mark. And that such places are to be understood in all those passages of St. Paul which salute[130] the churches in such or such a house, that is, the congregations that met in the houses of such pious Christians as had bestowed some part of their dwellings to be an oratory for the church to assemble in. Such a *cœnaculum* is described by Lucian, or whoever was the author of the dialogue called Philopatris, about the time of Trajan, where he brings in one Critias telling how the Christians carried him into an *hyperoon*, the place of their assembly, with a design to make him a proselyte to their religion. He argues further from the tradition of the church derived from the ancient author of the Recognitions under the name of Clemens Romanus, which says[131] that Theophilus, to whom St. Luke is supposed to inscribe his Gospel, at Antioch, did convert his house into a church. And the like is reported of the house of Pudens, a Roman senator and martyr, in the Acta Pudentis, that it was turned into a church after his martyrdom. He concludes this first century with the testimony of Clemens Romanus, in his genuine Epistle to the Corinthians, which says,[132] that God had ordained as well appropriate places where, as appropriate times and persons when and whereby, he would be solemnly served, that all things might be done religiously and in order.

Sect. 14. Proofs in the second century

In the next age he shows that Ignatius, in his epistle to the Magnesians,[133] exhorts them to meet together in one place, which he calls τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ, the temple of God; and in his epistle to the Philadelphians[134] he says, there was one altar to every church, and one bishop with his presbytery and deacons. The present Greek copies, indeed, read it a little different from Mr. Mede, leaving out the word church, but the mentioning one altar is sufficient to intimate they had then a stated place for their ecclesiastical assembly. In the same age, Pius, bishop of Rome, wrote two short epistles to Justus, bishop of Vienna, in France, in the first of which, one Euprepia,[135] a pious matron, is said to have consigned the title of her house over to the church to celebrate Divine offices in: and in the other, one Pastor, a presbyter, is commended for erecting a *titulus*, that is, a church, before his death.[136] Clemens Alexandrinus, toward the end of this century, uses the name *ecclesia* for the place of the assembly, as well as the congregation. For, speaking of the church, he says, I call not now the place,[137] but the congregation of the elect, the church. And so in his famous homily, *Quis dives salvetur*, he brings in the Asian bishop, to whom St. John committed the young man to be trained up in the Christian discipline, complaining that the youth was become a villain and a robber, and now, instead of the church,[138] had betaken himself to the mountains, with a company like himself. By this it is plain, that in his time the word *ecclesia* was taken for a place of sacred assembly, as well as for the assembly itself.

125 Aug. Quæst. 57. in Levitic.

126 Basil. Regul. Major. qu. 30. Regul. Minor. qu. 310.

127 Cyril. Catech. 16. 128 Hieron. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ.

129 Euseb. lib. 2. c. 17.

130 See Rom. xvi. 3, 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Colos. iv. 15; Philem. 1, 2.

131 Recognit. lib. 10. n. 71. 132 Clem. Ep. 1. ad Cor. n. 40.

133 Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. 7.

134 Epist. ad Philadelph. n. 4.

135 Pii Ep. 1. ad Justum. Soror nostra Euprepia titulum domus suæ pauperibus assignavit; ubi nunc cum pauperibus nostris commorantes, missas agimus.

136 Id. Ep. 2. Presbyter Pastor titulum condidit, et digne in Domino obiit.

137 Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. Οὐ νῦν τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ.

138 Ap. Euseb. l. 3. c. 23. et in Bibl. Patrum. Combefis. Νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὄρος κατείληφε, &c.

Sect. 15. Proofs in the third century.

In the third century the testimonies are both more numerous and plain. Tertullian clearly intimates they had churches, when complaining against Christians who followed the trade of idol-making for the Gentiles, only excusing themselves that they did not worship them, he says, The zeal of faith[139] cannot but declaim all the day long upon this point, bewailing that any Christian should come from among his idols into the church, that he should come into the house of God from the shop of his enemy, and lift up those hands to God the Father, which were the mothers or makers of idols. In another place[140] he calls the church *domus columbæ*, the house of the dove, meaning either Christ, or his dove-like religion, as I have explained it before.[141] And again he expressly distinguishes between the baptistery and the church, which in those days were places separate one from another, saying, When we are come[142] to the water to be baptized, we not only there, but also somewhat before in the church, under the hand of the minister, make a public declaration that we renounce the devil and his pomp and his angels. Tertullian is followed by Hippolytus,[143] who, describing the signs of the coming of antichrist, says, The temples of God shall be as common houses, the churches shall every where be destroyed. But I lay no stress upon this passage, because the work is spurious, and of later date than it pretends to be, as Bishop Usher has proved, and Combefis confesses as much, who published the genuine piece of Hippolytus de Christo et Antichristo, where no such passage is to be found.[144] But we have an authentic testimony, in the same age, from a heathen author. For Lampridius, in the Life of Alexander Severus,[145] reports of him, that there happening a dispute between the Christians and the victuallers, about a certain public place, each party challenging it as their own; the emperor's rescript determined it thus in favour of the Christians, That it was better that God should be worshipped there after any manner, than that it should be given up to the victuallers. About the middle of this age lived the famous Gregory of Neocæsarea, surnamed Thaumaturgus, who himself built several churches in Neocæsarea, and the adjacent parts of Pontus, as Gregory Nyssen[146] reports in his Life; and also wrote a canonical epistle, wherein are described the several classes or stations[147] of penitents in the respective parts of the church: but because some learned men question whether that part of his epistle be not rather a comment and addition by some other hand, I lay no greater weight upon it than it will bear, but only observe, that the same classes of penitents may be collected from other canons in that epistle, which are allowed to be genuine. About the same time St. Cyprian speaks of the place of their assembly under the name of *Dominicum*,[148] the Lord's house, as has been noted before; and in another place opposes the church and the capitol, the altar of the Lord and the altars of images and idol-gods, to one another: for speaking against some that had lapsed, and without due penance were for intruding themselves into the church again; If this were once permitted, says he, what then remains[149] but that the church should give way to the capitol, and the priests withdraw, and take away the altar of the Lord with them, and let the images and idol-gods with their altars succeed, and take possession of the sanctuary, where the venerable bench of our clergy sit? About this time also Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, speaks of churches as appropriate to the service of God, resolving this question, whether a woman in the time of her separation might enter[150] into the house of God? It appears further from the rescript of Gallienus the emperor, recorded by Eusebius,[151] where he restores the Christians their churches under the name of *τόποι θρησκεύσιμοι*, worshipping places: and from what has been noted before out of the letter of Aurelian,[152] which chides the senate for demurring about opening the Sibylline books, as if they had been consulting, not in the capitol, but in a Christian church: as also that other rescript of his in Eusebius,[153] which, at the request of the council of Antioch, ordered Paulus Samosatensis to be turned out of the house of the church. But the testimony of Eusebius goes far beyond all others: for speaking of the peaceable times which the Christians enjoyed from the persecution of Valerian to that of Diocletian, he ob-

[139] Tertul. de Idol. c. 7. Tota die ad hanc partem zelus fidei perorabit, ingemens Christianum ab idolis in ecclesiam venire, de adversaria officina in domum Dei venire, attollere ad Deum Patrem manus matres idolorum.

[140] Tertul. adv. Valent. c. 3. [141] See before, sect. 2.

[142] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renunciare diabolo, et pompæ et angelis ejus, &c.

[143] Hippolyt. de Consummat. Mundi. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 346. Οἱ ναοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς οἶκοι ἔσονται, καὶ καταστροφαὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πανταχοῦ γενήσονται.

[144] Vid. Combefis. Auctuar. Novissim. p. 57.

[145] Lamprid. Vit. Alex. c. 49. Cum Christiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occupassent, contra popinarii dicerent, sibi eum deberi; rescripsit imperator, Melius esse ut quomodocunque illic Deus colatur, quàm popinariis dedatur.

[146] Greg. Nyss. Vit. Greg. Thaumatur. t. 3. p. 567.

[147] Gregor. Thaumaturg. Epist. Canon. c. 11.

[148] Cypr. de Oper. et Eleemos. See sect. 2.

[149] Cypr. Ep. 55. al. 59. ad Cornel. Quid superest, quam ut ecclesia capitolio cedat, et recedentibus sacerdotibus ac Domini altare removentibus, in cleri nostri sacrum venerandumque consessum simulacra atque idola cum aris suis transeant?

[150] Dionys. Ep. Canon. c. 2. [151] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 13.

[152] See before, sect. 1. Ex Vopisco Vit. Aurelian.

[153] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. cited sect. 3.

serves, that the number of Christians so grew and multiplied in that fifty years, that their ancient churches were not large enough to receive them, and therefore they erected from the foundations[154] more ample and spacious ones in every city.

Sect. 16. The objection from Lactantius and Arnobius answered.

The only objection against all this, made with any colour, is drawn from some of the ancient apologists, Origen,[155] Minucius Felix,[156] Arnobius,[157] and Lactantius,[158] who seem to say that the Christians in their time had no temples nor altars, nor ought to have any. But, as Mr. Mede shows at large, this is only spoken against such temples as the heathens pleaded for, in the notion of encloistering the Deity by an idol. For otherwise the very authors from whom the objection is drawn must strangely contradict themselves. For Arnobius[159] owns they had their *conventicula*, houses of assembly, which he complains were barbarously destroyed in the last persecution. And Lactantius[160] says the same, giving them also the name of the temples of God, which Diocletian ordered to be demolished, when he taught oratory in Bithynia. And Origen himself speaks[161] of adorning the Christian churches and altars, in one of his homilies upon Joshua, translated literally by Ruffin.

Sect. 17. Some additional collections upon this head.

Thus far Mr. Mede goes in his collections and answer to this objection; to which I shall add a few things which he has not observed. Lactantius, in another place of his Institutions,[162] speaks of one of the Christian *conventicula* in a town in Phrygia, which the heathen burnt with the whole assembly in it. And in his book de Mortibus Persecutorum, published since Mr. Mede's death, he gives a more particular account of the destruction of churches throughout the world. For he not only mentions the demolishing the stately church of Nicomedia,[163] but intimates that the same fate attended the churches over all the world. For even in France, where the mild Constantius ruled, the persecution went so far as to pull down the churches,[164] though the men, the true temples of God, were spared, and sheltered under his gentle government. Lactantius lived in France at this time, being tutor to Crispus, the son of Constantine, and grandson of Constantius, and therefore he could not be mistaken in his relation. So that we must interpret Eusebius by him, when he says,[165] Constantius destroyed no churches: that is, he gave no positive orders, as the other emperors did, to destroy them, but he connived at such as pulled them down, in policy to satisfy the other emperors, and make the walls compound for the life and safety of the persons. However it was, both Eusebius and Lactantius agree in this, that there were churches in France before the last persecution. We have the like account of the churches of Britain given by Gildas, who says[166] in general of the last persecution, that it occasioned churches all over the world to be destroyed, and particularly in Britain; for the Christians built them new again from the ground when the persecution was over,[167] and founded others beside them, to be as so many public monuments and trophies of their martyrs. Optatus[168] takes notice of forty churches in Rome before the last persecution, which being taken from the Christians, were afterward restored to them by the order of Maxentius, as St. Austin[169] more than once informs us. In Africa we read of some churches that were demolished in this persecution, as at Zama and Furni, mentioned in the Gesta Purgationis[170] of Cecilian and Felix. Others were taken away, and in the mean time, till they were restored again, both councils and church assemblies were held in private houses, as Optatus[171] observes of the council of Cirta, and St. Austin after him, who says, It was not to be wondered at, that a few bishops should hold a council[172] in a private house in the heat of persecution, when the martyrs made no scruple in the like case to be baptized in prison, and Christians met in prison to celebrate the sacrament with the martyrs. But not to multiply instances of this nature, the very tenor of the imperial edicts, which raised the last per-

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[154] Euseb. lib. 8. c. 1. [155] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 8. p. 389.

[156] Minuc. Octav. p. 29.

[157] Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. 6. [158] Lactant. lib. 2. c. 2.

[159] Arnob. lib. 4. p. 152. cited before, sect. 7.

[160] Lactant. lib. 5. c. 2. cited sect. 6.

[161] Origen. Homil. 10. in Josua. [162] Lact. l. 5. c. 11.

[163] Lact. de Mort. Persecut. c. 12. Illud editissimum paucis horis solo adæquarunt.

[164] Ibid. c. 15. Constantius, ne dissentire videretur a majoribus præceptis, conventicula, id est, parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est, verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit.

[165] Euseb. lib. 8. c. 13. Μήτε τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθελών.

[166] Gildas de Excid. Britan. in initio. Ad persecutionem Diocletiani tyranni novennem, in qua subversæ per totum mundum sunt ecclesiæ, &c.

[167] Ibid. Renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destructas, basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt, ac veluti victricia signa passim propalant. Vide Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 6 et 8, who speaks almost in the words of Gildas.

[168] Optat. lib. 2. p. 49. Quadraginta basilicas.

[169] Aug. Brevic. Collat. die 3. c. 18. It. lib. post Collationem, c. 13.

[170] Gesta Purgat. p. 276. Et Zamæ et Furnis dirui basilicas et uri Scripturas vidi.

[171] Optat. lib. 1. p. 39. Apud Cirtam civitatem, quia basilicæ necdum fuerant restitutæ, in domum Urbani Charisi consederunt, &c.

[172] Aug. Brevic. Collat. die 3. c. 17. Non esse incredibile, quod in privatam domum pauci illi episcopi persecutionis tempore convenerunt, ut fervente persecutione etiam in carcere doceantur baptizati martyres, et illic a Christianis celebrata sacramenta, ubi Christiani propter eadem sacramenta tenebantur inclusi.

secution, is undeniable evidence, that the Christians in all parts of the world had then their public churches, to which they resorted so long as they had opportunity to frequent them. For Eusebius[173] says, The edicts were sent over all the world, commanding the churches to be levelled with the ground, and the Bibles to be burnt. Which is also noted by Theodoret,[174] St. Jerom,[175] and the Acts of Purgation of Cecilian and Felix[176] at the end of Optatus. So that a man might as well question whether the Christians had Bibles, as whether they had churches before the last persecution. The defenders of the contrary opinion here always give up the cause, and contradict themselves: for when they have urged the authority of Arnobius and Lactantius, against Christians having any temples, they are forced to confess from the foresaid evidences, that they had churches whilst Arnobius and Lactantius lived, that is, within the third century; which is to grant and deny the same thing, and load both themselves and those ancient authors with a manifest contradiction. To the testimonies cited by Mr. Mede in the middle of the third century, the reader may add that remarkable story told by Eusebius, concerning the martyr Marinus, anno 259, in the time of Gallienus. Marinus being a candidate for a Roman office at Cæsarea, was informed against as a Christian by an antagonist, who pleaded, that he ought not to have the office upon that score: the judge upon examination finding it to be so, gives him three hours' time to consider, whether he would quit his religion, or his life. During this space, Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea, meets with him, and taking him by the hand, carries him to the church,[177] and sets him by the holy table, then offers him a Bible and a sword, and bids him take his choice. He readily, without any demur, lays his hand upon the Bible; whereupon the bishop thus bespake him: Adhere, says he, adhere to God, and in his strength enjoy what thou hast chosen, and go in peace. With this he immediately returns from the church to the judge, makes his confession, receives his sentence, and dies a martyr. Who that reads this story can question, whether the worshipping-places which Gallienus is said a little before[178] to have restored to the Christians, were properly churches, with holy tables, or altars, in them? To the testimonies cited from Tertullian may be added one more, where he plainly distinguishes the parts of their churches, as the discipline of their penitents then required. For, speaking of the unnatural sins of uncleanness, he says, All such monsters were excluded,[179] not only from the nave or body of the church, but from every part of it: they were obliged to stand without-door in the open air, and not allowed to come under the roof of it. This discipline was in the church of Antioch, in the time of Babylas, anno 247, when, according to the account given by St. Chrysostom[180] and Eusebius,[181] Babylas excluded the emperor Philip from the church, with all his guards about him, on Easter eve, and would not suffer him to pray with the faithful, till he had set himself in the place of the penitents, *μετανοίας χώρα*, Eusebius calls it, and there made confession of his crimes. I stand not now critically to inquire into the truth of this history, which some learned men[182] question, and others defend:[183] it is sufficient to our present purpose, that both Eusebius and St. Chrysostom give us such an account of the ancient churches, as necessarily supposes them distinct from common habitations in the middle of the third century. Nay, St. Austin,[184] and the author of the Comments under the name of St. Ambrose,[185] say expressly, that as soon as the religion of Christ was planted in the world, churches were built, to pray for kings, and all that are in authority, &c., according to the apostle's direction, 1 Tim. ii. 1; upon which St. Austin founds the use and building of churches. I lay no stress upon the Martyrologies, nor such writers as Abdias Babylonius and Anacletus, which speak of churches built in Persia by Simon and Jude, and at Alexandria by St. Mark, and at Rome by St. Peter, because these are late and spurious writings: but yet, if we may judge of the first conversions by those that happened in the time of Constantine, we may conclude, that as soon as any people were converted, they provided themselves churches for Divine service. As when Frumentius had converted the Indians, Socrates[186] says, he immediately built churches among them; which is confirmed by Ruffin, who not only takes notice of that, but says further, that before he had converted them, meeting with some Roman merchants that were Christians, he encouraged them to build themselves oratories in all places, whither they might resort for prayer, after

[173] Euseb. lib. 8. c. 2. [174] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 39.

[175] Hieron. Com. in Zecha. cap. 8.

[176] Gesta Purgat. p. 277. Ubi Scripturæ inveniuntur, ipsa domus diruitur.

[177] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 15. Ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προάγει, εἴσω τε πρὸς αὐτῷ ςήσας τῷ ἁγιάσματι, &c.

[178] Ibid. c. 13.

[179] Reliquas autem libidinum furias impias, et in corpora et in sexus, ultra jura naturæ, non modo limine, verum omni ecclesiæ tecto submovemus, quia non sunt delicta, sed monstra. Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 4.

[180] Chrysost. cont. Gentil. t. 1. p. 741. Τὸν βασιλέα τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προθύρων ἐξήλασε, &c. Vid. p. 741.

[181] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 34. [182] Cave, Prim. Christ. p. 46.

[183] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 247. n. 6. Huetius Origenian. lib. 1. c. 3. n. 12.

[184] Aug. cont. Faust. lib. 12. c. 36. Ex hoc quippe illis credentibus constructa sunt domicilia pacis, basilicæ Christianarum congregationum.

[185] Ambros. in Ephes. iv. Ubi omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, &c.

[186] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19. Εὐκτήρια πολλὰ ἱδρύει, &c.

the custom of the Romans.[187] Theodoret,[188] and Socrates, and Ruffin observe the same in the conversion of the nation of the Iberians by a captive woman, who taught them to build churches after the Roman form; which they did, and then sent ambassadors to Constantine (in whose time both these conversions happened) to desire him to send them priests, to carry on the work they had thus begun, and to minister in their churches. Now, we may reasonably conclude, that some such thing was observed in all conversions from the very first, allowing for the difference betwixt times of persecution and times of peace. For though they had not such public and stately edifices at some times, as they had at others; yet they always had places peculiarly set apart for Divine worship, before the peaceable reign of Constantine, as the evidences produced above do undeniably prove.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CHURCHES IN THE FIRST AGES AND THOSE THAT FOLLOWED: AND OF HEATHEN TEMPLES AND JEWISH SYNAGOGUES CONVERTED INTO CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

Sect. 1. The first churches very simple and plain.

The only remaining objection against what has been advanced in the last chapter, is taken from a passage or two of the ancients, which seem to imply, that there was a great difference between the apostolical age and those that followed, in reference to this business of churches. Isidore of Pelusium, treating of this matter, says, In the apostles' days there were[1] no churches, that is, buildings or temples, when spiritual gifts abounded, and a holy conversation was the bright ornament of the church: but in our days the buildings are adorned more than is necessary, whilst the church is fallen into disgrace. And therefore, were I at liberty to choose, I should rather have wished to have lived in those days, when there were no such beautified temples, but yet the church was crowned with Divine and heavenly graces; than in these days, when temples are adorned with all kinds of marble, but the church is deprived of all those spiritual gifts. These words, if they be taken in the strictest sense, may seem to import, that in the age of the apostles there were no churches builded; for beyond the apostolical age he carries not the comparison: but I rather take him to mean, that the apostles had not such churches as they had in his time, that is, so stately and magnificent, so rich and beautiful, as many in after ages. Which is certainly true: for in the first conversion of any nation the churches were always answerable to the state and condition the converts were in, which was commonly a state of persecution, when not many rich, not many noble were called. Nay, even in those places, where kings gave encouragement to the propagation of the faith, churches were another thing from what they are now, as we may learn from the history of our own nation. There was a time, Bede tells us, when there was not a stone church in all the land, but the custom was to build them all of wood: and therefore, when Bishop Ninyas built a church of stone, it was such[2] a rarity and unusual thing among the Britons, that they called the place Candida Casa, Whitern, or Whitchurch, upon it. The same author tells us,[3] that Finan, the second bishop of Lindisfarne or Holy Island, since called the bishopric of Durham, built a church in the island fit for a cathedral see, which yet was not of stone, but only timber sawed, and covered with reed; and so it continued, till Eadbert, the seventh bishop, took away the reed, and covered it all over, both roof and sides, with sheets of lead. No one after this will wonder at the account which Sulpicius Severus[4] gives of the churches of Cyrene in the deserts of Libya, when he tells us, he went with a presbyter into one of them, which was made of small rods interwoven one with another, and not much more stately and ambitious than his own house, in which a man could hardly stand upright. But the men who frequented these churches, were men of the golden age and purest morals: they neither bought nor sold any thing; they knew not what fraud or theft was; they neither had, nor desired to have, silver or gold, which other mortals set such a value upon. For, says he, when I offered the presbyter ten pieces of gold, he refused them, telling me with some greatness of mind, that the church was not built with gold, but rather unbuilt by it, *Ecclesiam auro non strui, sed potius destrui, altiore consilio protestatus.* These instances may serve to explain Isidore's meaning, when he says, The

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[187] Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 9. Monere cœpit, ut conventicula per loca singula facerent, ad quæ Romano ritu orationis causa confluerent.

[188] Theod. lib. 1. c. 24. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 20. Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 10.

[1] Isidor. Pelus. lib. 2. Ep. 246. Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησιαστήρια οὐκ ἦν, &c.

[2] Bede, Hist. lib. 3. c. 4. Vulgo vocatur, ad candidam casam, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Britonibus more, fecerit.

[3] Bede, lib. 3. c. 25. Finan in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam. Quam tamen more Scotorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto, totam composuit atque arundine texit.——Sed episcopus loci illius Eadbert, ablata arundine, eam totam, hoc est, et tectum et ipsos quoque parietes ejus plumbi laminis co-operire curavit.

[4] Sulpit. Sever. Dial. 1. c. 2. Erat vilibus contexta virgultis, non multo ambitiosior quam nostri hospitis tabernaculum, in quo nisi incurvus quis non poterat consistere, &c.

apostolical age had no churches, or not such rich and noble structures, as the peace, and affluence, and emulation of after ages commonly produced.

Sect. 2. Reasons for enlarging and altering the state of ecclesiastical structures.

Indeed there were many visible reasons, why the state of the structures must needs alter in proportion to the advancement of the state of religion itself. For times of peace and persecution looked with a very different aspect, and had a very different influence upon the affairs of the church. Persecution was always attended with poverty, paucity of believers, and unsettled hopes: so that either they needed not stately and sumptuous buildings, or they were not able to erect them; or at least they had no invitation and encouragement to do it, whilst they were under daily apprehensions of seeing them plundered or demolished almost as soon as they had erected them. But in times of peace great multitudes of converts forsook the temples, and came over to the church, and those many times persons of fortune and quality; and in some of the heathen reigns the church enjoyed a more serene and uninterrupted gale of tranquillity, as in that happy interval of near fifty years, between the death of St. Cyprian and the last persecution: and then there was a necessity to build more ample and stately churches, and they had ability to do it, and were not without hopes of continuing to enjoy their works of piety in a settled and lasting peace. So that then, in that promising interval, as Eusebius[5] observes, when Diocletian's court and family were almost all become Christians, and great multitudes of believers in all cities came over daily to the faith; their ancient fabrics could not contain them, but they built them more ample and spacious churches in every city from the foundation. And when many of these had been destroyed in the long decennial persecution, they were again rebuilt from the ground more lofty and beautiful than they were before, as the same Eusebius words it,[6] as soon as Constantine had revived the Christians' hopes, by publishing his edicts in favour of their religion.

Sect. 3. Particularly the munificence of Christian emperors contributed toward this.

But now there were two other reasons concurred, after the emperors were become Christians, which contributed much toward the state and magnificence of Christian churches. Which were, first, the great liberality and munificence of the emperors themselves, who were at great expense in erecting many noble fabrics in several cities to the honour of Christ; and, secondly, their orders for converting heathen temples into churches. Constantine spared no charge to erect, beautify, and adorn churches in all parts of the East, as at Jerusalem, Antioch, Nicomedia, Mambre, Heliopolis in Phœnicia, and many other places, of which the reader that pleases may find a particular account in Eusebius and Socrates:[7] but especially at Constantinople, where among others he built the beautiful church called *ecclesia Constantiniana*, to the memory of the twelve apostles; which, as Eusebius describes it,[8] was vastly high, and yet had all its walls covered with marble, its roof overlaid with gold, and the outside, instead of tiles, covered with gilded brass. He also laid the foundation of the famous temple called Sancta Sophia, and Magna, which was finished and dedicated thirty-four years after by his son Constantius, anno 360, who joined the temple of Peace to it, (which was another church built by Constantine,) including them both in one, as Socrates[9] and the author of the Chronicon Alexandrinum inform us.[10] Constantine's example was followed by the succeeding emperors, but more especially by Justinian, who, among many other works of this nature, rebuilt the church of S. Sophia, which had been burnt down in the time of Anastasius. And now it became the glory of the world for its greatness, curious architecture, richness, and beauty; insomuch that Justinian himself, having finished it, was heard to say, Νενίκηκά σε, Σολομών, I have outdone thee, Solomon. They who are desirous to read the particular description of this church, may find it briefly delineated in Evagrius,[11] Procopius,[12] and Agathius,[13] but more fully and exactly by Paulus Silentiarius, and his learned commentator Du Fresne, whose accurate knowledge in these matters exceeds all that ever came before him. I have extracted out of him such observations as I thought necessary to my own design, but they that please to peruse the whole may find it at the end of Johannes Cinnamus, among the Byzantine historians, published at Paris, 1670.

Sect. 4. As also their orders for converting heathen temples into churches.

The other reason, which I said contributed toward the magnificence of Christian churches, was the orders of several emperors for converting heathen temples into churches. At first indeed, whilst the reformation from heathenism was in its infancy, no idol-temples were made use of as churches, but they were either permitted to the heathen for some time, or else shut up, or demolished. Till the 25th year of Constantine, i. e. anno 333, the temples were in a great measure tolerated; but in that year he published his laws, commanding temples, altars, and images to be destroyed, which laws are sometimes referred to in the Theodosian Code.[14] And pursuant to these laws, a great many temples were defaced

[5] Euseb. lib. 8. c. 1.
[6] Ibid. lib. 10. c. 2.
[7] Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. 3. c. 50 et 51. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 16, 17, 18.
[8] Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 4. c. 58.
[9] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 16.
[10] Chronic. Alex. an. 360. p. 685.
[11] Evagr. lib. 4. c. 31.
[12] Procop. de Ædific. Justin. lib. 1. c. 1.
[13] Agath. lib. 5.
[14] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 17. de Sepulchris violatis, Leg. 2.

in all parts of the world, and their revenues confiscated, as appears not only from the Christian writers, St. Jerom,[15] and Eusebius,[16] and others, but also from the complaints of the heathen writers, Eunapius,[17] Libanius,[18] and Julian.[19] In some of the following reigns also the same method was taken, to shut up or to deface the temples, as is evident from the account which Ruffin[20] gives of the general destruction of them in Egypt by the order of Valentinian. But in the next reign, in the time of Theodosius, another method was taken with some of them. For as Gothofred observes[21] out of the Chronicon Alexandrinum, anno 379, Theodosius turned the famous temple of Heliopolis, called Balanium, into a Christian church, *ἐποίησε αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν χριστιανῶν.* And about the same time, Socrates tells us, that when Valens had banished the two Macarii, the heads of the Egyptian monks, into a pagan island, they converted all the inhabitants, and turned[22] their temple into the form of a church. The like was done by the famous temple of the *dea cœlestis* at Carthage, by Aurelius the bishop, in the time of Honorius, anno 399, which the author of the book de Prædictionibus, under the name of Prosper,[23] tells with this remarkable circumstance, that it had been dedicated before by one Aurelius, a heathen high priest, with this inscription, *Aurelius pontifex dedicavit,* which our author says was left in the frontispiece, to be read by all the people, because by God's providence it was fulfilled again in Aurelius the bishop, for whom it served as well as the former Aurelius, when he had once dedicated it to the use and service of the Christian religion, and set his chair in the place of the goddess. Not long after this, Honorius, anno 408, published two laws in the Western empire, forbidding the destruction of any more temples in cities, because they might serve for ornament or public use,[24] being once purged of all unlawful furniture, idols, and altars, which he ordered to be destroyed wherever they were found. These laws, as Gothofred rightly observes, seem to have been published at the instance of the African fathers, who, as appears from one of the canons[25] of the African Code, petitioned the emperor, that such temples as were in the country only and private places, not serving for any ornament, might be destroyed. Arcadius published such another law for the Eastern empire, which relates only to the destruction of temples in country places,[26] and not in cities, where now there was no such danger of superstition, since they might be converted to a better use. And upon this ground the author under the name of Prosper[27] commends Honorius for his piety and devotion, because he gave all the temples with their adjacent places to the church, only requiring the idols to be destroyed. It is true, indeed, after this we find a law of Theodosius junior,[28] commanding all temples to be destroyed. But, as Gothofred seems rightly to interpret it, the word destroying in that law is to be understood only of despoiling them of their superstition, because it follows in the same law, that they were to be expiated by placing the sign of the cross upon them, which was a token of their being turned into churches. And his observation may be confirmed further from what Evagrius[29] reports of Theodosius, that he turned the Tychæum, or temple of Fortune, at Antioch, into a church, called by the name of Ignatius. The like was done by a great temple at Tanis in Egypt, as Valesius[30] has observed out of the Itinerary of Antoninus the martyr. Cluver, also, in his description of Italy, takes notice of a place in the Jerusalem Itinerary, called Sacraria, betwixt Fulginum and Spoletum, near the head of the river Clitumnus, which he thinks[31] was originally no other than the temple of Jupiter Clitumnus; though another learned antiquary[32] makes it something doubtful as to the present church now standing there. However, we

[15] Hieron. Chronic. an. 332.

[16] Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 54.

[17] Eunap. Vit. Ædesii.

[18] Liban. Orat. pro Templis, p. 9. Et Orat. Apologetic. 26. p. 591.

[19] Julian. Orat. 7. p. 424.

[20] Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 28.

[21] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 10. de Pagan. Leg. 25.

[22] Socrat. lib. 4. c. 24. *Τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ναοῦ εἰς ἐκκλησίας τύπον μεταποιήσαντες,* &c.

[23] Prosper. de Promission. lib. 3. c. 38. Antistes Aurelius, cœlestis jam patriæ civis, cathedram illic loco cœlestis et habuit, et sedit. Ipse tunc aderam cum sociis et amicis, atque (ut se adolescentium ætas impatiens circumquaque vertebat) dum curiosi singula quæ pro magnitudine inspicimus, mirum quoddam et incredibile nostro se ingessit aspectui, titulus æneis grandioribusque literis in frontispicio templi conscriptus, Aurelius pontifex dedicavit. Hunc legentes populi mirabantur. Præsago tunc spiritu acta, quæ præscius Dei ordo certo isto fine concluserat.

[24] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 10. de Pagan. Leg. 18. Ædes inlicitis rebus vacuas, ne quis conetur evertere. Decernimus enim, ut ædificiorum quidem sit integer status. It. Leg. 19. Ædificia ipsa templorum, quæ in civitatibus vel oppidis, vel extra oppida sunt, ad usum publicum vindicentur: aræ locis omnibus destruantur.

[25] Cod. Afric. can. 58.

[26] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 10. de Pagan. Leg. 16. Si qua in agris templa sunt, sine turba et tumultu diruantur. His enim dejectis, omnis superstitionis materia consumetur.

[27] Prosper. de Promiss. lib. 3. c. 38. Honorius Christiana religione ac devotione præditus. Templa omnia cum suis adjacentibus spatiis, ecclesiis contulit: simulque eorum simulacra confringenda in potestatem dedit.

[28] Cod. Th. ibid. Leg. 25. Cuncta eorum fana, templa, delubra, si qua nunc etiam restant integra, præcepto magistratuum destrui, conlocationeque venerandæ Christianæ religionis signi expiari præcipimus.

[29] Evagr. lib. 1. c. 16. *Σηκὸς εὐαγὴς καὶ τέμενος ἅγιον τῷ Ἰγνατίῳ τὸ πάλαι τυχαῖον γέγονε.*

[30] Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 5. c. 21. Immensum fuit ibi templum, quod modo est ecclesia.

[31] Cluver. Ital. Vetus, p. 702.

[32] Holsten. Annot. in Cluver. p. 124.

have seen instances enough of this practice; and Bede[33] tells us, That Gregory the Great gave Austin the monk instructions of the same nature, about the temples here among the Saxons in Britain, that if they were well built, they should not be destroyed, but only be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God; and so he observes it was done at Rome, where, not long after, Boniface IV. turned the heathen temple, called the Pantheon, into the church of All Saints,[34] in the time of the emperor Phocas. Sometimes the temples were pulled down, and the materials were given to the church, out of which new edifices were erected for the service of religion, as Sozomen[35] and Ruffin[36] particularly observe of the temples of Bacchus and Serapis at Alexandria. I have already showed[37] out of Ausonius, that the Roman halls, or *basilicæ*, were likewise turned into churches. The like is reported of some Jewish synagogues by the author of the Chronicon Alexandrinum, who takes notice particularly[38] of a synagogue of the Samaritans in a place called Gargarida, which Zeno the emperor converted into a large Christian church.

And though it is not agreed by learned men, whether the temples said to be built by Hadrian were intended for the worship of himself, or the worship of Christ; for Casaubon[39] and Pagi[40] think he designed them for himself, whilst Huetius[41] defends Lampridius his relation, who says he designed them for the honour of Christ; yet it is certain, that after they had been used to other purposes, they were at last some of them turned into Christian churches. For Epiphanius says,[42] there was a great temple at Tiberias, called the Hadrianum, which the Jews made use of for a bath, but Josephus Comes, the converted Jew, in the time of Constantine, turned it into a church. And the like was done by another of them by Athanasius at Alexandria, having before been the hall or palace of Licinius, as the same Epiphanius[43] informs us. So that now, partly by the munificence of the emperors, building churches at their own charge, and partly by their orders for converting heathen temples into churches, and partly by the great liberality and zeal of private Christians in times of peace, churches became another thing from what they were in former ages, that is, more noble and stately edifices, more rich and beautiful, under which advantage we are next to take a view of them in the following part of this book.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS AND PARTS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES: AND FIRST, OF THE EXTERIOR NARTHEX, OR ANTE-TEMPLE.

Sect. 1. Churches anciently of different forms.

IT may easily be collected from what has been discoursed in the former chapter, that anciently churches were not all built precisely in one form or figure. For since both heathen temples and public halls were turned into churches, it can hardly be imagined, that all these should happen to be built exactly in the same form. Nor indeed was there any universal rule among Christians about this matter. The author of the Constitutions seems to intimate, that they were generally oblong, in the figure of a ship.[1] This figure was otherwise called dromical, δρομικὸν, because, as Leo Allatius[2] and Suicerus[3] after him conjecture, churches built in this form had void spaces for deambulation. And this is said to be the figure of the famous church of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople, by Paulus Silentiarius and other writers. But this figure was not so general but that we meet with churches in other forms. For the church which Constantine built over our Saviour's sepulchre at Mount Golgotha, was round, as we learn from Eusebius,[4] and Walafridus Strabo.[5] That which he built at Antioch, Eusebius[6] says, was an octagon: and such was the church of Nazianzum, built by Gregory the father of Gregory Nazianzen, as we find in the son's funeral oration[7] upon his father, who describes it as having eight sides equal to one another. Other churches were built in the form of a cross, as that of Simeon Stylites, mentioned by Evagrius.[8] And the church of the apostles built by Constantine at Constantinople, was in this form likewise, as we learn from Gregory Nazianzen in his Somnium Anastasiæ, who thus describes it: Carm. 9. tom. 2. p. 79.

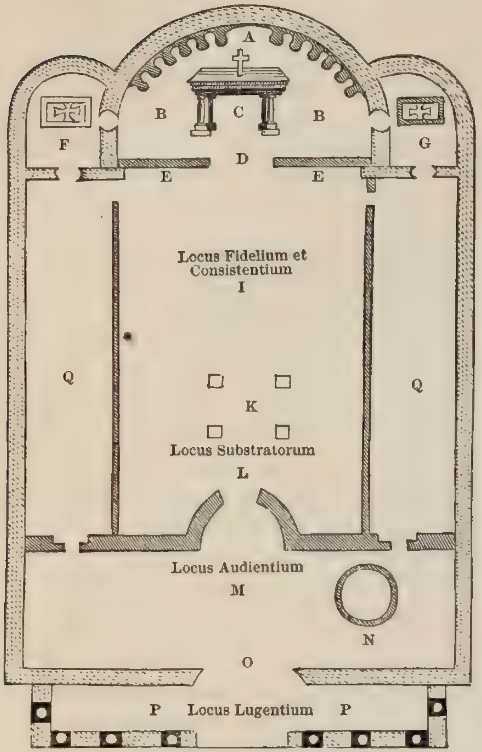
Σὺν τοῖς καὶ μεγάλαυχον ἕδος Χριστοῖο μαθητῶν,
Πλευραῖς σταυροτύποις τετραχὰ τεμνόμενον.

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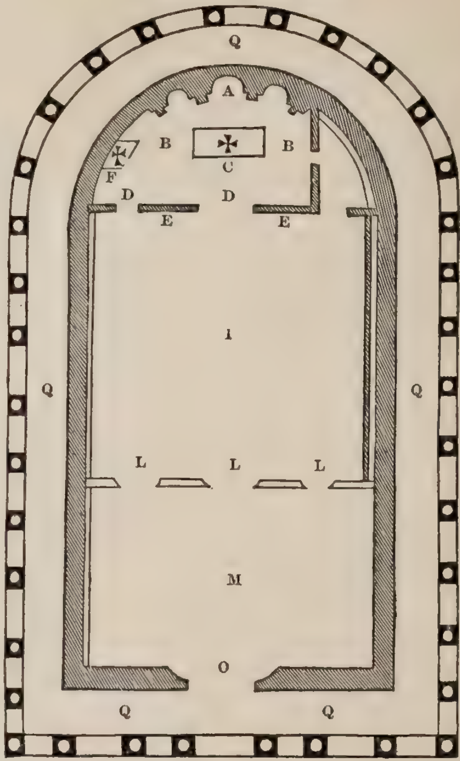
[33] Bede, lib. 1. c. 30.
[34] Ibid. lib. 2. c. 4.
[35] Sozomen. lib. 7. c. 15.
[36] Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 23.
[37] See chap. 1. n. 5.
[38] Chron. Alex. an. 10. Zenon. p. 757. Ἐποίησε τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν, τὴν ἔσαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον γαργαρίδην, εὐκτήριον οἶκον μέγαν, &c.
[39] Casaubon. Not. in Lamprid. Vit. Alex. Severi, p. 170.
[40] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 134. n. 4.
[41] Huet. Demonstrat. Evangel. Propos. 3. p. 65.
[42] Epiphan. Hær. 30. Ebionit. n. 12.
[43] Epiphan. Hær. 69. Arian. n. 2.
[1] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. Ὁ οἶκος ἔστω ἐπιμήκης, ὅστις ἔοικε νηΐ.
[2] Allatius, de Templis Græcorum.
[3] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce Ναός.
[4] Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 38.
[5] Strabo de Rebus Eccl. c. 4.
[6] Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 3. c. 50. Ἐν ὀκταέδρῳ σχήματι.
[7] Naz. Orat. 19. de Laud. Patr. p. 313.
[8] Evagr. lib. 1. c. 14.

ICHNOGRAPHIA TEMPLORUM ORIENTALIUM.

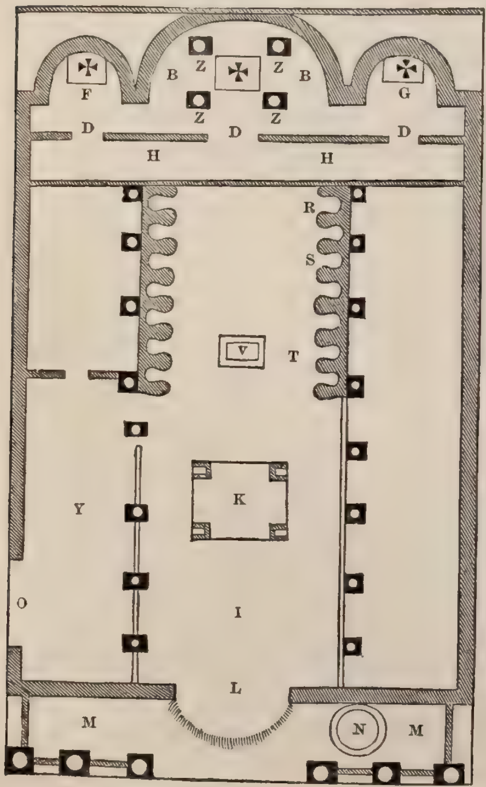
Ichnographia Templorum Beveregii.



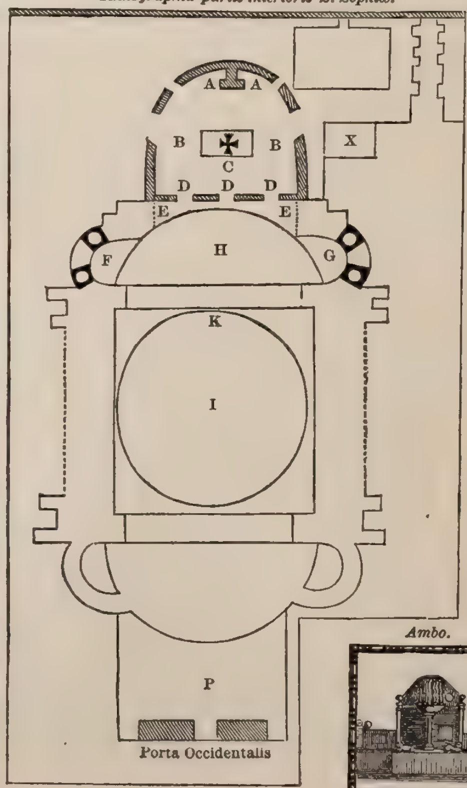
Ichnographia Leonis Allatii.



Ichnographia Jacobi Goar.

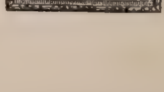


Ichnographia partis interioris S. Sophiæ.



A Synthronus.
B S. Bema.
C Altare.
D Portæ sanctæ.
E Cancelli bematis.
F Prothesis.
G Diaconicum.
H Solea.
I Naos.
K Ambo.
L Portæ speciosæ.
M Narthex.
N Baptisterium.
O Magnæ portæ.
P Porticus.
Q Circuitus.
R Locus episcopi extra S. bema.
S Locus diaconorum.
T Locus lectorum.
V Pulpitum.
X Sedes imperialis.
Y Locus mulierum.
Z Ciborium.

Ambo.



Among these stood the stately church of the Apostles of Christ, dividing itself into four wings in the form of a cross. These were sometimes made so by the addition of a wing of building on each side, (which wings the Greeks call *apsides,*) as Cedrenus[9] and Zonaras observe in the Life of Justin junior, who added two of these *apsides* to the church of Blachernæ, and so made it resemble the form of a cross. Valesius has also observed[10] out of the Itinerary of Antoninus the martyr, that the church which Constantine built at Mambre, was in a quadrangular or square figure, with an open court in the middle, so as one part of it was made use of by the Jews, and the other by the Christians. Some churches were also called *octachora*, but, as Valesius rightly observes, those were the same with the *octagones,* as appears from this ancient inscription in Gruter:[11]

> Octachorum sanctos templum surrexit in usus,
> Octagonus fons est munere dignus eo.

Suicerus and Allatius take notice also of another form of churches, which they call τρυλλωτὰ, κυλινδρωτὰ, θολωτὰ, and κυκλοειδῆ, that is, round, in the figure of an arch, or sphere, or a cylinder, or a shield, or a circle, as the Pantheon at Rome was said to be. But this, properly speaking, was not so much the form of a church, as the figure of one part of some churches, as particularly that of Sancta Sophia, the body of which was built in the form of a *trulla*, that is, a great round arch or sphere, but yet the whole was oblong, resembling the form of other churches, as the reader may judge by comparing the several figures in the following table, whereof one is that of Sancta Sophia, taken from Du Fresne's Constantinopolis Christiana, another from Dr. Beverege in his Pandects, a third from Leo Allatius, and a fourth from Goar; all which being contracted and put together by Schelstrate in his Concilium Antiochenum, are here represented from his copy, with the proper names referring to each part of them. To these I have added another figure representing the stately church of Tyre, built by Paulinus, and described by Eusebius[12] in his panegyrical oration upon the church and the founder of it, which the curious reader may see at large in the tenth book of his Ecclesiastical History. I shall here in a great measure follow his description, as one of the most ancient and authentic that we have, only intermixing such other things as are necessary to explain the forms and parts of other churches, since, as I have observed, they were not all alike, but differed in form, in site, and in several parts from one another.

Sect. 2. And different situation from one another.

To begin with their situation or posture: they were commonly so placed, as that the front or chief entrances were toward the west, and the sanctuary or altar part toward the east: yet in some churches it was otherwise, as is evident from the observation made by Socrates[13] upon the church of Antioch, that it stood in a different posture from other churches; for the altar did not look toward the east, but toward the west. Which observation is also made by Paulinus Nolanus[14] upon one of his own structures. And the temple of the other Paulinus at Tyre seems to have stood the same way. For Eusebius describes the entrance to it, and not the altar part, as fronting the rising sun. So that though the author of the Constitutions,[15] among other rules of this nature, gives directions for building churches toward the east, yet it appears from these instances, that the practice was not so universal, but that it admitted of exceptions, as necessity or expediency required. Which observation has been made not only by Bishop Usher,[16] and Cardinal Bona,[17] but long before them by Walafridus Strabo, who says,[18] The ancients were not nicely curious which way their churches stood, but yet the most usual custom was for Christians to pray toward the east, and therefore the greatest part of the churches were built with a respect to that custom. But St. Patrick in Ireland, as Bishop Usher observes[19] out of Jocelin, the writer of his Life, varied from all others: for he built a church in Sabul, hard by Down in Ulster, which fronted neither east nor west, but stood from north to south, *ab aquilonali parte versus meridianam plagam.* So that ecclesiastical history affords us instances, if we make a curious inquiry, of churches standing in all postures.

Sect. 3. Commonly divided into three parts, and sometimes four or five.

Next, to consider the several parts of the ancient churches, we are to observe, that as in the temple of God at Jerusalem, not only the holy and the most holy were reckoned parts of the temple, but also the outward courts, and even the court of the Gentiles, which is expressly called the house of God, and the house of prayer; so in Christian churches, which were built with some regard to the Jewish temple, the whole *ambitus* or circumference about

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[9] Cedren. Vit. Justin. in Compend. Hist. p. 390.

[10] Antonin. ap. Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 53. Est ibi basilica ædificata per quadrum, et atrium in medio discoopertum, &c.

[11] Gruter. Thesaur. p. 1166.

[12] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4.

[13] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22. Ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀντίστροφον ἔχει τὴν θέσιν· ὁ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δύσιν ὁρᾷ.

[14] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. Prospectus basilicæ non, ut usitatior mos est, orientem spectat, sed ad Domini mei beati felicis basilicam pertinet, memoriam ejus aspiciens.

[15] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57.

[16] Usher. Letter. 49. ad Selden.

[17] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 20. n. 4.

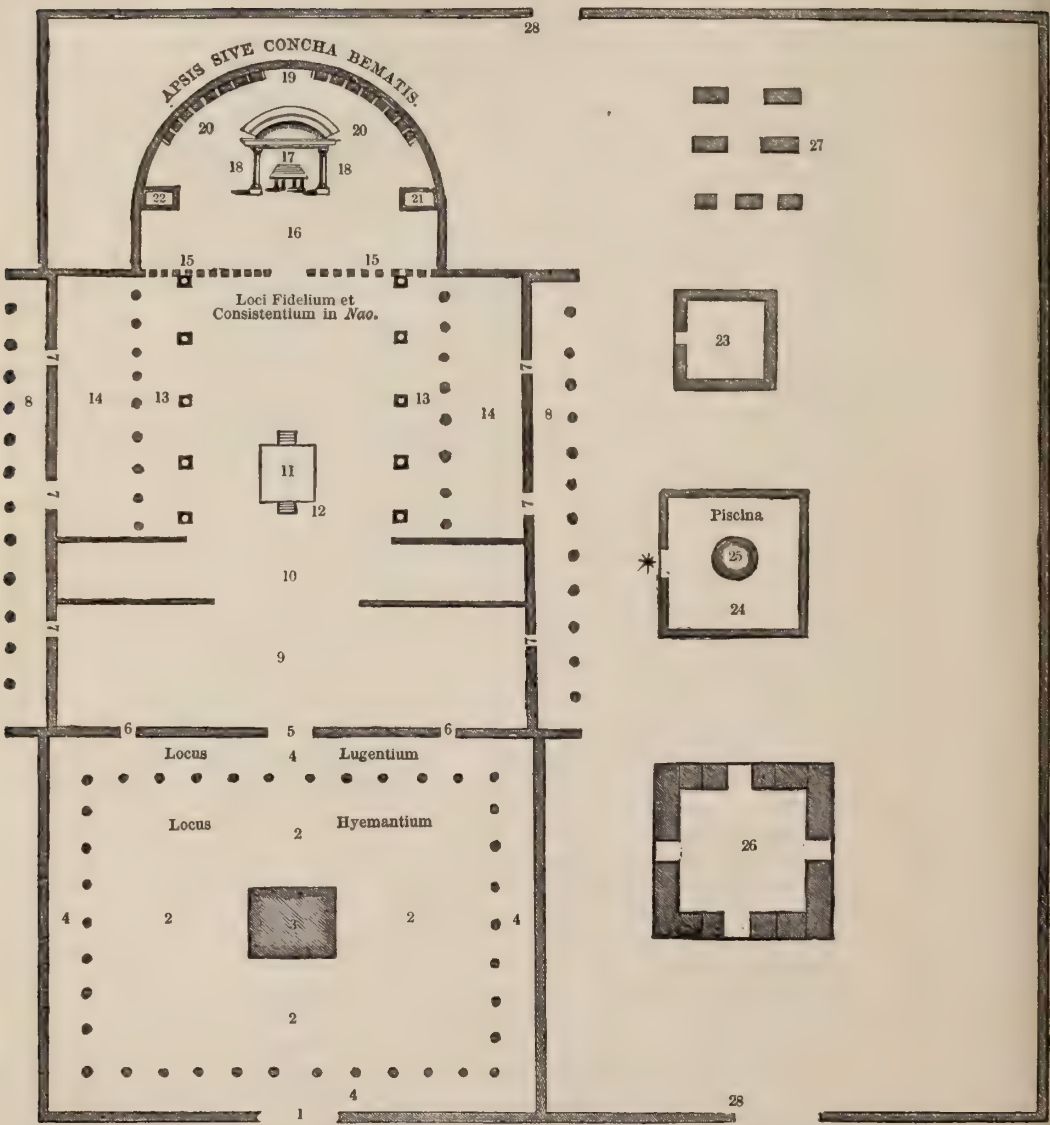
[18] Strabo de Rebus Eccl. c. 4.

[19] Usher's Letters, Ep. 49.

THE PLAN OF AN ANCIENT CHURCH,

WITH ITS EXEDRÆ,

AS DESCRIBED BY EUSEBIUS AND OTHER WRITERS.



1 *Propylæum*, or *vestibulum magnum*, the great porch, or first entrance into the area before the church.
2 The *μεσαύλιον*, *atrium*, or area, leading from the porch to the church.
3 *Cantharus*, or *phiala*, the fountain of water in the middle of the square.
4 The porticos or cloisters about the area, otherwise called the exterior *narthex* of the church, and place of mourners.
5 The great gate into the church.
6 The two lesser gates on each side of the other.
7 The northern and southern gates.
8 The cloisters on the north and south side of the church.
9 The *ferula*, or inner *narthex*, where the catechumens and hearers stood with Jews and Gentiles.
10 The place of the *substrati*, or third degree of penitents, behind the *ambon*.
11 The *ambon*, or reading desk.
12 The ascent on both sides the *ambon*.
13 The inner porticos, or cloisters, for men below.
14 The *catechumenia*, or *hyperoa*, upper galleries for women, above the porticos of the men, upon pillars.
15 *Cancelli bematis*, the rails of the chancel.
16 The *bema*, or chancel.
17 The altar, or communion table.
18 The *pyrgus*, or *cyborium*, the arched canopy built round the altar.
19 The bishop's throne, with
20 The second thrones of presbyters, in a semicircle about the altar.
21 *Diaconicum minus*, the inner vestry.
22 *Prothesis*, or *paratorium*.
23 *Sceuophylacium*, or *diaconicum magnum*, the great repository or greeting house.
24 Baptistery. * The porch.
25 The font in the middle of the baptistery.
26 *Pastophoria*, dwelling-houses for the clergy, with schools, libraries, &c., on each side of the church.
27 *Exedræ ecclesiæ*, the outer buildings.
28 The *περίβολος*, or utmost bounds allowed for refuge or sanctuary.

them was esteemed in a large sense as part of the church; and accordingly, when churches became asylums, or places of refuge, under Christian emperors, not only the inner buildings, but the outer courts and boundaries, were reckoned a sufficient sanctuary, as we shall see in the latter part of this book. Now, hence arose a twofold division of churches, as taken in a stricter or a larger sense. In the strictest sense, including only the buildings within the walls, they were commonly divided into three parts: 1. The *narthex*, or ante-temple, where the penitents and catechumens stood. 2. The *naos*, or temple, where the communicants had their respective places. And, 3. The *bema*, or sanctuary, where the clergy stood to officiate at the altar. But in a larger sense, there was another ante-temple, or *narthex*, without the walls, under which was comprised the *πρόπυλον*, or *vestibulum*, the outward porch; then the *atrium*, or *area*, the court leading from that to the temple, surrounded with porticos or cloisters, as we shall presently see in the temple of Paulinus. There were also several *exedræ*, such as the baptistery, the *diaconica*, the *pastophoria*, and other adjacent buildings, which were reckoned to be either without or within the church, according as it was taken in a stricter or a larger acceptation.

Sect. 4. And these subdivided into other parts. The outward *narthex*, or ante-temple, included, 1. The *πρόπυλον*, or *vestibulum*, the porch.

Eusebius, in describing the church of Paulinus, takes it in the largest sense, and therefore he begins his description with the *περίβολον*, or wall that enclosed the whole circumference of the outward courts, which we may call the ante-temple, or exterior *narthex*, to distinguish it from the *narthex* within the church. In the front of this sacred enclosure toward the east, at some distance from the church, the first building that presented itself was a great and lofty porch, which Eusebius and other Greek writers call the *πρόπυλον μέγα*, and the Latins, *vestibulum magnum*, the great porch, to distinguish it from the lesser porches, which joined to the church. He calls it also *πρώτην εἴσοδον*, the first entrance, to distinguish it from the second, which were the gates of the church.

Sect. 5. 2. The *atrium*, or the *area*, or court before the church, surrounded with porticos, or cloisters.

Between this porch and the church was a large area, or square plot of ground, which Eusebius calls *αἴθριον*,[20] and Paulus Silentiarius, *αὐλὴν*,[21] in his description of Sancta Sophia; the Latins term it *atrium* and *impluvium*, because it was a court open to the air, without any covering, save only on each side of the square, which was surrounded with porticos or cloisters, *στοαὶ* Eusebius calls them, and these built upon columns, whence, as Du Fresne[22] observes, this place is called sometimes *τετράστυλον*, and *quadriporticus*, in modern authors. In this place stood the first class of penitents, according to Eusebius, who says[23] expressly, it was the mansion of those who were not allowed to enter further into the church. That is, they stood either in the porch or the porticos, to beg the prayers of the faithful as they went into the church. Or perhaps, if they were more notorious criminals, they were cast out of these also, and obliged to wait in the court or open air, and stand there exposed to the weather, as part of their penance: which seems to be intimated by Tertullian,[24] when, speaking of some monstrous sinners, he says, They were expelled not only from the doors of the church, but from every place that might afford them any shelter or covering. So that the *atrium* was always an open place or court before the church: and therefore those authors who confound the *atrium*, or *vestibulum*, and *porticus* into one, wholly mistake the form of the ancient churches; for these, as I have showed, were distinct parts of the ante-temple.

Sect. 6. 3. In the middle of which stood a fountain for washing as they entered into the church; called *cantharus* and *phiala* in some authors.

It is further to be noted, that in the middle of the *atrium* there was commonly a fountain, or a cistern of water, for people to wash their hands and face, before they went into the church. Eusebius expressly mentions this in the temple of Paulinus. He says, In the court over against the church he placed *κρήνας*, fountains of water, as symbols of purification, for such to wash as entered into the church. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, takes notice of the same thing, but gives it the name of *cantharus*,[25] which signifies any capacious vessel that will hold much water, and sometimes a statue made to spout out water at its mouth: as Du Fresne has observed, that in some places the fountain was surrounded with lions thus spouting out water, whence this place has the name of *leontarium* in some modern Greek writers. It is also called by some *nymphæum*, *ἐμβάτης*, and *κολυμβεῖον*, which all signify a fountain. Paulus Silentiarius, in his description of Sancta Sophia, gives it the name of *φιάλη*, *phiala*, which we may English, the basin. And Socrates calls it *φρεάρ*, the spring. For speaking of a skirmish that happened between the catholics and Macedonian heretics in the church of Acacius at Constantinople, he says, Such a slaughter was made, that the *αὐλὴ*, the *atrium* or court of the church, was filled with blood, insomuch that the

[20] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. It. de Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 35.

[21] Paul. Silent. par. 2. ver. 174.

[22] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silent. p. 536.

[23] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. *Πρώτη αὕτη διατριβὴ, τοῖς τῶν πρώτων εἰσαγαγῶν ἔτι δεομένοις, κατάλληλον τὴν μονὴν παρεχομένη.*

[24] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 4. Reliquas autem libidinum furias—non modo limine, verum omni ecclesiæ tecto submovemus, quia non sunt delicta, sed monstra.

[25] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. Sancta nitens famulis interluit atria lymphis cantharus, intrantumque manus lavat amne ministro.

φρεάρ, the fountain that stood in it, was overflowed[26] therewith, and ran through the adjoining στοά, the portico or cloisters, even into the street. St. Chrysostom[27] also speaks of these fountains, as of things of common use in the *atria*, or courts before the churches. And frequently, in his popular discourses, alludes to the custom of washing their hands before they went into church.[28] Which is also done by Tertullian,[29] who exposes the absurdity of going to prayers with washed hands, whilst men retained a filthy spirit and polluted soul. In like manner Synesius[30] speaks of the cisterns, or vessels of water, set for washing in their ante-temples.

Sect. 7. Whether the superstitious use of holy water be a corruption of this ancient custom?

The writers of the church of Rome, Baronius[31] and others, commonly derive and defend the use of their holy water from this ancient custom: but Du Fresne[32] seems to speak more properly, when he says, their lustral water rather succeeded in its room. For the washing of the ancients had nothing of expiation in it, but was only an indifferent ceremony of corporal decency, or at most, but an admonishing emblem of that purity of soul, with which men ought to enter the courts of the most holy God. And therefore any one that compares these matters nicely together, must conclude, that the latter custom is but a fond imitation or mere corruption of the former; if it owe not rather its original to a worse fountain, the περιῤῥαντήρια, or sprinkling with holy water, so often spoken of among the heathen. The things are so like one another, that some modern transcribers of Sozomen have mistaken them for one another. For whereas Sozomen, speaking of Julian's going into a temple to sacrifice in Gaul, with Valentinian to attend him, says, The priest sprinkled them[33] with water as they went in, according to the heathen custom; Valesius has observed, that in some copies it is read, according to ecclesiastical custom, instead of heathen custom: which he imputes to some modern transcribers, who were minded to make church holy water of it; whom he ingenuously chastises for their ignorance or impudence in corrupting good authors, as they justly deserved.

Sect. 8. The *atrium* and porticos in the ante-temple, only made use of for burying the dead.

But to return to the business of the ancient churches: whilst we are speaking of the ante-temple, it will not be improper to observe, that for many years after burying-places were allowed in cities, they were still kept out of that which was strictly and properly called the church, and only allowed in those parts of the ante-temple, the *atrium* and porticos, which we have been describing: as appears from a canon of the council of Nantes, anno 658, which prohibits any to be buried[34] in the church, but allows of it in the *atrium* or porticos, or *exedræ* of the church. Which I note only to show what use these parts of the ante-temple were put to. But of this more when we come to treat of cemeteries, and the funeral rites of the ancient church.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE INTERIOR NARTHEX, AND THE PARTS AND USES OF IT.

Sect. 1. Of the lesser πρόπυλα, or porches before the doors of the church.

Having taking a view of the exterior *narthex*, or outward ante-temple, we are next led by Eusebius into the interior *narthex*, or ante-temple within the church. For in such stately structures as that of Paulinus was, the *narthex*, or προνάος, which I English ante-temple, was a name common to more parts than one. And in some of the most magnificent churches, as that of Sancta Sophia, as Du Fresne has observed out of Procopius and Paulus Silentiarius, there were no less than four distinct *nartheces*. The entrance into the interior *narthex* in the church of Paulinus, was out of the porticos or cloisters before the church, by three inner porches, (τά ἐνδοτάτω πρόπυλα Eusebius calls them,) and as many gates opening out of them, the middle one being the greatest and highest of the three, as we commonly see in our modern cathedrals, only with this difference, that those fronted to the east, and ours to the west. It had also porticos adjoining on the north and south,[1] and as many porches and doors to enter out of them. These porches in such churches as had no other ante-temple served to receive the first class of penitents, called the mourners, which otherwise were remitted to the *atrium* and porticos before the church, as I have showed already in the temple of Paulinus. And these things are accurately to be observed by those who would not mistake the ancients, when they seem to speak differently of the place of the mourners. Du Fresne

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[26] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 38.

[27] Chrysost. Homil. 57. t. 5. Edit. Savil. p. 390. Τὰς κρήνας εἶναι ἐν ταῖς αὐλαῖς τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἴκων νενόμισται.

[28] Chrys. Hom. 52. in Matth. Hom. 72. in Johan. Hom. 3. in Ephes. Hom. 36. ad Popul. Antioch. Hom. in Psal. cxl.

[29] Tertul. de Orat. c. 11. Quæ ratio est, manibus quidem ablutis, spiritu vero sordente, orationem obire?

[30] Synes. Ep. 121. Anastasio. Τὰ ἐν τοῖς προτεμενίσμασι χέρνιβα, &c.

[31] Baron. an. 57. n. 107.

[32] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 539.

[33] Sozomen. lib. 6. c. 6. Ὁ ἱερεὺς νόμῳ ἑλληνικῷ περιέῤῥαινε τοὺς εἰσιόντας.

[34] Conc. Namnetens. c. 6. In ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in atrio, aut porticu, aut in exedris ecclesiæ.

[1] See also Euseb. de Vita Const. lib. 3. c. 37. of the church of Jerusalem.

has also observed out of Paulinus Nolanus,[2] that these porches and gates are sometimes called *arcus*, from the manner of their structure, which was archwork; and *apsides* for the same reason, for *apsis* denotes any thing that is framed in the figure of an arch or a convex, as the heavens: and therefore he thinks the thirty-second canon of the third council of Carthage is to be understood of this place, when it says,[3] That such penitents as had committed very notorious and scandalous crimes, known to the whole church, should have imposition of hands before the *apsis*; that is, before the porch or doors of the church. Here it was also that the poor of the church placed themselves both before and after Divine service, to ask alms of such as came from the altar. Which custom is mentioned by Gregory Nazianzen[4] and St. Chrysostom,[5] who elegantly, after his manner, upon this account styles the poor, and aged, and the lame, and the blind, the guards of the royal palace, meaning the church.

Sect. 2. Of the *narthex*, *pronaos*, or *ferula*.

Being entered by these gates into the church, the first place that occurs to our view, is the προνάος, or antetemple, within the walls. This in the modern Greek rituals is always called the *narthex*, and is peculiarly allotted to the monks or women, and used to perform the offices of rogations, and supplications, and night watches in: here also they place dead corpses, whilst their funeral rites are performing, as Suicerus[6] shows at large out of their Triodion, Pentecostarium, and Typicum, and other authors. Morinus thinks[7] the ancient churches for above five hundred years had no *narthex*, but were divided only into two parts, the *sanctuarium* and *aula laicorum*, the place of the clergy and the place of the laymen, and that the *narthex* was first introduced by the Eastern monks in the sixth century; but in this he is evidently mistaken. For though the name perhaps be not very ancient, yet the thing itself is; for this was always a distinct and separate part of the church, as any one will easily imagine, that considers the ancient use of it.

Sect. 3. The use of it for the catechumens and penitents of the second order.

For the church, ever since she first divided her catechumens and penitents into distinct orders and classes, had also distinct places in the church for them. And this lower part of the church was the place of the energumens, and such of the catechumens and penitents, as were commonly called ἀκροώμενοι, or *audientes*, that is, hearers, because they were allowed to stand here to hear the psalms and Scriptures read, and the sermon made by the preacher, after which they were dismissed without any prayers or solemn benediction. As may be seen in the author of the Constitutions[8] and the Canons of St. Basil,[9] Gregory Nyssen,[10] and several others.

Sect. 4. Also for Jews, heathens, heretics, and schismatics to hear in.

Hither also both Jews, and heathens, and heretics, and schismatics were sometimes allowed to come, to hear the Scriptures read, and the sermon preached, because this part of the service was for their edification and instruction. The council of Laodicea[11] indeed prohibits heretics to come within the church. But in Africa and other places it was allowed. For in the fourth council of Carthage[12] there is a canon express to this purpose, That the bishop shall not prohibit any, whether heathen, heretic, or Jew, to come into the church, and stay there to hear the word of God, till the time of the dismission of the catechumens. And it appears further from several, both of St. Chrysostom's and St. Austin's homilies, that this was the common practice. Now, then, it is reasonable to suppose, that all these had their station together in the lower part of the church, called the *narthex*, or whatever other name it went by.

Sect. 5. This not the place of the font, or baptistery, as in our modern churches.

Dr. Beverege and some others seem here also to place the font or baptistery, as in our modern churches. But there is nothing more certain, than that for many ages the baptistery was a distinct place from the body of the church, and reckoned among the *exedræ*, or places adjoining to the church. For which reason I omit speaking any further of it here, intending to do it more fully in the latter part of this Book, when I come to the *exedræ* of the church.

Sect. 6. Why called *narthex*, and of the different sorts of *nartheces* in several churches.

If it be inquired, why this part of the church was called *narthex*; I answer, because the figure of it was supposed to resemble a *ferula*, which was the Latin name for it, that is, a rod or staff: for any oblong figure, or dromical, as the Greeks called it, was by them called a *narthex*, as Suicerus and Du Fresne have observed out of Theodosius Zygomala.[13] And therefore this part of the church, being a long, but narrow part, cross the front of the

[2] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. Alma domus triplici patet ingredientibus arcu.

[3] Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 32. Cujuscunque pœnitentis publicum et vulgatissimum crimen est, quod universa ecclesia noverit, ante apsidem manus ei imponatur.

[4] Naz. Orat. 16. de Amore Pauperum, t. 1. p. 246.

[5] Chrysost. Hom. 10. in 1 Thes. p. 1484.

[6] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce Νάρθηξ.

[7] Morin. de Pœnit. lib. 6. c. 1.

[8] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 5.

[9] Basil. can. 75. [10] Nyssen. Ep. ad Letoium, c. 5.

[11] Conc. Laodic. can. 6.

[12] Cont. Carth. 4. c. 84. Ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam et audire verbum Dei, sive Gentilem, sive hæreticum, sive Judæum, usque ad missam catechumenorum.

[13] Zygomal. ap. Crucium Turco-Græc. Πᾶν δρομικὸν νάρθηξ καλεῖται.

church, was termed *narthex*, or *ferula*, upon that account. And it is further to be observed, that some churches had three or four *nartheces*, but those without the walls: for the porticos or cloisters of such churches as Sancta Sophia, which were built to the north, and west, and south of them, were called *nartheces*, as Du Fresne[14] shows out of Procopius and Paulus Silentiarius, and the sixth general council, because these were long narrow buildings in figure or shape of a *narthex*. And such churches, he thinks, had no other *narthex* within the walls, but these porticos were the proper station of the penitents, and such others as were not allowed to come within the nave of the church. But in such churches as had no porticos adjoining to them, the *narthex* was the lower part of the church within the walls, which was made to answer the use of porticos in other churches. And this seems to be the true state of the matter, and the only way to reconcile the different accounts that are given by authors of the ancient *narthex* of the church.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE NAOS, OR NAVE OF THE CHURCH, AND ITS PARTS AND USES.

Sect. 1. Of the beautiful and royal gates: why so called.

After the *narthex* followed that part which was properly called *ναός*, the temple, and *navis*, the nave or body of the church. This was separated from the *narthex* by certain rails of wood, as all other places in the church were commonly distinguished. The entrance into it from the *narthex* was by the gates, which the modern rituals and Greek writers call *πύλαι ὡραῖαι* and *βασιλικαί*, the beautiful and royal gates: which seem to be so named in allusion to the name *basilica*, as denoting the royal palace of God, his house and temple. Though perhaps another reason might be assigned for it among the modern Greeks, who might call it the royal gate, because here their kings were used to lay down their crowns, before they proceeded further into the church. Which is observed by Leo Grammaticus in the Life of Michael[1] the emperor, where he notes it as an insolent and indecent thing in him, that when he came to the royal gates, he did not lay aside his crown, as kings were used to do. Some festivals among them were for a like reason called crown days, *ἑορταὶ θεοστεπταί*, *dies coronati*, because the emperors were used to go in their regalia to the great church of Sancta Sophia on those days, which were twelve particular days in a year. So that as these days, so those gates of the temple might have their denomination from some particular ceremony used by the imperial powers at their entrance by them: but I take the other reason to be more probable, and had scarce mentioned this, had it not been to explain a custom or two, which fall in our way upon the mention of it.

Sect. 2. The nave of the church usually a square building, called by some, the oratory of laymen.

This part of the church seems to have been usually a square building, in the middle between the sanctuary and the *narthex*; as we find it described in a letter of Theodosius and Valentinian at the end of the council of Ephesus,[2] and inserted also into the Theodosian Code,[3] where, speaking of churches as places of refuge, they divide them into these three parts, 1. The *θυσιαστήριον*, the altar part or sanctuary; 2. The *εὐκτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ τετράγωνον*, the four-squared oratory of the people; and, 3. The remaining part from that to the outer doors of the church. Now, as this last is a plain description of the *narthex* forementioned, though it be not called by that name, so is the second a description of the nave or middle of the church, called the people's oratory, because the people chiefly filled this place, having their different stations or apartments in it, according to the difference of age, or sex, or quality, or state and condition, which distinctions were anciently observed in some, though perhaps not in all churches.

Sect. 3. In the lowest part of which stood the *substrati*, or penitents of the third order.

For here, first of all, at the very entrance of the royal gates, in the lowest station of this part, behind the *ambo*, stood the *ὑποπίπτοντες*, or *substrati*, the penitents of the third order, so called from the custom of prostrating themselves before the bishop or priest as soon as the sermon was ended, to receive his benediction with the imposition of hands, and be made partakers of those prayers which the congregation particularly offered to God for them; after which they were obliged immediately to depart, before the communion service. This sort of penitents are mentioned in the council of Nice,[4] though no particular place is assigned them: but we may collect from Tertullian and Sozomen, that their station was in this part of the church. For Tertullian,[5] speaking of the Roman discipline, says, Pope Zephyrin brought penitents into the church in sackcloth and ashes, and prostrated them in the midst before the widows and presbyters, to implore their commiseration and excite their tears. This

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[14] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 534.

[1] Leo Gram. Chronograp. p. 466. [2] Conc. t. 3. p. 1236.

[3] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccles. confugiunt, Leg. 4. p. 366.

[4] Conc. Nicen. can. 11.

[5] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 13. Pœnitentiam mœchi ad exorandam fraternitatem in ecclesiam inducens, conciliatum et concineratum cum dedecore et horrore compositum prosternis in medium ante viduas, ante presbyteros, omnium lachrymas suadentem, &c.

must be a different station of penitents from those called mourners, for their station (as we have seen before) was without the church doors, but these before the widows and presbyters in the middle of the church. And so Sozomen[6] plainly represents it, when he says, The bishop fell prostrate with them, and all the congregation wept with tears, and then the bishop rising up, made the proper prayers for them and dismissed them. These were exercises to be performed in the church, and not at the church door; and therefore this order of penitents are not without reason placed by all expositors within the royal gates, behind the *ambo* of the church.

Sect. 4. And the *ambo*, or reading desk.

The *ambo* itself was what we now call the reading desk, a place made on purpose for the readers and singers, and such of the clergy as ministered in the first service, called *missa catechumenorum*. It had the name of *ambo*, not, as Walafridus Strabo imagines, *ab ambiendo*, because it surrounded them that were in it; but from ἀναβαίνειν, because it was a place of eminency, to which they went up by degrees or steps. For the original name is ἄμβων, which, as Valesius and Habertus have rightly observed, in old Greek writers, Æschylus and Eustathius, signifies the ascent or height of a mountain, and thence it comes to signify this place of eminency in the church. Sozomen[7] gives it the names of βῆμα upon the same account; but to distinguish it from the other *bema*, which was the sanctuary, or the altar, he calls it βῆμα γνωστῶν, the readers' *bema*, as the other was more properly the bishop's and presbyters'. In St. Cyprian it is called *pulpitum*, and *tribunal ecclesiæ*, and the use of it is also explained by him to be a reading desk: for here it was the readers stood to read the Gospels and Epistles, as we learn from the account which he gives of Celerinus and Aurelius, two famous confessors, whom he ordained readers,[8] that they who had made confession of Christ's gospel from the rack, might read it also from the pulpit or tribunal of the church. Here it was also that the singers had their station, as is evident from that canon of the council of Laodicea,[9] which forbids all others to sing in the church, beside the canonical singers, who went up into the *ambo*, and sung by book. Here also the diptychs, or books of commemoration, were read, as appears from a noted passage in the council of Constantinople, under Mennas,[10] where the people cry out, Τὰ δίπτυχα τῷ ἄμβωνι, Let the diptychs be laid upon the reading desk. Bona[11] thinks the bishop and presbyters here also made their sermons to the people. For which he cites Prudentius[12] and Sidonius Apollinaris,[13] from whose words he further concludes, that the *ambo* was sometimes called *ara*, or altar. But this observation seems to be founded on a mistake. For the bishops anciently did not use to preach from the *ambo*, but more commonly from the rising steps of the altar, as Valesius[14] shows that the custom continued in France to the time of King Childebert. And therefore both Socrates[15] and Sozomen seem to speak of Chrysostom's preaching in the *ambo* as an unusual thing; but he did it for conveniency, Socrates says, that he might be the better heard by the people. We cannot hence therefore conclude, that the *ambo* was the ordinary place of preaching, but rather the altar; and that when we read of bishops preaching from the ascent of the *ara*, it is rather to be understood of the altar than the *ambo*. Yet in Africa St. Austin seems to have made his discourses to the people from the *ambo*, which he sometimes calls *exedra*,[16] and sometimes *apsis*,[17] which I the rather note, because these words are of various signification among the ancients, sometimes denoting the *ambo*, perhaps from its orbicular form, and at other times the cross wings and outer buildings of the church. Some take the *apsis* for the *ambo* in that canon of the third council of Carthage, which says, Notorious and scandalous criminals[18] shall do penance before the *apsis*. But Du Fresne, as I have noted[19] before, takes it in another sense, for the porch of the church, and it is not always easy to determine exactly the meaning of it.

Sect. 5. And above this the communicants and fourth order of penitents, called *consistentes*, had their places.

But to proceed: in this part of the church, all the faithful, or such as were in the communion of the church, had their place assigned them; and among them the fourth order of penitents, whom they called *consistentes*, because they were allowed to stay, and hear the prayers of the church, after the catechumens and other penitents were dismissed, but yet they might not make their oblation, or participate of the sacrifice of the altar.

[6] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 16. [7] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 5. lib. 9. c. 2.

[8] Cyprian. Ep. 33. Ad pulpitum post catastam venire, &c. It. Ep. 34. Quid aliud quam super pulpitum, id est, tribunal ecclesiæ, oportebat imponi, &c.

[9] Conc. Laodic. c. 15.

[10] Conc. Constant. 5. Act. 5.

[11] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 2. c. 6. n. 3.

[12] Prudent. Hymn. de Hippolyta. Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime tribunal tollitur, antistes prædicat unde Deum.

[13] Sidon. Carm. 16. ad Faustum. Seu te conspicuis gradibus venerabilis aræ, concionaturum plebs sedula circumsistit.

[14] Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. 6. c. 5.

[15] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 5. Sozomen. lib. 8. c. 5.

[16] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. In gradibus exedræ, in qua de superiore loquebar loco, feci stare ambos fratres, cum eorum legeretur libellus.

[17] Aug. Ep. 225. Honoratiores et graviores in apsidem ascendentes, cum episcopo colloquuntur, &c. It. Ep. 203. In futuro Christi judicio nec apsides gradatæ nec cathedræ velatæ, &c.

[18] Conc. Carth. 3. c. 32. Ante apsidem ei manus imponatur.

[19] Chap. 4. n. 1.

In which respect they are said to stand and communicate with the rest of the people, but in prayers only, without the oblation, as the canons of Nice[20] and St. Basil[21] word it. Whether they were separate from other communicants in a distinct place by themselves, I find not in any other author save only Eligius Noviomensis, who lived about the year 640. He, in one of his homilies[22] to the penitents, tells them they were placed on the left side of the church, because the Lord at the day of judgment would place the sheep, that is, the righteous, on his right hand, and the goats, that is, sinners, on his left. But because this is a later writer, and learned men[23] are also doubtful about his homilies, whether they be genuine or not, we can determine nothing from this passage concerning the original custom of the church.

Sect. 6. The places of men and women usually separate from each other.

Only this is certain from good authors, that, anciently, men and women had their different places in this part of the church. The author of the Constitutions speaks of it as the custom[24] of the church in his time, when he gives directions about it, that women should sit in a separate place by themselves; and accordingly makes it one part of the office of deaconesses to attend[25] the women's gate in the church; Let the door-keepers stand at the gate of the men, and the deaconesses at the gate of the women. St. Cyril[26] also takes notice of this distinction as customary in his own church at Jerusalem, saying, Let a separation be made, that men be with men, and women with women, in the church. The like intimation is given us by St. Austin, that each sex[27] had their distinct places in the church; and he particularly mentions the women's part, as distinct also in the baptistery[28] of the church. Paulinus[29] takes notice of the same in the Life of St. Ambrose, telling us how St. Ambrose was once furiously assaulted in a church by an Arian woman, who, getting up into the tribunal to him, would needs have haled him by his garments to the women's part, that they might have beat him, and made him fly the church. This distinction was so generally observed in the time of Constantine, that Socrates[30] says his mother, Helena, always submitted to the discipline of the church in this respect, praying with the women in the women's part. And it was usually made by rails, or wooden walls, as St. Chrysostom terms them, who has these remarkable words concerning the original of this custom: Men ought to be separated[31] from women, says he, by an inward wall, meaning that of the heart; but because they would not, our forefathers separated them by these wooden walls. For I have heard from our seniors, that it was not so from the beginning. For in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female. Do we not read, that men and women prayed together in their upper room? Yet Eusebius[32] makes this distinction as ancient as Philo Judæus and St. Mark, and many learned men think it came from the Jewish church into the Christian, not long after the days of the apostles. Some are a little too curious in fixing this women's part always precisely to the north or right side of the church. For though this might be the custom of the Western churches in later ages, when Amalarius Fortunatus, and Radulphus Tungrensis, and the authors of the Micrologus and Ordo Romanus lived, which writers are cited by Durantus[33] for it; yet it appears to have been otherwise anciently in many of the Greek churches. Nor does that funeral inscription, which some produce out of the Roma Subterranea, prove the contrary, which speaks[34] of persons lying interred *sinistra parte virorum*, on the south or left side of the church, where the men sat. For not to inquire into the antiquity of that inscription, it proves no more, but that the men sat on the left side in the Roman churches: which does not hinder the women from having their apartment on that side too, if the same custom was at Rome which was at Constantinople and other Greek churches, which was for the men to sit below, and the women in porticos or galleries above them, on the left side of the church, if not on the right also. For thus Gregory Nazianzen[35] describes his temple of Anastasia, making the men to stand by the rails of the chancel, and the virgins and matrons to be hearkening from their upper galleries above the other. And

[20] Conc. Nicen. c. 11.

[21] Basil. Ep. Canon. c. 56. Conc. Ancyr. can. 8.

[22] Eligius, Hom. 8. ad Pœnit. Bibl. Patr. t. 2. p. 99. Cur ergo in sinistra parte ecclesiæ positi estis? Non sine causa usus ecclesiæ hoc obtinuit, sed quia Dominus in judicio oves, id est, justos, a dextris: hœdos vero, id est, peccatores, a sinistris ponet.

[23] Vid. Albertin. de Euchar. lib. 3. p. 906.

[24] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. *Αἱ γυναῖκες κεχωρισμένως καὶ αὗται καθεζέσθωσαν.*

[25] Ibid. lib. 2. c. 57. lib. 8. c. 20 et 28.

[26] Cyril. Præfat. in Catech. n. 8. *Διεστάλθω τὰ πράγματα, ἄνδρες μετὰ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ γυναῖκες μετὰ γυναικῶν.*

[27] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 2. c. 28. Populi confluunt ad ecclesias casta celebritate, honesta utriusque sexus discretione.

[28] Ib. lib. 22. c. 8. Admonetur in somnio innocentia, appropinquante pascha, ut in parte fœminarum observanti ad baptisterium, quæcunque illi baptizata primitus occurrisset, eundem locum signo Christi signaret.

[29] Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 3. Tribunal conscendens, apprehenso vestimento sacerdotis, cum illum attrahere vellet ad partem mulierum, &c.

[30] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 17. *Ὡς καὶ συνεύχεσθαι ἐν τῷ τῶν γυναικῶν τάγματι.*

[31] Chrysost. Homil. 74. in Matth.

[32] Euseb. lib. 2. c. 17.

[33] Durant. de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 18.

[34] Roma Subterran. lib. 2. c. 10. n. 23.

[35] Nazian. Somnium de Templo Anastas. t. 2. p. 78. *Αἳ δ' ἄρ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν τεγέων εὔκοσμον ἀκουὴν ἁγναὶ παρθενικαὶ κλῖνον ἅμ' ἐσθλογάμοις.*

so it was in the church of Sancta Sophia, and many other churches.

Sect. 7. Why these places of the women were called κατηχούμενα and ὑπερῷα.

Upon this account, these places of the women are, by such Greek writers as speak of them, termed ὑπερῷα, upper rooms; as by Evagrius,[36] in his description of the temple of Sancta Sophia, and more particularly by Paulus Silentiarius,[37] who styles them expressly θηλυτέρων ὑπερώϊα, the upper galleries of the women. These were also called κατηχούμενα, as appears from an edict of the emperor Leo,[38] which makes these upper rooms and the *catechumena* to be the same thing. Suicerus[39] and Hospinian, and many other learned men, mistake these for the place where the catechumens stood, and where the catechetical books were kept: but Du Fresne[40] more truly observes, that they were so called, because they were places of hearing, where the women sat in their upper galleries to hear Divine service. In one of these the empress commonly had her apartment, as Du Fresne observes out of Evagrius. And by that one may easily understand what Paulus Diaconus[41] means, when, speaking of the empress Eirene, he says, She went up by the ascent of the brazen gate into the *catechumenia* of the church, that is, into the place of hearing among the women's apartments in the church. These galleries were sometimes also made use of for councils to sit in, as Leo Allatius[42] has observed of the council of Constantinople, in the time of Johannes Comnenus, anno 1165, that it was held ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς κατηχουμένοις, in the right-hand galleries of the church of Alexius, and some others are mentioned[43] as held in the same place.

Sect. 8. Private cells for meditation, reading, and prayer on the back of these.

The inner parts of these porticos were sometimes divided into little cells or places of retirement on the walls of the church, and that not only in the women's parts, but the men's also, as may be collected from the account which Paulinus Nolanus gives of them, who calls them *cubicula*, little chambers, and tells us, the use of them[44] was for people to retire into, that were minded to give themselves to reading, or meditation, or private prayer. These were looked upon as parts of the *catechumenia*, and were sometimes abused to profane uses instead of pious: for as we may collect from the decrees of the council of Trullo,[45] and the emperor Leo,[46] some made use of them for lodgings instead of oratories, and cohabited with their wives there: to correct which abuse, it is ordered in both those decrees, that all such persons should be expelled from the *catechumenia* of the church.

Sect. 9. The place of the virgins and widows distinguished from others.

It is to be noted further, that not only men and women had their distinct places, but also virgins and widows a peculiar apartment assigned to them. Which we learn from St. Ambrose's discourse to a lapsed virgin, telling her[47] that she ought to have remembered that place in the church, railed out from the rest, where she was used to stand, whither the religious matrons and noble women came thronging to receive her salutations, which were more holy and better than herself. This appears also from the author[48] of the Constitutions, who, speaking of the order in which persons were appointed to sit in the church, first places the virgins, widows, and aged women in the highest rank; then married women below them in a place by themselves; then their children, daughters with their mothers, and sons with their fathers, or next behind them; and last of all young men, according to their age, in different stations. This was the order in such churches as had none of those *hyperoa* or galleries before spoken of: for otherwise, as has been noted out of Nazianzen, the virgins and matrons had their distinct places in the porticos above. I do not here allege Origen, after Durantus and Bona, because they plainly mistake the sense of their author, who speaks not of the Christian church, but of the Jewish temple, and that with such a formal story, that it is a wonder any learned men could mistake him. He tells us, he had it from an old tradition,[49] that there was a place in the temple peculiar for virgins to worship God in, whither no married woman was allowed to come. But the Virgin Mary, after she had brought forth our Saviour, went and stood to worship there: which when they that knew she had borne a Son would not allow of, Zacharias, the father of St. John Baptist, stood up and said, She is worthy to stand in the place of virgins, for she is yet a virgin. Upon which they rose up against

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36 Evagr. Hist. lib. 4. c. 31.

37 Paul. Silentiar. Descr. S. Soph. part. 1. ver. 256.

38 Leo, Novel. 73. Ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπερώοις ἅπερ ὁ πολὺς ἄνθρωπος κατηχούμενα καλεῖν ἔγνω.

39 Suicer. Thesaur. Eccl. voce Κατηχούμενα.

40 Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 550.

41 Paul. Diacon. Miscel. lib. 23. Ascendit imperatrix Eirene per æneæ portæ ascensum in catechumenia ecclesiæ.

42 Leo Allat. de Consensu Eccles. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 645.

43 Leo Allat. ibid. c. 12. p. 682.

44 Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. Cubicula intra porticus quaterna longis basilicæ lateribus inserta, secretis orantium, vel in lege Domini meditantium. præterea memoriis religiosorum ac familiarium accommodatos ad pacis æternæ requiem locos præbent.

45 Conc. Trullan. can. 97.

46 Leo, Novel. 73.

47 Ambros. ad Virgin. Lapsam, c. 6. Nonne vel illum locum tabulis separatum, in quo in ecclesia stabas, recordari debuisti? Ad quem religiosæ matronæ et nobiles certatim currebant, tua oscula petentes, quæ sanctiores et meliores te erant.

48 Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. Αἱ παρθένοι καὶ αἱ χῆραι, καὶ πρεσβύτιδες, πρῶται πασῶν στηκέτωσαν, ἢ καθεζέσθωσαν.

49 Origen. Hom. 26. in Matth. p. 162.

Zacharias, as a breaker of the law, in permitting a married woman to stand in the place of virgins, and slew him between the temple and the altar. I make no further reflection on this passage at present, but leave it, as I find it, to the judgment of the reader. As to the place of virgins in the Christian church, I have only this one thing more to remark out of St. Ambrose, which is, that usually some profitable texts of Scripture[50] were written upon the walls of the church in this place, proper to the virgin state, such as that of St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 34, "There is difference between a wife and a virgin: the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit." Which lesson, St. Ambrose tells the virgin he writes to, she ought to have remembered, because it was written before her eyes upon the walls of the church.

Sect. 10. The σωλεῖον, or *solea*, that is, the magistrate's throne in this part of the church.

There is one place more to be taken notice of in some churches, before we leave this part of the temple to go into the sanctuary, which is, what Codinus[51] and some other modern Greeks call the σωλεῖον, a place of some note in the church of Sancta Sophia, but not exactly agreed upon by learned men, either what or where it was, or what use it was put to. Gretser, in his Notes upon Codinus,[52] fancies it to be nothing else but the pavement at the entrance of the sanctuary, or some such thing adjoining to it. Morinus[53] and Allatius[54] say it was some place between the *bema* and *ambo*. Schelstrate is a little more particular,[55] that it was the place before the rails of the sanctuary, where the emperor had his seat on the right hand, and the readers and subdeacons on the left. But Suicerus[56] and Meursius are more positive, that it was only the emperor's throne, and called σωλεῖον, from the Latin *solium*. And Dr. Beverege[57] inclines to the same opinion. Du Fresne[58] allows of this as probable likewise, but he also fancies it might signify the *limina cancellorum*, the threshold or raised foundation upon which the rails of the chancel were erected, and be so called from *solum*, whence comes the French name *seuil*, and the English sill, or groundsel. This was usually adorned and beautified very richly, he thinks, with gold and precious stones, and sometimes reverenced with the kisses and salutations of the people; whence the phrases, *Exosculari limina, et liminibus martyrum affundi*, in Sidonius and Prudentius, are by him interpreted to this purpose. But I conceive the former opinion most probable, which takes it for the emperor's throne, which was toward the east end of the church in the men's portico, over against the altar, where now the sultan has his seat among the Turks. For that place which Dr. Beverege calls the *embolus*, and others the *circuitus*, or side aisles on both sides, were in the temple of Sancta Sophia porticos for men below, and women above. And as the empress had her seat in the upper end of the women's apartment, so the emperors had theirs in the men's apartment next to the chancel, from the time that Sozomen[59] tells us Theodosius submitted to the reproof of St. Ambrose, who blamed him for taking his seat within the rails of the sanctuary (though it had been customary for the emperors so to do): after which admonition both he and his successors always took their place without the rails, whence that place seems to be called the *solium*, the royal seat. Which is confirmed a little by what Suicerus observes out of Cedrenus and Codinus, that Justinian made the *solea* of gold and onyx stone, which are proper materials to adorn a throne, but not so proper to be laid in the pavement of a church. Not far from this Du Fresne[60] observes in some modern churches a place called the *senatorium*, which some take to be only another name for the seats of the bishop and presbyters, who were the senate of the church: but Du Fresne thinks it was rather the seat of the magistrates, called senators, whence their apartment had the name of *senatorium* in the church.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE BEMA, OR THIRD PART OF THE TEMPLE, CALLED THE ALTAR AND THE SANCTUARY, AND THE PARTS AND USES OF IT.

Sect. 1. The chancel, anciently called *bema*, or tribunal.

The third and innermost part of the ancient churches was that which we now call the chancel; but originally it was known by many other names. One of the most common names was that of βῆμα, or tribunal, which, as I have noted before, is a word of various signification, denoting sometimes the *ambo* or reading desk, and sometimes the altar, and sometimes the seats or thrones of the bishop and presbyters, and sometimes the whole space where these thrones and the altar stood. In which sense I understand that canon of the council of Laodicea,[1] which for-

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[50] Ambros. ad Virgin. Lapsam, c. 6. Nonne vel illa præcepta, quæ oculis tuis ipse scriptus paries ingerebat, recordari debuisti? Divisa est mulier et virgo, &c.

[51] Codin. Origin. Constant. lib. 3. c. 12.

[52] Gretser. Not. in loc.

[53] Morin. de Ordinat. par. 2. n. 52.

[54] Allat. de Templis Græcor. Dissert. 2.

[55] Schelstrat. Concil. Antioch. p. 192.

[56] Suicer. Thesaur. voc. σωλέας, et Meursius in Glossar.

[57] Bevereg. Not. in Conc. Nicen. c. 11.

[58] Du Fresne, Not. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 585.

[59] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 25.

[60] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 560.

[1] Conc. Laodic. can. 56.

bids presbyters to go into the *bema* and sit there before the bishop comes. Suicerus has observed it[2] frequently to be thus used in the liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil. And Chrysostom[3] in one of his homilies more particularly describes it to be the place whither the bishop went by an ascent into it, to preach, to pray, to stand by the holy temple, and offer the tremendous sacrifice for the people. By which it is easy to understand, that he takes it not barely for the altar alone, or the bishop's throne, but for the whole place where they stood, and where these several offices were performed. And the reason of the name *bema* was what Chrysostom also intimates, when he says, they went up by an ascent into it. For *bema* and *ambo* have both the same original, from *ἀναβαίνειν*, because they were places exalted above the rest, and, like the tribunals of judges, had an ascent by steps into them. Now, the *bema* was more peculiarly allotted to the clergy, and upon that account, as I have noted before[4] in a former book, the clergy were sometimes styled *οἱ τοῦ βήματος*, and *τάξις τοῦ βήματος*, the order of the *bema*, or the sanctuary.

Sect. 2. Also *ἅγιον*, or *ἱερατεῖον*, and *sacrarium*, the holy, or the sanctuary.

For the name sanctuary was also appropriated to this part of the church. The Greeks peculiarly styled it *ἅγιον*, the holy; and from thence the altar was called *ἅγιον ἁγίων*, the holy of holies, which is the term that Eusebius[5] uses in describing the temple of Paulinus. In other places[6] he calls it *ἁγίασμα*, which is the name whereby the Seventy call the sanctuary in the Old Testament. The Latins called it *sacrarium*, the sanctuary. As in the first council of Bracara, which forbids laymen[7] to come into the sanctuary to communicate. And the council of Vaison, which[8] speaks of the office of ordering or disposing the things of the sanctuary. And the fourth council of Carthage, which forbids the oblation of such as are at variance one with another, to be received[9] either in the treasury or the sanctuary.

Sect. 3. And *θυσιαστήριον*, the altar part.

The Greeks also termed it *θυσιαστήριον*, the altar part. For though that word commonly signifies the altar itself, or the Lord's table, yet in some ancient canons and ecclesiastical writers, as Habertus[10] and Mr. Mede[11] have observed, it is used to denote the whole sanctuary within the rails, where none but the clergy were allowed. As in the councils of Laodicea[12] and Trullo,[13] which forbid women and laymen to come into the *θυσιαστήριον*, it must mean the whole altar part, or chancel. And so in Socrates,[14] and Theodoret,[15] and many others, who speak of St. Ambrose excluding Theodosius the emperor from within the rails of the sanctuary.

Sect. 4. *Presbyterium* and *diaconicum*.

St. Cyprian, in his fifty-fifth epistle, calls it *consessus cleri*, the presbytery. And Forbesius,[16] and some other learned men, think it was also called *diaconicum*, from the presbyters sitting, and the deacons ministering there. Thus they understand the council of Laodicea,[17] which forbids subdeacons to have any place in the *diaconicum*, or to touch the sacred vessels of the Lord's table. But I must note, that though the name *diaconicum* in that canon may signify the chancel or sanctuary, yet it more commonly means the vestry, or repository of the sacred vessels, of which we are to give a further account, when we come to speak of the *exedræ* of the church.

Sect. 5. Also *chorus*, or quire.

In some canons it seems also to have had the name of *chorus*, whence comes our English quire. As in the fourth council of Toledo, which thus appoints[18] the order and manner of men's communicating in the church, so as that the priests and deacons should communicate before the altar, the inferior clergy in the quire, and the people without the quire. Though some take the *chorus* to signify rather the place of the singers and readers in the other part of the church.

Sect. 6. This place separated from the rest by rails, called *cancelli*, whence comes chancel.

Eusebius, describing this part of the temple of Paulinus, says it was divided from the rest by certain rails of wood,[19] curiously and artificially wrought in the form of net-work, to make it inaccessible to the multitude. These the Latins call *cancelli*, whence comes our English name chancel. In other Greek writers they are termed *κιγκλίδες*. Whence in Theodoret[20] *τὰ ἔνδον τῶν κιγκλίδων*, the place within the rails, is but another name for the altar part, or chancel. And to lay hold of the rails, in the phrase of Synesius,[21] is the same thing as to take sanctuary at the altar.

Sect. 7. And kept inaccessible to the multitude. Whence it was called *adyta*.

By these rails, as Eusebius words it, this whole altar place was kept inaccessible to all but the clergy in time of Divine service. The council of

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[2] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccl. voce Βῆμα.

[3] Chrysost. Hom. 39. de Pentecost. t. 5. p. 553.

[4] Book I. chap. 5. sect. 11. [5] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 381.

[6] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 18.

[7] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 31. Ingredi sacrarium ad communicandum non liceat laicis, nisi tantum clericis.

[8] Conc. Vasens. c. 3. Cujus officium est sacrarium disponere et sacramenta suscipere.

[9] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 93. Oblationes dissidentium fratrum, neque in sacrario, neque in gazophylacio recipiantur.

[10] Habert. Archierat. p. 663.

[11] Mede, Comment. Apocalyp. p. 479.

[12] Conc. Laodic. c. 44. [13] Conc. Trull. can. 69.

[14] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 25. [15] Theodor. lib. 1. c. 14.

[16] Forbes. Irenic. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 221.

[17] Conc. Laodic. can. 21.

[18] Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 18. Sacerdotes et Levitæ ante altare communicent, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus. Vid. Conc. Turon. 2. can. 4.

[19] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 381. Ὡs ἂν εἴη τοῖs πολλοῖs ἄβατα, ἀπὸ ξύλου περιέφραττε δικτύοις, &c.

[20] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 18. [21] Synesii Catastasis, p. 303.

Laodicea has one canon[22] particularly forbidding women to come within the altar part. And another in more general terms, allowing none but the *ἱερατικοὶ* to communicate there.[23] In which canon some take the word *ἱερατικοὶ*, to mean all the clergy, inferior as well as superior: but Habertus[24] thinks it means only the superior clergy, priests and deacons; and that all the inferiors, subdeacons, readers, &c., were excluded from this part as well as the people. However, it is agreed on all hands that the people in that age had no place there. For St. Ambrose would not permit the emperor Theodosius himself to communicate in this part,[25] but obliged him to retire as soon as he had made his oblation at the altar. Which custom continued for some ages after. As appears from what Theodosius junior says of himself in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus,[26] that he only went up to the altar to make his oblation, and having done that, retired again to the exterior court or *atrium* of the people. And so we find it decreed, correspondent to this practice, in the council of Trullo,[27] That no layman whatsoever should come into the altar part, except only the emperor, when he had made his oblation to the Creator, according to ancient custom. And hence it was that this part of the church was called *ἄβατα*, and *ἄδυτα*, by Theodoret[28] and Eusebius, and other Greek writers, and *adyta* by the Latins, that is, inaccessible; because there was no place of access here for the people, who were wholly excluded from it. Though I must note, that according to the difference of times and places, different customs seem to have prevailed in this matter. For the most ancient custom was both for men and women to come up to the altar and communicate there, as it appears to have been in the third century, in the time of Dionysius of Alexandria, who speaks both of men[29] and women[30] standing at the holy table, and reaching forth their hands to receive the eucharist there. And so Valesius understands it.[31] And the same privilege was allowed the people in France in the sixth century. For the second council of Tours, anno 567, orders the holy of holies[32] to be open both for men and women to pray and communicate in at the time of the oblation; though at other times, when there was any other service without the communion, they were not allowed to come within the *chorus* of the singers or rails of the chancel. By which also we learn what part of the church in this age in France was called the *chorus*, namely, that which was immediately within the rails of the chancel, where the inferior clergy had their station in the time of the oblation.

Sect. 8. The holy gates, and veils or hangings dividing the chancel from the rest of the church.

The modern Greeks call the entrance into this part the holy gates, because they open from the body of the church into the holy of holies. But there is little mention made of these in ancient writers. But they often speak of the use of veils or hangings in this place to cover the prospect of the altar. Athanasius calls them *βῆλα τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, the hangings of the church. For, speaking of the fury of the Arians, and their ravaging a church in the time of Constantius, he says, They took the bishop's throne, and the seats of the presbyters,[33] and the table which was of wood, and the veils of the church, and whatever else they could, and carried them out and burnt them. In Synesius[34] they are called *καταπέτασμα μυστικὸν*, the mystical veils. And in Chrysostom and Evagrius, *ἀμφίθυρα*, from their opening in the middle as folding doors. These were sometimes richly adorned with gold, as that which Evagrius[35] says Chosroes gave to the church of Antioch. The use of them was partly to hide the prospect of this part of the church from the catechumens and unbelievers, and partly to cover the sacrifice of the eucharist in the time of consecration, as we learn from these words of Chrysostom, When the sacrifice is brought forth, when Christ the Lamb of God is offered, when you hear this signal given, let us all join in common prayer; when you see the veils[36] withdrawn, then think you see heaven opened, and the angels descending from above. There were also several other veils, to note this by the way, in other parts of the church. For Paulinus[37] speaks often of veils before the doors of the church. And St. Jerom commends Nepotian, for that among other parts of his concern for the decency of the church, as he took care that the altar, and the walls, and the pavement should be kept clean, so also that the doors should have their keepers, and the gates[38] their veils. In like manner Epiphanius, speaking

[22] Conc. Laodic. c. 44. *Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γυναῖκας ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ εἰσέρχεσθαι.*

[23] Ibid. can. 19. *Μόνον ἐξὸν τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κοινωνεῖν.*

[24] Habert. Archieratic. par. 10. Obser. 9. p. 268.

[25] Vide Theodoret, lib. 5. c. 18. Sozomen. lib. 7. c. 25.

[26] Edict. Theodos. ad calcem Conc. Ephes. t. 3. p. 1237. *Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου θυσιαστηρίου διὰ μόνην τὴν τῶν δωρεῶν προσφορὰν ἐφαπτόμεθα.*

[27] Conc. Trull. can. 69.

[28] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 18.

[29] Dionys. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 9. *Τραπέζῃ παραστάντα*, &c.

[30] Dionys. Epist. Canon. can. 2.

[31] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 7. c. 9.

[32] Conc. Turon. 2. can. 4. Ad orandum et communicandum laicis et fœminis, sicut mos est, pateant sancta sanctorum.

[33] Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. t. 1. p. 847.

[34] Synes. Ep. 67. ad Theophil. p. 240.

[35] Evagr. lib. 6. c. 21.

[36] Chrysost. Homil. 3. in Ephes. p. 1052. *Ὅταν ἴδῃς ἀνελκόμενα τὰ ἀμφίθυρα*, &c.

[37] Paulin. Natal. Felic. 3. Aurea nunc niveis ornantur limina velis. Id. Natal. 6. Pulchra tegendis vela ferant foribus.

[38] Hieron. Epitaph. Nepotian. Erat sollicitus, si niteret altare, si parietes absque fuligine, si pavimenta tersa, si janitor creber in porta, vela semper in ostiis, &c.

of the church of Anablatha in Palestine, says,[39] he found a veil hanging before the doors of the church, which he tore in pieces, not because it was a veil, but because it had the image of Christ or some saint painted on it, which was contrary to the rules of the Christian church. He therefore ordered the guardians of the church to bury some poor man in it, and sent them at his own expense another plain one in its stead. There were also veils between the pillars of the *hyperoa*, or women's galleries, to be drawn in time of the oblation, as Du Fresne[40] has observed out of Paulus Silentiarius, and Amphilochius in the Life of St. Basil. And some others of like nature will easily be observed by a curious reader.

Sect. 9. The highest part of the chancel called *apsis*, *exedra*, or *conchula bematis*.

At the upper end of the chancel was commonly a semicircular building, which, from the figure and position of it, is by some authors called *apsis*, and *exedra*, and *conchula bematis*. For these are words that signify any arched or spherical building, like the canopy of heaven, to which St. Jerom applies the name of *apsis*.[41] It was called *concha*, because in figure it resembled something the fashion of a shell, as Du Fresne shows out of Procopius, and Paulus Silentiarius, and Paulinus, and other writers. Du Fresne[42] thinks it is also called *exedra* by St. Austin, who says the conference between the catholics and Emeritus the Donatist bishop was held in the *exedra* of the church; which he interprets, the place where the bishops and presbyters had their usual residence, in the upper end of the *bema*, beyond the altar. But Valesius[43] and other learned men take *exedra* here in the common sense for one of the outer buildings of the church. And it is not easy to determine so nice a controversy between them.

Sect. 10. This anciently the place of the thrones of the bishop and his presbyters.

However, this is certain, that the bishop's throne, with the thrones of his presbyters on each side of it, were always fixed in this part of the church, in a semicircle above the altar. For, anciently, the seats of the bishop and presbyters were joined together, and all called thrones, as is evident from Eusebius his description of the temple of Paulinus, who says,[44] he adorned it with thrones set on high for the honour of the presidents or rulers of the people; that is, the bishop and presbyters together. Hence it is that Nazianzen, speaking of the presbyters[45] as the rulers of the people, and venerable senate of the church, calls their seats the second thrones. Constantine, in his letter to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse, summoning him to the council of Arles, uses the same phrase, bidding[46] him bring with him two of the second throne, that is, two presbyters. I know, indeed, Carolus a Sancto Paulo[47] by those of the second throne understands bishops, in opposition to primates or metropolitans, which he reckons to be those of the first throne. But the use of the phrase both in Eusebius and Nazianzen[48] leads us rather to believe that he meant presbyters, who sat with their bishop in the church upon thrones, as they style them, of the second order. For this, as I have had occasion to show in another place,[49] was the difference between them, that the bishop's was generally termed the high throne, and the presbyters' the second throne; or, as Athanasius[50] calls them, the throne, and the joint chairs or seats of the presbyters. The bishop's throne was otherwise called βῆμα, the tribunal, as we may see in Eusebius,[51] where he relates the censure of the council of Antioch, passed on Paulus Samosatensis, for erecting his throne or tribunal too stately, with a veil or *secretum* to it, in imitation of the tribunals of secular judges, which they did not allow of in the Christian church: and hence the whole chancel was sometimes called the *bema*, as I have showed before. The Latins more commonly use the names of *sedes* and *cathedra* for a bishop's throne, whence come our English names of cathedral and see, for a church where the bishop's chair or seat is fixed. The manner of their sitting is noted by Gregory Nazianzen in his description of the church of Anastasia, where he speaks of himself as bishop[52] sitting upon the high throne, and the presbyters on lower benches on both sides about him. And so it is described by the author of the Constitutions,[53] and Theodoret,[54] who calls the bishop's throne the middle seat upon this account. And there are some learned persons[55] who suppose all this to be done in imitation of the Jewish synagogues, in

[39] Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hierosolym. Inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesiæ, &c.

[40] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 551.

[41] Hieron. lib. 2. in Ephes. c. 4. p. 223. In summo cœli fornice, et ut ipso verbo utar, apside.

[42] Aug. de Gestis cum Emerito. t. 7. p. 250. Cum deuterius episcopus metropolitanus——una cum cæteris episcopis in exedram processissent, præsentibus presbyteris et diaconis et universo clero, ac frequentissima plebe, &c. Vid. Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 565.

[43] Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vita Const. lib. 3. c. 50.

[44] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. *Θρόνοις τοῖς ἀνοτάτω εἰς τὴν τῶν προέδρων τιμὴν*, &c.

[45] Naz. Carm. Iambic. 23. *Πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὰ δεύτερα θρόνων λελογχότες, λαοῦ προεδροὶ πρεσβύται, σεμνὴ γερουσία.*

[46] Ap. Euseb. lib. 10. c. 5. *Δυὸ γέ τινας ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου.*

[47] Carol. a S. Paulo, Geograph. Sacr. p. 47.

[48] Vid. Naz. Carm. de Vita Sua. It. Somnium de Templo Anastas.

[49] Book II. chap. 9. n. 7. Book II. chap. 19. n. 5.

[50] Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. t. 1. p. 847. *Θρόνον καὶ συμψέλλια.*

[51] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.

[52] Nazian. Somn. Anastas. t. 2. p. 78. *Ἐζέσθαι δοκεέσκον ὑπέρθρονος,—οἱ δέ μοὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὑφεδριόωντο γεραῖσι ποίμνης ἡγεμόνες*, &c.

[53] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. [54] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 3.

[55] See Bishop Hooper, Disc. of Lent, par. 2. chap. 6. p. 249.

which, according to Maimonides, at the upper end looking toward the Holy Land, the law was placed in the wall in an arch, and on each side the elders were seated in a semicircle. The bishop's seat was usually covered with some decent covering, suitable to the dignity of his office and person. As we learn from Athanasius in his second apology[56] to Constantius, where he asks, how they could have any concern for the throne episcopally covered, who sought to kill the bishop that sat thereon. And St. Austin[57] seems plainly to allude to this, when he tells Maximinus, the Donatist bishop, that when bishops came to stand before the tribunal of Christ at the last judgment, they themselves would then have no tribunals, no lofty seats or covered chairs, though such honours were exhibited to them for a time in this world, for the benefit and advantage of the church.

Sect. 11. And of the altar or communion table.

This doubtless was the posture anciently of the thrones of the bishop and presbyters in the Christian church, as they are represented in the several models of the primitive structures. From which it will be easy to observe further, that the place of the communion table or altar was not close to the wall at the upper end, but at some little distance from it; so as that the bishop's throne might be behind it, and room enough left in a void space to encompass or surround the altar. This seems pretty plain from an expression in Synesius,[58] who, speaking of his being forced to take sanctuary, says, he would fly into the church, and encompass the altar. Which implies, that it was set in such manner, as that he might go round it. And this is the meaning of Eusebius, when, having first spoken of the thrones of the bishop and presbyters in the church of Paulinus, he then adds, that he set[59] the holy of holies, the altar, in the middle. Which is not to be interpreted, as some have misunderstood it, of the altar's being placed in the middle of the nave or body of the church, but in the middle of the *bema*, or sanctuary, at such a distance from the upper end, as that the *synthronus*, the seats of the bishop and presbyters, might be behind it. St. Austin seems to refer to the same thing, when he says, The table of the Lord[60] stood in the middle. And in the council of Constantinople under Mennas[61] it is represented in such a posture, as that it might be encompassed round. For it is said, when the names of Pope Leo and some others, which had been struck out of the diptychs, were inserted again, the people for joy at the time when the diptychs were read, after the repetition of the creed, ran round about the altar for to hear them. Dr. Hamond[62] and some other learned men think, not improbably, that this posture of the altar in Christian churches was something in imitation of the altar in the Jewish temple, to which the psalmist alludes, when he says, "I will wash my hands in innocency: and so will I compass thine altar," Psal. xxvi. 6: from whence they suppose the phrase *περικυκλοῦν θυσιαςήριον*, compassing the altar, in the ancient rituals to be taken.

Sect. 12. Both these names indifferently used in the primitive church.

Great dispute has been raised in the last age about the name of the communion table, whether it was to be called the holy table, or an altar. And indeed any thing will afford matter of controversy to men in a disputing age; but we never read of any such dispute in the primitive church. For the ancient writers used both names indifferently; some calling it altar, others, the Lord's table, the holy table, the mystical table, the tremendous table, &c., and sometimes both table and altar in the same sentence together. Mr. Mede thinks it was usually called altar for the two first ages, and that the name table[63] is not to be found in any author of those ages now remaining. Ignatius uses only the name[64] *θυσιαστήριον*, altar, in his genuine epistles, three of which are alleged by Mr. Mede, to which the reader may add another testimony out of his epistle[65] to the Magnesians, where he uses both the name temple and altar. Irenæus[66] and Origen[67] use the same name, when they speak of the communion table. Tertullian frequently applies to it the name of *ara Dei* and *altare*. Will not your station or fast, says he,[68] be more solemn, if you stand at the altar of God? that is, receive the communion on a fast-day? So also in his book[69] ad Uxorem and de Castitate.[70] But they are led into an error by the

[56] Athan. Apol. 2. t. 1. p. 736. Πῶς οἱ θρόνον τὸν ἐστολισμένον ἐπισκοπικῶς ὀδυρόμενοι, τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ καθήμενον ἐπίσκοπον ἀνελεῖν ζητοῦσιν.

[57] Aug. Ep. 203. In futuro Christi judicio nec apsidæ gradatæ, nec cathedræ velatæ——quæ pro tempore propter ecclesiæ utilitatem honori nostro exhibentur.

[58] Synes. Catastasis. p. 303. Κυκλώσομαι τὸ θυσιαστήριον, &c.

[59] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. Τὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον ἐν μέσῳ θείς.

[60] Aug. Serm. 46. de Verbis Domini, t. 10. p. 68. Christus quotidie pascit. Mensa ipsius est illa in medio constituta.

[61] Conc. Constantinop. act. 5. Conc. t. 5. p. 185. Τοῦ ἁγίου μαθήματος κατὰ τὸ συνηθὲς λεχθέντος, καιρῷ τῶν διπτύχων συνέδραμον ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος κύκλῳ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

[62] Hamond. cont. Blondel, Dissert. 1. c. 13. n. 8.

[63] Mede, Disc. of Altars, p. 386.

[64] Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. n. 5. Ep. ad Trallian. n. 7. Ep. ad. Philad. n. 4.

[65] Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. 7.

[66] Irenæ. lib. 4. c. 34. Nos quoque offerre vult munus frequenter ad altare, &c.

[67] Origen. Hom. 10. in Num. t. 1. p. 207.

[68] Tertul. de Orat. c. 14. Nonne solennior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris.

[69] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 1. c. 7.

[70] Tertul. de Exhort. Castit. c. 10.

corrupt edition of Rhenanus, who cite his book de Pœnitentia for the same thing; for though in that edition we find mention made[71] of kneeling at the altar, *aris Dei adgeniculari;* yet better editions since teach us to read it more truly, *charis Dei adgeniculari*, kneeling down to the beloved of God; alluding to the custom of the penitents falling down at the church doors, to beg the prayers of the faithful as they went in. Cyprian, the disciple of Tertullian, sometimes uses both names, table and altar, as when he says, Those words of Solomon, Prov. ix. 2, "Wisdom hath furnished her table," &c., typified the Christian[72] altar. But more commonly he uses the name altar alone,[73] which argues that to have been at least a very usual name in his time in the African and Latin churches. Mr. Mede cites also Zeno Veronensis as an author of the third century, contemporary with Cyprian, who is indeed one that speaks plain enough both of the *cancelli*[74] and the altar; but now learned men[75] are agreed to thrust him down a whole century lower, so that he is not a competent witness for the third age, but he may serve for the fourth, in which age, one may venture to say, there is scarce an author that speaks of the Lord's table, but he also calls it altar. On the other hand, it is certain they did not mean by the altar, what the Jews and heathens meant; either an altar dressed up with images, that is, idol-gods, as the heathens commonly had theirs adorned, or an altar for bloody sacrifices, which was the use of them both among Jews and Gentiles.

Sect. 13. In what sense the ancients say, they had no altars.

In the first sense they always rejected altars, both name and thing. For their altars had no images either above, or about, or upon them, as the heathen altars always had. And upon that account the ancient apologists, Origen,[76] Minucius Felix,[77] Arnobius,[78] and Lactantius,[79] when the heathens object to them, that they had no altars, roundly and freely confess it in the sense that the objection was made; that is, that they had no altars furnished with idol-gods, and fitted for idol-worship, such as the heathen pleaded for. In like manner they denied that they had any altars in the Jewish sense, for offering bloody sacrifices upon: but for their own mystical unbloody sacrifice, as they called the eucharist, they always owned they had an altar, which they scrupled not to term indifferently *ϑυσιαστήριον*, *ara*, *altare*, and sometimes *βωμὸς*: for though Mr. Mede thinks they never used that name, yet it appears that, with the addition of *ἀναίμακτος*, they sometimes did; for Synesius,[80] speaking of the holy table, expressly styles it *ἀναίμακτον βωμὸν*, the unbloody altar.

Sect. 14. Of the names, holy table, mystical table, &c.

Yet these same authors, to distinguish their notion more exactly, commonly use the name table for the altar, with the addition of some singular epithet, implying the peculiar use of it in the Christian church. In Chrysostom,[81] it is most usually termed *τράπεζα μυστική*, and *φρικτή*, the mystical and tremendous table; sometimes the spiritual, Divine, royal, immortal, heavenly table; of which the reader may find instances enough collected by Suicerus[82] out of that author. St. Austin[83] usually gives it the name of *mensa Domini*, the Lord's table; whence *mensa Cypriani* in that author, signifies either[84] the altar, or the church, erected in the place of St. Cyprian's martyrdom. It were easy to add a thousand other testimonies out of Athanasius, Synesius, Socrates, Sozomen, Paulinus, and the rest of that age, where the altar is called the holy table, to signify to us their notion of the Christian sacrifice and altar at once, that it was mystical and spiritual, and had no relation either to the bloody sacrifices of the Jews, or the more absurd idolatries of the Gentiles, but served only for the service of the eucharist and oblations of the people.

Sect. 15. Altars generally made of wood till the time of Constantine.

If any is desirous to know the matter and form of the ancient altars or tables; St. Austin will inform him, that they were of wood in his time in the African churches. For speaking of a great outrage committed by the Donatists against a catholic bishop, whilst he stood ministering at the altar, he says, They beat him cruelly with clubs and such like weapons, and at last[85] with the broken pieces of the timber of the altar. This is further confirmed by the testimony of Optatus, who, objecting to the Donatists their sacrilegious abuse of the catholic altars, says, They broke them[86] in pieces in such places, as would afford them plenty of wood to make new ones

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71 Tertul. de Pœnitent. c. 9.

72 Cypr. Ep. 63. ad Cæcil. It. Testimon. adv. Judæos, lib. 2. c. 2.

73 Vid. Cypr. Ep. 40, 42, 55, 64, 70.

74 Zeno, Serm. 9. ad Neophyt. Ecclesia sacri altaris fœliciter enutrita cancellis.

75 Cave, Hist. Literar. p. 176.

76 Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 8. p. 389. Ἡμᾶς βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεὼς ἱδρυσθαι φεύγειν.

77 Minuc. Octav. Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra?

78 Arnob. cont. Gentes, lib. 6. Non altaria fabricemus, non aras.

79 Lactant. lib. 2. c. 2. Quid sibi templa, quid aræ volunt, &c.

80 Synes. Catastatis, p. 303.

81 Chrysost. Hom. 21. Quod oportet hæreses esse, t. 5. p. 313. It. Hom. 39. de Pentecost. p. 553.

82 Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce Τράπεζα.

83 Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. Hom. 26. de Verbis Domini.

84 Hom. 26. ex editis a Sirmondo, ad Mensam Cypriani.

85 Aug. Ep. 50. ad Bonifac. p. 84. Stantem ad altare, fustibus et hujusmodi telis, lignis denique ejusdem altaris effractis, immaniter ceciderunt.

86 Optat. lib. 6. p. 94. Alio loco copia lignorum frangi jussit; alio, ut altaria raderent, lignorum inopia imperavit.

of; but in places where there was a scarcity of wood, they contented themselves with scraping or shaving them by way of pretended expiation. Nay, the workmen who wrought in this egregious service, had wine given them, heated with fires made of the fragments of the altars. Athanasius has likewise occasion to tell us, their communion tables were of wood, in a parallel story upon the Arians, who, in one of their mad humours, as he complains, went into a church, and took the throne and seats of the presbyters, and the table, which was of wood,[87] and the veils, and whatever other combustible matter they could find, and carried them out and burned them. So that there is no question to be made, but that about this time the altars were only tables of wood in Africa and Egypt, as these testimonies plainly imply. Bona[88] thinks they had stone altars before, even in times of persecution, but he offers no proof but his own opinion. Yet it is generally thought, by Hospinian[89] and other learned men, that they began to come in from the time of Constantine, together with the stateliness and magnificence of churches. The Pontifical speaks of silver altars dedicated by Constantine: and Gerson and others, alleged by Hospinian, make Pope Sylvester, who lived in the time of Constantine, to be the author of a decree, that all altars should be of stone: but these authorities are of no weight, and the stories contradict one another. What is certain in the case is this: that about the time of Gregory Nyssen, altars in some places began to be of stone; for he, in his discourse of baptism, speaks of a stone altar. This altar, says he, whereat we stand[90] is by nature only common stone, nothing different from other stones, whereof our walls are made and our pavements adorned: but after it is consecrated and dedicated to the service of God, it becomes a holy table, an immaculate altar, which may not be promiscuously touched by all, but only by the priests in time of Divine service. In the next age, in France, we find a general decree made in the council of Epone,[91] anno 509, that no altars should be consecrated, but such as were made of stone only. And this seems to be the first public act of this nature, that we have upon authentic record in ancient history. And from the time of this change in the matter of them, the form or fashion of them changed likewise. For whereas before they were in the form of tables, they now began to be erected more like altars, either upon a single foot or pillar in the midst, or upon an edifice erected like a tomb, as if it were some monument of a martyr, as Bona tells us there are some such now to be seen in the catacombs of Rome[92] and other places.

Sect. 18. But one altar anciently in a church.

It will perhaps be something more material to remark here, that anciently there was never above one altar in a church. One bishop and one altar[93] in a church, is the known aphorism of Ignatius. And Eusebius is supposed upon this account to call the altar in the church of Paulinus at Tyre, μονογενὲς θυσιαστήριον, the single altar,[94] as Habertus truly observes upon it, who ingenuously confesses, that it has ever been the constant custom of the Greek churches to have but one altar in a temple; in confirmation of which he cites Athanasius, Nazianzen, Synesius, Socrates, Theodoret, Evagrius, and many others. Cardinal Bona also owns,[95] he could find no footsteps of the contrary practice till the time of Gregory the Great, and then only in the Latin church. For the Greeks have always kept to the ancient custom. He thinks indeed the contrary custom was in the Latin church of old, but he only shows his willingness to believe it without proof; and Schelstrate[96] very justly censures him for it, showing out of Optatus and St. Austin, that the Latins, as well as the Greeks, had then but one altar in a church. For Optatus[97] speaks of the altar of Cyprian's church, as one only and no more, both in the time of Cyprian and afterward, and thence concludes that the Donatists were schismatics, because they went from Cyprian's altar, and set up another altar against it. And St. Austin argues against them[98] upon the same foundation, that there ought not to be two episcopal altars in one city. This supposes then but one altar in a church among the Latins, as well as the Greeks; and so Christianus Lupus[99] and Pagi,[100] the learned corrector of Baronius, affirm it to have been the constant practice of the primitive church. Though now (to see what improvement has been made in later ages) there are no less than twenty-five altars, besides the great altar, in St. Peter's church at Rome: and the great altar itself is no less than twenty-five feet square, with a cross

—Ibid. Calida de fragmentis altarium facta est. Vid. p. 95. ibid.

[87] Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. Vitam agentes, t. 1. p. 847. Ἁρπάσαντες τὰ συμψέλλια, καὶ θρόνον, καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν, ξυλίνη γὰρ ἦν, &c.

[88] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 20. n. 1.

[89] Hospin. de Templis, lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 34.

[90] Nyssen. de Baptismo Christi, t. 3. p. 369.

[91] Conc. Epaunens. can. 26. Altaria, nisi lapidea, infusione chrismatis non sacrentur.

[92] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 20. n. 1.

[93] Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelp. n. 4. Ἓν θυσιαστήριον πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ εἷς ἐπίσκοπος. Vid. Ep. ad Magnes. n. 7.

[94] Habert. Archierat. p. 661. ex Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4.

[95] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 14. n. 3.

[96] Schelstrat. Concilium Antiochen. p. 193.

[97] Optat. lib. 1. p. 42. Erat cathedra episcopalis, erat altare loco suo, in quo pacifici episcopi retro temporis obtulerunt, Cyprianus, Lucianus et cæteri. Sic exitum est foras, et altare contra altare erectum est.

[98] Aug. Hom. 3. in 1 Johan. Si in unitate sumus, quid faciunt in hac civitate duo altaria?

[99] Lupus Concil. t. 3. Respons. ad Michael. Cerular.

[100] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 313. n. 15.

of twenty-five inches long upon it, as Dr. Potter observes out of Onuphrius, and Angelus Roccha, in his ingenious book[101] of the number six hundred sixty-six.

Sect. 17. And sometimes but one in a city, though several churches, according to some authors.

Some improve this observation, of one altar in a church, a little further, and think that anciently there was but one altar in a whole city, or diocese and country region belonging to a bishop; though there might be many lesser churches, as there were many synagogues among the Jews, though but one temple and one altar. Mr. Mede[102] is of opinion, that it was so when Justin Martyr wrote his Second Apology, because of those words of his, On Sundays all that live in the towns or in the country meet together in one place for the celebration of the eucharist. And he concludes the same from several of Cyprian's epistles,[103] where bishop and altar are made correlatives. Christianus Lupus and Pagi seem to think[104] it continued the custom within the walls of Rome to the time of Pope Innocent I. For he seems to say in one of his epistles,[105] that the presbyters of the several *tituli* or lesser churches within the city had the sacrament sent to them every Sunday from the bishop's altar: but the presbyters of the cemeteries, or churches without the walls, had liberty to consecrate the eucharist in them, because the sacraments were not to be carried to places at too great a distance. But Dr. Maurice[106] and other learned men think the Roman *tituli* had always communion tables, and the communion administered in them from the beginning, only the consecrated bread was sent to them from the oblations made at the bishop's altar. For the oblations, they think, at first were only made at the bishop's altar, and always blessed at the bishop's altar, though not always consecrated there. Upon which account the name of altar might be appropriated to that of the bishop's church. I shall not pretend to make any judgment or decision in this dispute, being a matter involved in great obscurity, but leave the reader to judge for himself: Dr. Hamond heretofore passed the same censure on it,[107] thinking it too dark a point to be over-boldly determined. All I shall say further upon it is only this, that it makes nothing for the congregational way, (as some pretend,) though it were certain there was but one altar in a diocese at the first. For there might notwithstanding be many churches. Or if there was but one church in a diocese, while the number of believers was very small; yet it does not follow that there ought to be no more, when their number so increased in any city or territory, that one church would not contain them.

Sect. 18. Of the ciborium or canopy of the altar.

But I return to the business in hand. In some of the more stately churches, as that of Sancta Sophia, the altar was overshadowed with a sort of canopy, which, from the fashion of it, is termed by Paulus Silentiarius[108] πύργος, the turret; by others,[109] *umbraculum;* but among the Greeks most commonly, κιβώριον, which Durantus[110] and other modern ritualists usually mistake for the *pyxis*, where the host is kept; but Du Fresne[111] shows it to have been anciently quite another thing, viz. an ornamental canopy hanging over the altar. This was raised in the form of a little turret upon four pillars at each corner of the altar. The heads of the pillars were adorned with silver bowls, which was a usual ornament in those days, as is evident from the description which Eusebius[112] gives of the twelve pillars in Constantine's church at Jerusalem. The top of it was in the form of a sphere, adorned with graven flowers, whence it has sometimes the name of *sphæra*, *lilia*, and *malum*. Above the sphere stood the cross, as Paulus Silentiarius[113] represents it. And the several arches below between the pillars were hanged with veils or curtains, called, as some others, ἀμφίθυρα, which served also to cover or conceal the whole altar. I have been the more particular in describing this ornamental structure about the altar after Du Fresne, because the common ritualists so generally apply the name *ciborium* only to their pyx, whereas in the most ancient writers it signifies this beautiful fabric about the altar.

Sect. 19. Of the *peristerion*, or *columbæ*.

In some places, after images and pictures began to be allowed in churches, the Holy Ghost was represented in the effigies of a silver dove hovering over the altar; and their baptisteries had the same, as we learn from the complaint against Severus, bishop of Antioch, in the council of Constantinople under Men-

[101] Vid. Synops. Criticor. in Apocal. xiii. 18.

[102] Mede, Disc. of Churches, p. 326.

[103] Cyprian. Ep. 40, 72, 73.

[104] Pagi, Crit. in Baron. an. 313. n. 15.

[105] Innocent. I. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 5. De fermento, quod die Dominica per titulos mittimus, superflue nos consulere voluisti, cum omnes ecclesiæ nostræ intra civitatem sunt constitutæ. Quarum presbyteri, quia die ipso propter plebem sibi creditam, nobiscum convenire non possunt, idcirco fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt, ut se a nostra communione, maxime illa die, non judicent separatos. Quod per parochias fieri debere non puto, quia non longe portanda sunt sacramenta. Nec nos per cœmiteria diversa constitutis presbyteris destinamus, sed presbyteri eorum conficiendorum jus habent atque licentiam.

[106] Maurice, Dioces. Episc. p. 38. Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 23. n. 9, differs in this, that he thinks every church had her own oblations and the eucharist consecrated out of them.

[107] Hamond. Dissert. cont. Blondel. 3. c. 8. n. 15. In re incomperta non est audacter nimis pronunciandum.

[108] Paul. Silent. par. 2. ver. 303. [109] Ordo Romanus.

[110] Durant. de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 16.

[111] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silent. p. 569.

[112] Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 38.

[113] Paul. Silent. ibid. Ὑψόθι δ' αὐτοῦ σταυρὸς ὑπερτέλλων ἀναφαίνεται.

nas, anno 536, where he is accused for diverting[114] to his own use, among other treasures of the church, the silver and golden doves that hanged over the baptistery and the altar, as types or symbols of the Holy Ghost. And this, I think, is the first time we meet with any thing of this kind. For no credit is to be given to the author of the Life of St. Basil, under the name of Amphilochius, when he says, St. Basil was used to reserve the eucharist in one of these silver doves; because he is known to be a spurious writer. However, when the thing came to be in use, the place over the altar where it hanged, was called *peristerion*, from περιστερὰ, the Greek name for a dove, as Du Fresne and others have observed. If it be inquired where the eucharist was reserved according to ancient custom; I answer, in times of persecution the priests seem to have had it[115] in their own private custody at home, as may be collected from an epistle of Dionysius in Eusebius, where he relates how Serapion had the eucharist sent him in the night by a boy, the presbyter being sick and not able to attend upon him. At other times it was kept in one of the *pastophoria*, which were certainly places distinct from the altar. For so the author of the Constitutions[116] plainly informs us. In process of time it came to be kept at the altar, either in those silver doves we have been speaking of, or in an ark or pyx at the foot of the cross, which by some canons is ordered to be placed upon the altar. For in the second council of Tours, anno 567, a decree was made,[117] that the eucharist should not be kept in the *armarium*, but under the figure of the cross upon the altar. And so in process of time the pyx took the name of *ciborium*, which originally is an Egyptian name for the husk of a bean, as Suicerus[118] notes out of Hesychius, and thence used by the Greeks to signify a large cup or bowl, broad at the bottom and narrow at the top, and from that resemblance perhaps it came also to be the name of this turret or spiral structure about the altar.

Sect. 20. When first the figure of the cross set upon the altar.

From the forementioned canon of the council of Tours it is plain, that in the French churches the figure of the cross was another part of the ornament of the altar, since the eucharist, or sacramental body of Christ, is ordered to be laid under it. But when crosses came first to be set up in churches is not so easy to be determined. That they were not in use for the three first ages, seems evident enough from the silence of all the writers of those times, and from Eusebius, who has frequent occasion to describe minutely the churches of Constantine and others, but never once mentions a cross erected in them, though he speaks frequently of crosses set up in other public places, as a learned writer[119] has judiciously observed out of him, who thinks they began not to be set up in churches till after the year 340. Chrysostom[120] speaks of the sign of the cross as used at the Lord's table, in the consecration of priests and celebration of the eucharist; but that seems to be meant of the transient sign made in the forehead, (which St. Austin[121] and the author of the Constitutions[122] speak of likewise,) and not of any material cross set upon the altar. But Sozomen[123] speaks of material crosses lying upon the altar; though not in the time of Constantine, (as Gretser[124] mistakes, whose error is justly corrected by Valesius,) but in his own time. And after him Evagrius speaks of silver crosses given by Chosroes[125] to one of the churches of Constantinople to be fixed upon the altar. So that the original of this custom is not to be deduced from Constantine, as many suppose, but from the following ages of the church.

Sect. 21. Of some other ornaments and utensils of the altar.

But it is more certain that the altars were always covered with some decent cloth, used for ornament, not for mystery, as in after ages. Optatus, pleading against the Donatists, that the altars could not be polluted by the catholics touching them, (as the Donatists vainly pretended,) uses this argument to confute them, that if any thing was polluted, it must be the coverings, and not the tables; for every one knew that the tables[126] were covered with a linen cloth in time of Divine service: so that while the sacrament was administering, the covering might be touched, but not the table. And for this reason they pretended to wash the palls (as he calls them in another place) in order to give them an expiation.[127] Victor Uticensis makes a like complaint of one Proculus, an agent of King Geisericus, who, having plundered the catholic churches in Zeugitana, made himself a shirt and

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[114] Conc. Const. Act. 5. t. 5. p. 159.

[115] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 44.

[116] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. lib. 8. c. 13.

[117] Conc. Turon. 2. can. 3. Ut corpus Domini in altari, non in armario, sed sub crucis titulo componatur. So it is read in Crab's edition. But others, instead of armario, read it, in imaginario ordine, and explain it by ciborium. See Du Fresne, p. 575.

[118] Suicer. Thesaur. voce Κιβώριον.

[119] Dallæus de Cultu Relig. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 773.

[120] Chrysost. Demonstrat. Quod Christus sit Deus, c. 9. t. 5. p. 840.

[121] Aug. Hom. 118. in Joh. Quid est signum Christi nisi crux Christi? Quod signum nisi adhibeatur sive frontibus credentium, sive ipsi aquæ ex qua regenerantur, sive oleo quo chrismate unguntur, sive sacrificio quo aluntur; nihil horum rite perficitur.

[122] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 12.

[123] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 3, says of one Probianus, that he saw in a vision, σταυροῦ σύμβολον τῶν ἀνακειμένων τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ.

[124] Gretser. de Cruce, lib. 2. c. 13. [125] Evagr. lib. 6. c. 21.

[126] Optat. lib. 6. p. 95. Quis fidelium nescit in peragendis mysteriis ipsa ligna linteamine cooperiri? Inter ipsa sacramenta velamen potuit tangi, non lignum.

[127] Optat. ibid. p. 98. Lavistis proculdubio pallas, &c.

breeches of the palls of the altar.[128] Isidore of Pelusium takes notice also of the *sindon*,[129] or fine linen, upon which the body of Christ was consecrated. But sometimes they were of richer materials, and more sumptuous. Palladius[130] speaks of some of the Roman ladies, who, renouncing the world, bequeathed their silks to make coverings for the altar. And Theodoret[131] says of Constantine, that, among other gifts which he bestowed upon his new-built church of Jerusalem, he gave *βασιλικὰ παραπετάσματα*, a royal pall, or piece of rich tapestry for the altar. But that may signify the curtains or hangings of the *ciborium*, as well as the covering of the altar; and so every utensil or ornament about the altar may be supposed to be rich and splendid in such churches as were of a royal foundation. The holy vessels which they made use of to administer the eucharist in, were another part of the ornament of the altar. But the richness of these was not always estimated from the materials they were made of, but from the use they were put to. For the materials were sometimes no better than plain glass or wood. Irenæus,[132] and Epiphanius after him,[133] speaking of Marcus, the father of the Marcosian heretics, say, he used a glass cup in the celebration of the eucharist: which is not noted as any singular thing in him; for both Baronius[134] and Bona[135] think it was then the common custom of the church. And it is evident it continued in some places to the time of St. Jerom. For he, speaking of Exuperius, bishop of Tholouse, and commending his frugality, tells us[136] that he ministered the body of Christ in a basket of osiers, and the blood in a glass cup. Baronius and Bona will furnish the reader with a great many other instances to the same purpose. I shall only add, that in one of our own synods here in England, the synod of Calcuth, anno 787, there is a canon[137] which forbids the use of horn cups in the celebration of the eucharist; which seems to imply that they were in use before. But yet I must note, that it was commonly necessity that drove the church to use vessels of such ordinary materials; either when she laboured under extreme poverty, or thought fit to dispose of her silver and gold plate for the redemption of captives, or the relief of the poor, of which I have given a great many instances in another place,[138] which show that the church had her vessels of silver and gold, else she could not have melted them down for such pious uses. Nay, even in times of persecution, when there was some danger of being plundered and despoiled, the wealthier churches had their sacred vessels of silver and gold. This is evident, from what Prudentius observes in the Roman church in the time of Laurentius the martyr, who suffered in the persecution of Valerian. It was part of his crime, that he would not deliver up the golden plate,[139] in which they were used to celebrate their sacred mysteries. And that we may not think he spake only with a poetical flourish, we may see the same thing observed by Optatus of the church of Carthage, in the Diocletian persecution. For when Mensurius the bishop was forced to go to Rome, to have his trial there, he was at some loss[140] what to do with the plate and other silver and gold ornaments of the church, which he could neither hide in the earth, nor carry with him. At last he comes to this resolution, to leave them with the elders of the church, first taking an inventory of them, which he gave to a deaconess, with these instructions, that if he never returned, she should, when times of peace returned, give it to the person whom she found seated on the bishop's throne. Which she did as soon as Cæcilian was chosen bishop, who, calling upon the elders to deliver up their trust, they, having embezzled the things, denied that ever they had received them; and to be revenged of Cæcilian, they joined with his antagonists, Botrus and Celeusius, who were competitors with Cæcilian for the bishopric, and the first authors of the schism of the Donatists. What this inventory contained we may judge by another about the same time given up to the persecutors by Paul, bishop of Cirta, who was one of those called traditors upon that account. There we find two[141] gold cups, six silver cups, six silver water-pots, a silver *cucumellum*, which I take to be a flagon or bowl, seven silver lamps, &c. All which were vessels or utensils belonging to the service of the church and the altar. For as they had vessels for the wine, so they had vessels also for the water, which in those days was always mingled with the wine, and was used also for washing their hands in the time of the ob-

128 Victor. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 1. p. 593. De pallis altaris, proh nefas! camisias sibi et femoralia faciebat. Qui tamen Proculus frustatim sibi comedens linguam, in brevi turpissima consumptus est morte.

129 Isidor. Pelus. lib. 1. Ep. 123.

130 Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 119.

131 Theodor. lib. 1. c. 31.

132 Irenæ. lib. 1. c. 9.

133 Epiphan. Hær. 34. num. 1.

134 Baron. an. 216.

135 Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 1.

136 Hieron. Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro.

137 Synod. Calchuthens. c. 10. apud Spelman. Conc. Brit. t. 1. p. 291.

138 Book V. chap. 6. sect. 6.

139 Prudent. περὶ στεφανῶν, Hymn. 2. Hunc esse vestris orgiis moremque et artem proditum est, Hanc disciplinam fœderis, libent ut auro antistites. Argenteis Scyphis ferunt fumare sacrum sanguinem, &c.

140 Optat. lib. 1. p. 41. Erant ecclesiæ ex auro et argento quamplurima ornamenta, quæ nec defodere terræ, nec secum portare poterat.

141 Gesta Purgation. Cæciliani ad calcem Optati, p. 266. Calices duo aurei: item calices sex argentei: urceola sex argentea: cucumellum argenteum: lucernæ argenteæ septem: cereofala duo, &c.

lation, of which customs it will be more proper to speak in another place. These vessels we here see were of silver in the church of Cirta as well as others. Their candlesticks or lamps were of the like precious substance, and some golden, as Prudentius[142] represents them, when he brings in the tyrant demanding of Laurentius, the Roman deacon, the golden lamps which they used in their night assemblies. These are frequently mentioned by Athanasius,[143] and the Apostolical Constitutions,[144] which allow oil to be offered for the lamps. Paulinus also[145] and St. Jerom[146] speak of them, and seem to intimate that in their time they were lighted by day as well as by night: which was an innovation upon the old custom: for the first and primitive use of them was owing to necessity, when Christians were forced to meet in nocturnal assemblies for fear of persecution. At which time they did not allow or approve of lighting them by day. Nor does St. Jerom say, there was any order of the church, or so much as general custom, to authorize it; but only it was tolerated in some places, to satisfy the ignorance, and weakness, and simplicity of some secular men: and all he pretends to offer in justification of it, is only, that there was no idolatry in it, as Vigilantius had heavily laid the charge upon it. However, there was this difference between the age of St. Jerom and those which went before, that the former ages positively condemn it. For not to mention what Lactantius[147] and others say to expose the like custom among the heathens, the council of Eliberis expressly forbids it in a very plain canon,[148] though the reason be something dark that is given for the prohibition: Let no one presume to set up lights in the day-time in any cemetery or church; for the spirits of the saints are not to be molested. I shall not now stand to inquire into the meaning of this reason: it is sufficient that the thing was then prohibited in plain terms: from whence it is evident the contrary custom must be new, though prevailing both in the East and West in the time of Paulinus and St. Jerom. Some also plead hard for the antiquity of censers and incense, deriving them down from apostolical custom and practice. So Cardinal Bona[149] and others of the Romish church. But there are no footsteps of these things in the three first ages of the church. The Canons under the name of the Apostles indeed[150] mention incense in the time of the oblation. But it still remains a question, whether those Canons belong to any of the three first ages. Hippolytus Portuensis is another author produced by a learned person[151] of our own church in this cause. But besides that his authority is as questionable as the former, all that he says may be interpreted to a spiritual or figurative sense. For speaking of the times of antichrist, and the desolations of the church in those days, he says, The church shall mourn with a very great mourning, because her oblation and incense is not duly[152] performed. Which may mean no more than that the liturgy or service of the church will be abolished. For the prayers and worship of the saints are called the Christian incense, Rev. v. 8; and so I think we are to understand those words of St. Ambrose also,[153] who, speaking of the angel's appearing to Zacharias, standing on the right side of the altar of incense, says, I wish the angel may stand by us when we incense the altar and offer our sacrifice. Yea, doubtless the angel stands by us, at the time that Christ stands there and is offered upon the altar. Here, I take it, the sacrificing of Christ and the incensing of the altar are both of the same nature, that is, spiritual and mystical: and therefore hence nothing can be concluded for the use of incense and censers in the most strict and literal sense as yet in the Christian church. Neither do we find any mention made of censers in any part of the Constitutions under the name of the Apostles, which is an argument, that when the author of those collections wrote, they were not yet become utensils of the altar; as they were when Evagrius[154] wrote his history; for he mentions golden censers, as well as golden crosses, given by Chosroes to the church of Constantinople. By which we may guess that crosses and censers were the product of one and the same age, and came into the church together. Images and relics upon the altar are usages also of later ages. And so are many utensils of the present Greeks, as the *lancea*, *asteriscus*, *dicerion*, *tricerion*, and *cochlear*, which

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[142] Prudent. de Coron. Hymn. 2. Auroque nocturnis sacris adstare fixos cereos.

[143] Athanas. Ep. ad Orthodox. t. 1. p. 946.

[144] Canon. Apost. c. 3.

[145] Paulin. Natal. 3. S. Felicis. Clara coronantur densis altaria lychnis: lumina ceratis adolentur odora papyris: nocte dieque micant, &c.

[146] Hieron. Ep. 53. ad Ripar. Accensique ante eorum tumulos cerei, idololatriæ insignia sunt? &c. Id. cont. Vigilant. t. 2. p. 123. Aliqui propter imperitiam et simplicitatem sæcularium hominum—hoc pro honore martyrum faciunt.

[147] Lactant. lib. 6. c. 2. Accendunt lumina; velut in tenebris agenti Deo, &c.

[148] Conc. Eliber. c. 34. Cereos per diem placuit in cœmiterio non incendi. Inquietandi enim sanctorum spiritus non sunt.

[149] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 9.

[150] Canon. Apost. c. 3. Θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφορᾶς.

[151] Bever. Cod. Canon. Vindic. lib. 2. c. 1. n. 5.

[152] Hippol. de Consum. Mundi, Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 357. Note, The words are not in the genuine Hippolytus published by Combefis Auctario Novissimo.

[153] Ambros. Com. in Luc. i. 11. p. 599. Utinam nobis quoque adolentibus altaria, sacrificium deferentibus, assistat angelus, imo præbeat se videndum. Non enim dubites assistere angelum, quando Christus assistit, Christus immolatur.

[154] Evagr. lib. 6. c. 21.

Bona[155] says were never known in the Latin church, much less in the ancient church. So I shall not stand to explain them. Nor say any thing here of the Bible, the Diptychs, and their ritual books, which were both utensils and ornaments of the altar, because these will be spoken of in other places. The *altare portatile*, or movable altars, of the Latins, and the *antimensia*, or consecrated cloths, of the Greeks, to be used in places which have no altars, I omit likewise, as being a modern invention of later ages. Habertus,[156] indeed, is very solicitous to have their portable altars thought as old as St. Basil, because St. Basil in one of his epistles speaks of ἴδιαι τράπεζαι, private tables, in some churches. But he wholly mistakes his author's meaning: for he is only speaking of the rudeness of some heretics, who, according to their usual custom, pulled down the catholic altars, and set up their own altars, or tables, in the room. So that it is not those portable altars he is discoursing of, but heretical altars set up in opposition to the catholics, which Habertus would hardly own to be the altars of the Romish church. Durantus[157] and Bona[158] do not pretend to find them in any author before the time of Bede and Charles the Great, and therefore we may conclude they were a modern invention. But the ῥιπίδια, or *flabella*, are somewhat more ancient, being mentioned by the author of the Constitutions,[159] who makes it one part of the deacon's office in the time of the oblation, to stand on each side of the altar, and with these instruments in their hands, (brushes or fans, we may English them,) to drive away all such little insects as might drop into the cups or infest the altar. The author of the Fasti Siculi, or Chronicon Alexandrinum,[160] calls them τίμια ῥιπίδια, and reckons them among the holy utensils of the altar, which were laid up among the rest in the *sceuophylacium*, or vestry of the church. For which reason I thought it not improper to mention them, whilst we are speaking of the utensils of the altar.

Sect. 22. Of the *oblationarium*, or *prothesis*.

In many churches, besides the communion table, in one of the lesser recesses or *conchas* of the *bema*, there was a place where the offerings of the people were received, out of which the bread and wine was taken that was consecrated at the altar. In the liturgies under the names of Chrysostom[161] and St. James,[162] and other modern Greek writers, this is called πρόθεσις and παρατράπεζον, the side-table. In the Ordo Romanus it has the name of *oblationarium* and *prothesis* also, for the one is made the explication of the other. And here also it is termed *paratorium*, because, when the offerings were received, preparation was made out of them for the eucharist. There is little question to be made but that the ancient churches had something answerable to this, but it went under other names; for we never meet with a *prothesis*, or *paratorium*, or *oblationarium*, in express terms in any ancient writer. But the thing itself we often find. Cyprian[163] seems to speak of it under the borrowed name of the *corban*, rebuking a rich and wealthy matron for coming to celebrate the eucharist without any regard to the *corban*, and partaking of the Lord's supper without any sacrifice of her own, but rather eating of the oblations which the poor had brought. In the fourth council[164] of Carthage this place goes by the general name of the *sacrarium*, or sanctuary, as being that part of the sanctuary where the oblations for the altar were received. For they had two repositories for the offerings of the people, the one without the church, called the *gazophylacium*, or treasury, and the other within the church, which was this *sacrarium*, or *corban*. And therefore it is that that council forbids the offerings of such Christians as were at variance one with another, to be received either in the treasury or the sanctuary. Paulinus is more exact in describing this place than any other ancient writer, yet he gives it a different name, calling it one of the *secretaria* of the church. For he tells us[165] there were two *secretaria*, one on the right hand, and the other on the left hand of the altar. That on the right hand was the same with the *prothesis*, or *paratorium*, we are speaking of, and the use of it he describes in these verses, which were set over it:

> Hic locus est veneranda penus qua conditur, et qua
> Promitur alma sacri pompa ministerii.

This is the place where the holy food is reposited, and whence we take provision and furniture for the altar. That on the other side was the same with the *diaconicum bematis*, the use of which he describes in part, in these two other verses, set over it also:

> Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,
> Hic poterit residens sanctis intendere libris.

If any one, (that is, any of the priests, whose apartment this was,) is minded to meditate in the law of God, here he has room to sit and read the holy books. A little before[166] he makes the like descrip-

[155] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 6.

[156] Habert. Archieratic. p. 664. Portatilia illa altaria videntur dici a basilio ἴδιαι τράπεζαι, Ep. 72.

[157] Durant. de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 7.

[158] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 20. n. 3.

[159] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 12.

[160] Chronic. Alexandr. p. 892.

[161] Chrysost. Liturg. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 74.

[162] Missa Jacobi, ibid. p. 21.

[163] Cyprian. de Opere et Eleemos. p. 203. Locuples et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corbonam omnino non respicis; quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?

[164] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 93. Oblationes dissidentium fratrum, neque in sacrario, neque in gazophylacio recipiantur.

[165] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 154.

[166] Paulin. ibid. p. 152. Una earum immolanti hostias ju-

tion of these two secret apartments in prose, telling us, that the one was the place which prepared the host or oblation of joy for the priest: (whence doubtless in after ages, as I noted before, it got the name of *paratorium*:) and the other was a place, whither the clergy retired, after the sacrifice was ended, and the people were dismissed, to make their concluding prayers in private.

Sect. 23. Of the *sceuophylacium*, or *diaconicum bematis*.

This latter place was a sort of vestry within the church, whither the deacons brought the vestments and vessels and utensils belonging to the altar, out of the greater *diaconicum*, to be in a readiness for Divine service. And in this respect it had also the name of *σκευοφυλάκιον*, the repository of the sacred utensils, because hither they were carried back immediately by the deacons as soon as the service was ended, or whilst the post-communion psalm was singing by the people, as the author of the Chronicon[167] Alexandrinum represents it. Here the priests also put on their robes they used to officiate in: and hither they came again, when the public service was ended, to make their private addresses to God, as has been noted already out of Paulinus; and in the liturgies ascribed to St. James, St. Mark, St. Chrysostom,[168] there are the forms of prayer appointed to be used in this place, one of which particularly in St. James's liturgy is ushered in with this title or rubric,[169] The prayer to be said in the *sceuophylacium*, after the dismission of the people. The deacons commonly had the care of this place, and thence it is often called the *diaconicum*, and *bematis diaconicum*, to distinguish it from another *diaconicum*, which we shall find in the next chapter among the *exedræ*, or outer buildings of the church. Du Fresne[170] thinks also that the name *diaconicum* was sometimes more peculiarly given to that part of the *bema* or chancel, which was between the veils of the chancel and the veils of the *ciborium* or altar; and that the place within the veils of the altar was distinguished particularly by the name of *presbyterium*, because it was the place of the presbyters, as the other was the place of the deacons, alleging for this a canon of the council of Laodicea,[171] which others understand in a different sense,[172] for the whole chancel or sanctuary of the church.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE BAPTISTERY, AND OTHER OUTER BUILDINGS, CALLED THE EXEDRÆ OF THE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. Baptisteries anciently buildings distinct from the church.

We have hitherto taken a view of the several parts of the ancient churches within the walls: it now remains that we consider a little such buildings as were distinct from the main body, and yet within the bounds of the church taken in the largest sense, which buildings are all comprised under one general name of the *exedræ* of the church. For Eusebius, speaking of the church of Paulinus at Tyre, says, When that curious artist had finished his famous structure within, he then set himself about the *exedræ*, or buildings[1] that joined one to another by the sides of the church: by which buildings, he tells us, he chiefly meant the place, which was for the use of those who needed the purgation and sprinkling of water and the Holy Ghost, that is, doubtless, the baptistery of the church. He describes the church of Antioch, built by Constantine, after the same manner, telling us, that it was surrounded with *exedræ*,[2] and buildings that had lower and upper stories in them. So that, as Valesius and other critics have rightly observed, *exedra* is a general name for any buildings that stand round about the church. And hence it is easy to conclude, that the baptistery, which Eusebius reckons the chief of the *exedræ*, was anciently a building without the walls of the church. Which observation, because I find it questioned by some, who place the font, after the modern way, in the *narthex* of the ancient churches, it will not be improper here to confirm by a few plain instances out of other authors. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, setting forth the great munificence of his friend Severus, says, He built two churches and a baptistery between them both.[3] And so Cyril of Jerusalem describes the baptistery as a building by itself, which had first[4] its *προαύλιον οἶκον*, that is, its porch or ante-room, where the catechumens made their renunciation of Satan, and confession of faith; and then its *ἐσώτερον οἶκον*, its inner room,[5] where the ceremony of baptism was performed. Sidonius Apollinaris also speaks of it as a distinct building;[6] and St. Austin seems to intimate[7] that there were

bilationis patet (leg. parat). Altera post sacerdotem, (leg. post sacrificium,) capaci sinu receptat orantes.

[167] Chron. Alexand. p. 892. Vid. Coteler. Not. in Const. Apost. lib. 7. c. 12.

[168] Liturg. Marci, Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 41. Liturg. Chrysost. ibid. p. 88.

[169] Liturg. Jacobi, ibid. p. 23. Εὐχὴ λεγομένη ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν.

[170] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 581.

[171] Con. Laod. can. 21. [172] See before, sect. 4. of this chap.

[1] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 381. Ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ νεὼ μετήει, ἐξέδρας καὶ οἴκους τοὺς παρ' ἑκάτερα μεγίστους ἐπισκευάζων, &c. [2] Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 3. c. 50.

[3] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. Tu vero etiam baptisterium basilicis duabus interpositum condidisti.

[4] Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 1. n. 2. Εἰσήει τε πρῶτον εἰς τὸν προαύλιον τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου οἶκον, &c.

[5] Id. Catech. 2. n. 1.

[6] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 15. Baptisterium quod olim fabricabamini, scribitis, jam posse consecrari.

[7] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. In parte fœminarum observanti ad baptisterium, &c.

distinct apartments in it for men and women likewise. Which perhaps is the reason why St. Ambrose speaks of it in the plural, styling it[8] the baptisteries of the church. In the time of Justin Martyr and Tertullian we are not certain that the church had any of these baptisteries; but this is past all doubt, however, from their authority, that the place of baptism was not in the church, but some where distinct from it. For Tertullian, speaking of the ceremonies of baptism, says, It was their custom to renounce the devil and his pomp and his angels first in the church, and then[9] again when they came to the water. Which implies, that the place of baptism was without the church. And so Justin Martyr[10] represents it, when he speaks of carrying the catechumen to the place where there was water; which perhaps was unlimited in those days; it being an indifferent thing, as Tertullian[11] words it, whether a man was baptized in the sea or in a lake, in a river or in a fountain, in Jordan or in Tiber, as St. Peter and St. John baptized their converts. So that the first ages all agreed in this, that whether they had baptisteries or not, the place of baptism was always without the church. And after this manner baptisteries continued to the sixth age, as appears from what Durantus observes out of Gregory[12] of Tours, that he speaks of baptisteries still without the walls of the church. Though some now began to be taken into the church porch, as that wherein he says,[13] Remigius baptized King Clodoveus, and thence they were afterward removed into the church itself. Though now the baptistery of St. John Lateran at Rome is still after the ancient model, if Durantus rightly inform us.

Sect. 2. These very capacious, and why.

These baptisteries were anciently very capacious, because, as Dr. Cave truly observes,[14] the stated times of baptism returning but seldom, there were usually great multitudes to be baptized at the same time. And then the manner of baptizing by immersion, or dipping under water, made it necessary to have a large font likewise. Whence the author of the Chronicon Alexandrinum[15] styles the baptistery, whither Basilicus fled to take sanctuary, *μέγα φωτιστήριον*, the great illuminary or school of baptism. And in Venantius Fortunatus[16] it is called *aula baptismatis*, the large hall of baptism. Which was indeed so capacious, that we sometimes read of councils meeting and sitting therein, as Du Fresne[17] shows out of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, and Suicerus has observed the same in the Acts of the Council of Carthage,[18] which speaks of a council at Constantinople held in the baptistery of the church.

Sect. 3. Why called *φωτιστήρια*, places of illumination.

We may observe also in the forementioned authors, how the baptisteries were commonly called *φωτιστήρια*, places of illumination, that is, baptism. For baptism itself in ancient writers is very usually styled *φώτισμα*; and hence the place of baptism called *φωτιστήριον*, from the administration of baptism there, which was always attended with a Divine illumination of the soul; whence persons baptized were also called, the illuminate, as has been observed[19] in another place. But the baptisteries might also have this name for another reason, because they were the places of an illumination or instruction preceding baptism. For here the catechumens seem to have been trained up and instructed in the first rudiments of the Christian faith. At least they were here taught the Creed, as is evident from that noted passage of St. Ambrose,[20] where he says, that after the Lessons and Homily he went into the baptistery of the church, to make the candidates of baptism learn the Creed. Therefore from this illumination preceding baptism, as well as that which was consequent to it, the baptisteries might reasonably be called *φωτιστήρια*, and, as some think, *φροντιστήρια*, schools of learning, or the illuminatories of the church.

Sect. 4. Of the difference between a baptistery and a font. And why the font called *piscina* and *κολυμβήθρα*.

It will be easy now for the reader to observe, from what has been said, what difference there was anciently between a baptistery and a font, though the names be sometimes confounded together. For the baptistery, properly speaking, was the whole house of building, in which the font stood, and where all the ceremonies of baptism were performed; but the font was only the fountain or pool of water, wherein persons were immersed or

[8] Ambros. Ep. 33. Symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tredebam basilicæ.

[9] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renunciare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus.

[10] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 93.

[11] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 4. Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur, nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Johannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit.

[12] Durant. de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 19. n. 4. Greg. Turon. Hist. lib. 6. c. 11.

[13] Gregor. Turon. Histor. Franc. lib. 2. c. 31.

[14] Cave, Primit. Christ. par. 1. c. 10. p. 312.

[15] Chron. Alexandr. in Basilisco, p. 753.

[16] Fortunat. de Baptister. Moguntin. Biblioth. Patr. t. 8. p. 780.

[17] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 592. Conc. Chalced. Act. 1.

[18] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccl. voce Φωτιστήριον, ex Actis Concilii Carthag. p. 118. 'Εν τῷ φωτιστηρίῳ τὴν κατὰ Κωνσταντινόπολιν ἁγιωτάτης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καθεσθέντων τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων.

[19] Book I. chap. 4. sect. 1.

[20] Ambros. Ep. 33. ad Marcellin. Post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicæ.

baptized. This in the Greek writers is commonly called[21] κολυμβήθρα, and by the Latins,[22] *piscina*, and is sometimes expressly distinguished from the baptistery, as a part from the whole. For Socrates[23] expressly styles it κολυμβήθραν τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου, the pool of the baptistery. Which name Dr. Beverege[24] thinks was given to the font by way of allusion to the pool of Bethesda. But Optatus[25] has a more mystical reason for it: he says, it was called *piscina*, in allusion to our Saviour's technical name, ἰχθὺς, which was an acrostic composed of the initial letters of our Saviour's several titles, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour, of which I have given an account[26] in another place. But whether either of these reasons be true, or whether the font was not rather so called, because *piscina* and κολυμβήθρα are common names of fountains, and baths, and pools in Greek and Latin writers, I leave to the determination of the judicious reader. Du Fresne has observed several other names,[27] such as ὑπονόμος, *lavacrum*, *natatoria*, and *cloaca*, a term peculiar to Gregory the Great: but these are modern names, and so I pass them over, only remarking one thing out of him, that whereas Procopius, in his Historia Arcana, gives it the name of δεξαμενὴ, the receptacle, Suidas mistakes it for the communion table; which I note, only because it is easy for any one to be led into the like mistake by the authority of that celebrated writer.

Sect. 5. How fonts and baptisteries anciently adorned.

What form the ancient baptisteries were built in, I find no where mentioned in any ancient writer; and almost as little of their ornament, that may be depended on as genuine. Durantus indeed has a very formal story out of the Pontifical, under the name of Damasus, how Constantine gave a rich font to the church, wherein he himself was baptized; it was made,[28] the author says, of porphyretic marble, overlaid with silver; in the middle of it was a marble pillar, and on it a vial of pure gold, filled with balsam to burn as in a lamp. On the brim of the font was a lamp of pure gold pouring out water. On the right hand of that a silver image of Christ, and on the left hand a silver image of St. John Baptist, holding a label with this inscription, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." Besides all these, there were seven silver harts pouring out water into the fountain. But now all this is a mere fabulous legend, and has just as much truth in it as the story of Constantine's leprosy, and his being cured by Pope Sylvester's baptizing him in this font at Rome. And I only mention it to show what sort of tales are urged by the Romish ritualists many times for ancient history. For every one now knows this mock-Damasus to be a spurious author. Perhaps in the sixth or seventh century, such sort of ornaments might be set up in the baptisteries of the church: for in the acts of the council of Constantinople[29] under Mennas, anno 536, there is mention made of silver and gold doves hanging in the baptistery, as well as at the altar. But as no pictures or images were set up in churches in the time of Constantine, so we cannot suppose any Roman baptisteries to be adorned by him according to the foresaid pretended description: but if the garments of the ministers baptizing, or the white robes of persons newly baptized, which were reserved in these baptisteries as monuments and tokens of their profession, or the vessels of chrism used for unction in baptism, may be reckoned ornaments of these places; the baptisteries had always these things from their first erection, as will be showed more particularly when we come to treat of the rites of baptism in its proper place.

Sect. 6. Baptisteries anciently more peculiar to the mother church.

All that I have further to add about baptisteries here, is an observation made by some learned men, that anciently there was but one baptistery in a city, and that at the bishop's church. Vicecomes[30] thinks it was so even at Rome itself for many ages. Dr. Maurice[31] says no city had more, unless where the magnificence of emperors or bishops made, as it were, many cathedrals. And therefore, when the author[32] of the Pontifical under the name of Damasus says of Pope Marcellus, that he made twenty-five titles in Rome, as so many dioceses, for baptism and penance; that learned person thinks it imports, that those services indeed belonged only to a cathedral; and therefore the granting of those privileges to parishes made them seem like dioceses. Some remains of this ancient custom are yet to be observed in several great cities of Italy. For both Durantus[33] and Vicecomes[34] tell us, that at Pisa, Bononia, Orvieto, Parma, and even at Florence itself, they have but one font or baptistery for a whole city at this day. Which is also noted by Onuphrius[35] and Du Fresne,[36] and by Dr. Maurice out of Leander Alberti, Mercator, Lassels,

[21] Vid. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 2. n. 4. Catech. 3. n. 1. Chrysost. Hom. 64. t. 5. p. 970.

[22] Optat. lib. 3. p. 62.

[23] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 17.

[24] Bevereg. Pandect. Not. in Concil. Nicen. c. 11.

[25] Optat. lib. 3. p. 62. Hic est piscis qui in baptismate per invocationem fontalibus undis inseritur, ut quæ aqua fuerat, a pisce etiam piscina vocitetur.

[26] Book I. chap. 1. sect. 2.

[27] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 593.

[28] Damas. Pontifical. Vit. Sylvestri.

[29] Conc. Constant. Act. 5. t. 5. p. 159.

[30] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 1. c. 8.

[31] Maurice, Dioces. Episc. p. 41 et 43.

[32] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. Viginti quinque titulos in urbe Roma constituit, quasi diœceses, propter baptismum et pœnitentiam multorum, &c.

[33] Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 19. n. 3.

[34] Vicecomes de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 1. c. 8.

[35] Onuphr. de Ecclesiis Urb. Romæ.

[36] Du Fresne, Glossar. voce Baptisterium.

and some other modern writers. I have observed[37] before, that this distinction was anciently made between a catholic church and a private oratory, that the one was a place of public baptism, and the other not; which argues that every church had not a distinct baptistery, but only such as were called baptismal churches. And this is the reason why anciently men commonly resorted for baptism to the bishop's church, at the two great festivals, Easter and Pentecost, which were the two solemn times of its administration. In after ages, baptisteries were set up in country parishes: for the council of Auxerre[38] speaks of baptizing in villages at Easter by allowance; but this privilege was not granted to every place, but only to such as the bishop appointed, except in cases of necessity, as Vicecomes[39] has observed out of the synod of Meaux,[40] and the council in Verno Palatio.[41] Whence probably these got the name of mother churches also, in respect of such others as depended on them for the administration of baptism, as anciently all churches did on the bishop's church. Thus much of the baptisteries of the ancient church.

Sect. 7. Of the *secretarium*, or *diaconicum magnum*, the vestry.

Another noted building, commonly reckoned among the *exedræ* of the church, was that which is usually called *secretarium* or *diaconicum*, concerning which learned men are not exactly agreed. For Valesius takes it[42] for a place within the church; Gothofred[43] and others, for a place without; but Du Fresne[44] seems more justly to determine the controversy between them, by distinguishing the *diaconicum bematis* within the chancel, which we have spoken of before, from the *diaconicum magnum* without the church, which is to be considered here. It is of this Philostorgius is to be understood, when he says, The Christians of Paneas, or Cæsarea-Philippi, translated the statue of our Saviour, erected by the woman whom he cured of an issue of blood, into the *diaconicum*[45] of the church, that is, into the vestry or repository of the church. It was so named, because all things here reposited were under the care of the deacons, part of whose office was to look after the vestments, vessels, and utensils belonging to the altar, and all things of value given to the church; the chief overseer of which seems generally to have been a presbyter, dignified with the title of *ceimeliarches*, or *sceuophylax*, as I have showed before[46] in another place. And hence the *diaconicum*, or rather, as Du Fresne[47] observes out of an ancient Greek writer, the innermost part of it, was the *ceimeliarchium*, or *sceuophylacium*, of the church, the repository of the sacred vessels, and such *anathemata* or presents, as were reputed among the chiefest treasures of the church. It was otherwise called *secretarium*, as Du Fresne[48] conjectures, because the consistory or tribunal of the church was here kept; the *secretum* or *secretarium* being a known name for the courts of the civil magistrate, whence this perhaps might take its denomination. The whole building was large and capacious enough to receive not only a private consistory, but a provincial or general council, many of which we find have been held in this apartment of the church, as the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth councils of Carthage are said to be kept in *secretario basilicæ restitutæ*, with a great many others collected by Du Fresne, who observes the sessions of councils to be called *secretaria* upon this account, from the place of their session or convention.

Sect. 8. Why called *receptorium*, or *salutatorium*.

It was otherwise called *receptorium* and *salutatorium*, as we find in Sidonius Apollinaris,[49] Sulpicius Severus,[50] the first council of Mascon,[51] Theodoret, and many others. Particularly Theodoret,[52] speaking of Theodosius coming to St. Ambrose to petition for absolution, says, he found him sitting *ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἀσπαστικῷ*, in the saluting house; which Scaliger mistakes for the bishop's house, where strangers were entertained; whereas it was a place adjoining to the church, where the bishop and presbyters sat to receive the salutations of the people, as they came to desire their blessing or prayers, or consult them about important business. As appears from Sulpicius Severus, who, speaking of St. Martin, says, He sat in one *secretarium*, and the presbyters[53] in another, receiving the people's salutes, and hearing their causes.

Sect. 9. Of the *decanica*, or prisons of the church.

Du Fresne thinks these *secretaria*, or at least some part of them, were also used as ecclesiastical prisons, or places of confinement sometimes for delinquent clergymen; and that then they were called *decaneta*, or *decanica;* which is a term used in both the Codes and some councils, as Gothofred[54] and some others explain it, for a prison belonging to the church. In the Theodosian Code there is a law of Arcadius, which orders heretics to be expelled from all places

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[37] Book VIII. chap. 1. sect. 4.
[38] Conc. Antissiodor. an. 578. can. 18.
[39] Vicecom. de Ritib. Eccles. l. 1. c. 9.
[40] Conc. Meldens. can. 48.
[41] Conc. in Verno Palatio, c. 7.
[42] Vales. Not. in Philostorg. lib. 7. c. 3.
[43] Gothofred. ibid.
[44] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 593.
[45] Philostorg. lib. 7. c. 3. [46] Book III. chap. 13. sect. 3.
[47] Passio SS. Patrum Sabaitarum ap. Du Fresne, Com. in Paulum Silentiar. p. 597. *Ἐσώτερον δὲ τοῦ διακονικοῦ κειμελιαρχεῖον ἤτοι σκευοφυλάκιον.*
[48] Du Fresne, ibid. p. 594. ex Gestis de nomine Acacii.
[49] Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 17. [50] Sulpic. Dialog. 2. c. 1.
[51] Concil. Matiscon. 1. can. 2. [52] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 18.
[53] Sulpic. Dial. 2. c. 1. Cum in alio secretario presbyteri sederent, vel salutationibus vacantes, vel audiendis negotiis occupati, &c.
[54] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hær. Leg. 30.

which they possessed,[55] whether under the name of churches, or *diaconica*, or *decanica*. Now, that the *decanica* here means a place of custody or restraint for delinquents belonging to the church, Gothofred proves from another law among Justinian's Novels,[56] which orders such delinquents to be shut up in the *decanica* of the church, there to suffer condign punishment. And by this we are led to understand what is meant by the *decanica* spoken of in the Acts of the Council[57] of Ephesus, which the Latin translator by mistake renders tribunal, whereas it should be the prison of the church. Some take it to be no more but another name for the *diaconicum*, or a corruption of it; others derive it from *δίκη*, and so make it denote a tribunal: which are errors both alike. For it seems to have been a more general name than the *diaconicum*, including all such places of the church, as were made use of to put offending clerks into a more decent confinement, which was not any one place, but several that were made use of to that purpose, such as the *catechumenia*, as well as the *diaconica*, or *secretaria*, in which respect they had all the name of *decanica*, or *carceres*, the prisons of the church. Which seems pretty evident from what Du Fresne[58] has observed out of an epistle of Pope Gregory II. to the emperor Leo Isaurus, where he says, When any one had offended, the bishops were used to confine him as in a prison in one of the *secretaria*,[59] or *diaconia*, or *catechumena* of the church. Which implies, that all these places were made use of upon occasion for the confinement and punishment of delinquents, and then they had peculiarly the name of *decanica*, or prisons of the church.

Sect. 10. Of the *mitatorium*, or *mesatorium*.

There is another name for a place belonging to the church in Theodorus Lector,[60] which has as much puzzled interpreters as the former. That is *μιτατώριον*, or *μετατώριον*, as the modern Greeks call it. Goar, in his Notes upon the Euchologium, thinks it should be *minsatorium*, from *μίνσος*, a dish, or *mensa*, a table; and so he expounds it, a place of refreshment for the singers, where they might have bread and wine to recreate them after service. Du Fresne[61] deduces it from *metatum*, which is a term of frequent use in the civil law, and signifies a station in the *cursus publicus*, where entertainment was given to those that travelled upon public business. Suicerus makes it[62] to be the same with the *diaconicum*, or *salutatorium*, the saluting house, and thinks with Goar it should be read *minsatorium*, from *mensa*, because here was a table erected, not for entertainment, but for receiving such things as were brought and laid upon it. But I like best the conjecture of Musculus, who renders it *mutatorium*, as supposing it to be a corruption of that Latin word, which signifies what we call an *apodyterium*, or vestry, where the ministers change their habit: and so it is agreed on all hands, that it was a part of the *diaconicum*, or but another name for it, though men differ so much in their sentiments, when they come to account for the reason of it.

Sect. 11. Of the *gazophylacium* and *pastophoria*.

The author of the Constitutions, in his description of the church, mentions also certain places[63] called *pastophoria*, which, according to his account, were buildings on each side of the church, toward the east end of it. But what use they were put to we can learn no further from that author, save only that he tells us in another place, the deacons[64] were used to carry the remains of the eucharist thither when all had communicated. Whence Durantus, measuring ancient customs by the practice of his own times, absurdly concludes, that the *pastophoria* was the ark where the pyx and wafer were laid,[65] as if there was any similitude betwixt a pyx and a building on each side of the temple. Bona,[66] with a little more reason, thinks the *pastophorium* was only another name for *sceuophylacium*, or *diaconicum*. But, indeed, it seems to have been a more general name, including not only the *diaconicum*, but also the *gazophylacium*, or treasury, and the habitations of the ministers, and *custodes ecclesiæ*, or, as some think they are otherwise called, *paramonarii*, *mansionarii*, and *martyrarii*, the mansionaries or keepers of the church. For the word *pastophorium* is a name taken from the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, Ezek. xl. 17, where it is used for the chambers in the outward court of the temple. And St. Jerom, in his comment[67] upon the place, ob-

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[55] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 5. Leg. 30. Cuncti hæretici proculdubio noverint, omnia sibi loca hujus urbis adimenda esse, sive sub ecclesiarum nomine teneantur, sive quæ diaconica appellantur, vel etiam decanica.

[56] Justin. Novel. 79. c. 3. *Καθειργέσθωσαν ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις δεκανικοῖς, ποινὰς τὰς καθηκούσας ὑφέξοντες.*

[57] Libell. Basilii Diaconi ad Theodos. in Conc. Ephes. par. 1. c. 30. Conc. t. 3. p. 427. *Ἐν τῷ δικανικῷ τοῦ λαοῦ τυπτηθέντος διαφόρως*, &c.

[58] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 594.

[59] Greg. Ep. 2. ad Leon. Isaur. Concil. t. 7. p. 26. Pontifices ubi quis peccarit, eum tanquam in carcerem, in secretaria, sacrorumque vasorum æraria conjiciunt, in ecclesiæ diaconia et in catechumena ablegant.

[60] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 559.

[61] Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silentiar. p. 595.

[62] Suicer. Thesaur. voce *Μετατώριον*.

[63] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. *Ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν τὰ παστοφόρια πρὸς ἀνατολήν.*

[64] Ibid. lib. 8. c. 13. *Λαβόντες οἱ διάκονοι τὰ περισσεύοντα, εἰσφερέτωσαν εἰς τὰ παστοφόρια.*

[65] Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 16. n. 8.

[66] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 24. n. 2.

[67] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. xl. 17. p. 640. Pro thalamis triginta quos vertere Septuaginta, sive gazophylaciis atque cellariis, ut interpretatus est Aquila, Symmachus posuit *ἐξέδρας*——quæ habitationi Levitarum atque sacerdotum erant præparatæ. Id. Com. in Ezek. xlii. 1. p. 652. Eductus est

serves, that what the Septuagint call *pastophoria*, and the Latins from them *cubicula*, is in the translations of Aquila and Symmachus rendered *gazophylacium* and *exedra;* and he tells us they were chambers of the treasury, and habitations for the priests and Levites round about that court of the temple. Therefore I think there is no question to be made, but that the *pastophoria* in the Christian church were places put to the same use as in the Jewish temple, from which the name is borrowed. For the church had her *gazophylacia*, or treasuries, as well as the temple; which appears from a canon of the fourth council of Carthage,[68] which forbids the offerings of persons at variance one with another to be received either in the treasury or the sanctuary. So that the treasury was a distinct place from the *corban* in the sanctuary, and therefore most probably to be reckoned among the *pastophoria* of the church. Here all such offerings of the people were laid up, as were not thought proper to be brought to the altar, but rather to be sent to the bishop's house, as some ancient canons give direction in the case. Particularly, among those called the Canons of the Apostles, we find two to this purpose: That beside bread and wine, nothing[69] should be brought to the altar, save only new ears of corn, and grapes, and oil for the lamps, and incense for the time of the oblation: but all other fruits should be sent *εἰς οἶκον*, to the repository, or treasury, it may be, as first-fruits for the bishop and presbyters, and not be brought to the altar, but be by them divided among the deacons and other clergy. The *pastophoria* were also habitations for the bishop and clergy, and the guardians or keepers of the church, as Schelstrate[70] rightly concludes from another passage in St. Jerom,[71] where he explains *pastophorium* to be the chamber, or habitation, where the ruler of the temple dwelt. So that it seems to have been almost as general a name as that of the *οἶκοι*, or *exedræ* of the church.

Sect. 12. Of the schools and libraries of the church.

Whether the libraries belonging to churches were any part of these *pastophoria*, is not easy to determine, but thus much we are certain of, that there were such places anciently adjoining to many churches, from the time that churches began to be erected among Christians. Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, in the third century, built a library for the service of that church, where, Eusebius tells us,[72] he found the best part of his materials to compose his Ecclesiastical History. Julius Africanus founded such another library at Cæsarea in Palestine, which Pamphilus and Eusebius much augmented. St. Jerom says,[73] Pamphilus wrote out almost all Origen's works for the use of this library, which were reserved there in his time. And he often mentions[74] his own consulting it upon necessary occasions in his emendations of the text of the Holy Scriptures; telling us further,[75] that there was a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in the original Hebrew, as it was first written by him, extant in his time. Another of these libraries we find mentioned in the Acts of Purgation of Cæcilian and Felix, belonging to the church of Cirta Julia, or Constantina, in Numidia,[76] where Paulus the bishop is accused as a traditor, for delivering up the goods of the church in the time of the Diocletian persecution. These were all founded before the church had any settled times of peace. In the following ages we find St. Austin making mention of the library[77] of the church of Hippo, and St. Jerom[78] commending Euzoius, the Arian bishop of Cæsarea, for his care in repairing the library of Pamphilus, which was fallen to decay. St. Basil[79] speaks of the Roman libraries, or archives at least. And the author of the Pontifical,[80] if any credit may be given to him, ascribes the building of two to Pope Hilary, near the baptistery of the Lateran church. But that which exceeded all the rest, was the famous library of the church of S. Sophia, which Hospinian[81] thinks was first begun by Constantine, but was afterward vastly augmented by Theodosius junior, who was another Ptolemy, in whose time there were no less than a hundred thousand in books in it, and a hundred and twenty thousand in the reign of Basiliscus and Zeno, when both the building and its furniture were all unhappily consumed together by the firing of the city in a popular tumult. He that would see a more ample account of these foundations in other ages, must consult Lomeier's Discourse de Bibliothecis, where he pursues the history of libraries[82] from first to last, as well among Jews and heathens, as every

in gazophylacium, sive ut Symmachus et LXX. transtulerunt exedram, vel ut Theodotio παστοφόριον, quod in thalamum vertitur.

[68] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 93. Oblationes dissidentium fratrum, neque in sacrario, neque in gazophylacio recipiantur.

[69] Canon. Apost. c. 4 et 5.

[70] Schelstrat. Concil. Antiochen. p. 186.

[71] Hieron. Com. in Esai.

[72] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 20.

[73] Hieron. Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. c. 75.

[74] Id. Ep. ad Marcel. t. 3. p. 113. It. Com. in Tit. c. 3.

[75] Id. de Scriptor. c. 3. Ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit.

[76] Gesta Purgat. Cæciliani ad calcem Optati, p. 267. Postea quam perventum est in bibliothecam, inventa sunt armaria inania, &c.

[77] Aug. de Hæres. c. 80. Audivi de hæresibus scripsisse sanctum Hieronymum, sed ipsum ejus opusculum in nostra bibliotheca invenire non potuimus.

[78] Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. c. 113. Plurimo labore corruptam bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili in membranis instaurare conatus est.

[79] Basil. Ep. 82. t. 3. p. 152.

[80] Pontifical. Vit. Hilarii. Fecit oratorium S. Stephani in baptisterio Lateranensi. Fecit autem et bibliothecas duas in eodem loco.

[81] Hospin. de Templis, lib. 3. c. 7. p. 101.

[82] Lomeier. de Bibliothecis, Ultrajecti, 1680. 8vo.

age of Christians. It is sufficient to my present purpose to have hinted here, briefly, a succinct account of such of them as were anciently reckoned parts or appendants of the Christian churches. And for the same reason I take notice of schools in this place, because we find them sometimes kept in the churches, or buildings adjoining to the church: which is evident from the observation which Socrates makes upon the education of Julian the apostate, that in his youth he frequented the church,[83] where, in those days, the schools were kept. He speaks of the schools of grammar and rhetoric, which, it seems, were then taught at Constantinople in some apartment belonging to the church. Here also it is probable those famous catechetic schools of Alexandria and Cæsarea were kept. For Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, is said by Ruffin[84] to have authorized Origen to teach as catechist in the church. Which, as I have noted in another place,[85] cannot be understood of preaching publicly in the church; for Origen was then but eighteen years old, and not in orders, when he first entered upon the catechetic school; but it must mean his private teaching in the school of the church. Which, whether it was in the *catechumenia* within the church, or in the *baptisteria* or *pastophoria* without the church, is not very easy nor very material to be determined, since it appears to have been in some place belonging to the church, but not precisely determined by any ancient writers. Whilst I am upon this head, I cannot but take notice of a canon attributed to the sixth general council of Constantinople, which promotes the setting up of charity schools in all country churches. For among those nine canons which are ascribed to this council in some ancient collections, and published by Crab, there is one to this purpose,[86] that presbyters in country towns and villages should have schools to teach all such children as were sent to them, for which they should exact no reward, nor take any thing, except the parents of the children thought fit to make them any charitable present by way of voluntary oblation. And another of those canons[87] speaks of schools in churches and monasteries subject to the bishop's care and direction. From which we may conclude, that schools were anciently very common appendants both of cathedral and country churches; and therefore it was not improper to hint thus much of them here, though a more full account of other things relating to them will make a part in this work hereafter in its proper place.

Sect. 13. In what sense dwelling-houses, gardens, and baths, reckoned parts of the church.

Eusebius, in his description of the church of the twelve apostles, built by Constantine at Constantinople, takes notice of some other buildings and places belonging to the church. For that church, he says, was surrounded with a large *atrium*, or area, on each side of which were porticos or cloisters, and along by them[88] first *οἶκοι βασίλειοι*, which Valesius renders *basilicæ*, but I think Musculus something better, *domus basilicæ;* for they seem not to mean royal palaces, but the houses of the clergy adjoining to the church. Then he adds *λουτρὰ*, which in this place neither signifies the baptistery, nor the fountain before the church, but baths belonging to the church, which, in a law of Theodosius,[89] that speaks also of the several parts of the church, where men should be allowed to take sanctuary, is called more plainly *balnea*, and in the Greek copy *λουτρὰ*, as well in the Code as in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, where the same law is recited. Eusebius adds to these *ἀνακαμπτήρια*, which Musculus translates *deambulatorii recessus*, taking them, I presume, for walks about the church: but Valesius more properly renders them *diversoria;* for they seem to mean the little hospitals, or houses of entertainment for the poor and strangers; which are the *cellulæ*, the little cells or lodgings, if I mistake not, spoken of in the foresaid law of the Theodosian Code. And perhaps they might serve as lodgings also for such as fled to take sanctuary in the church. For these might neither eat nor lodge within the church, but only in some of these outward buildings, which, upon that account, were made as safe a retreat as the very altar itself, by the forementioned law of Theodosius. And so were the *καταγώγια*, as Eusebius calls them, the habitations of the porters, or keepers of the church; and likewise the gardens, and area, and cloisters enjoyed the same privilege, being within the bounds of the *περίβολος*, or outward enclosure of the church. And so far, as to what concerns the privilege of yielding sanctuary, all these places were reckoned as parts of the church. But of this, more in the last chap-

[83] Socrat. lib. 3. c. 1. *Εἰς βασιλικὴν, ἔνθα τότε τὰ παιδευτήρια ἦν*, &c.

[84] Ruffin. lib. 6. Hist. Euseb. c. 3. Demetrius catechizandi ei, id est, docendi magisterium in ecclesia tribuit.

[85] Book III. chap. 10. sect. 4.

[86] Conc. 6. General. can. 5. ap. Crab. t. 2. p. 415. Presbyteri per villas et vicos scholas habeant. Et si quis fidelium suos parvulos ad discendas literas eis commendare vult, eos non renuant suscipere, &c. Nihil autem ab eis pretii exigant, nec aliquid ab eis accipiant, excepto quod eis parentes eorum charitatis studio sua voluntate obtulerint.

[87] Ibid. can. 4. Si quis ex presbyteris voluerit nepotem suum aut aliquem consanguineum ad scholas mittere in ecclesiis sanctorum, aut in cœnobiis, quæ nobis ad regendum commissa sunt, licentiam id faciendi concedimus.

[88] Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 4. c. 59. *Οἶκοί τε βασίλειοι ταῖς στοαῖς, λουτρά τε, καὶ ἀνακαμπτήρια παρεξετείνετο, ἄλλά τε πλεῖστα καταγώρια τοῖς τοῦ τόπου φρουροῖς*, &c.

[89] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. De his qui ad ecclesias confugiunt, Leg. 4. Ut inter templum quod parietum descripsimus cinctu, et januas primas ecclesiæ, quicquid fuerit interjacens sive in cellulis, sive in domibus, hortulis, balneis, areis atque porticibus, confugas interioris templi vice tueatur.

ter, which treats particularly of the laws relating to the *asyla*, and the privilege of taking sanctuary in the church.

Sect. 14. When organs first came to be used in the church.

I should here have put an end to this chapter, but that some readers would be apt to reckon it an omission, that I have taken no notice of organs and bells among the utensils of the church. But the true reason is, that there were no such things in use in the ancient churches for many ages. Music in churches is as ancient as the apostles, but instrumental music not so: for it is now generally agreed by learned men, that the use of organs came into the church since the time of Thomas Aquinas, anno 1250. For he in his Sums has these words, Our church does[90] not use musical instruments, as harps and psalteries, to praise God withal, that she may not seem to judaize. From which our learned Mr. Gregory, in a peculiar Dissertation[91] that he has upon this subject, concludes, That there was no ecclesiastical use of organs in his time. And the same inference is made by Cajetan[92] and Navarre[93] among the Romish writers. Mr. Wharton[94] also has observed, that Marinus Sanutus, who lived about the year 1290, was the first that brought the use of wind organs into churches, whence he was surnamed Torcellus, which is the name for an organ in the Italian tongue. And about this time Durandus, in his Rationale,[95] takes notice of them as received in the church, and he is the first author, Mr. Gregory thinks, that so takes notice of them. The use of the instrument indeed is much ancienter, but not in church service; the not attending to which distinction is the thing that imposes upon many writers. In the East, the instrument was always in use in the emperors' courts, perhaps from the time of Julian, who has an epigram[96] giving a handsome description of it. But in the Western parts the instrument was not so much as known till the eighth century. For the first organ that was ever seen in France, was one sent as a present to King Pepin by Constantinus Copronymus, the Greek emperor, anno 766, as Bona himself[97] shows out of Sigebert[98] and the ancient Annals of France,[99] and Mr. Gregory adds Marianus Scotus, Martin Polonus, Aventine, Platina, and the Pontifical, for the same opinion. But now it was only used in princes' courts, and not yet brought into churches. Nor was it ever received into the Greek churches, there being no mention of an organ in all their liturgies, ancient or modern, if Mr. Gregory's judgment may be taken. But Durantus, however, contends for their antiquity both in the Greek and Western churches, and offers[100] to prove it, but with ill success. First from Julianus Halicarnassensis, a Greek writer, anno 510, whom he makes to say, that organs were used in the church in his time. But he mistakes the sense of his author, who speaks not of his own times, but of the times of Job and the Jewish temple. For commenting upon those words of Job xxx. 31, "My harp is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep;" he says, There was no prohibition to use musical instruments, or organs,[101] if it was done with piety, because they were used in the temple. By which it is plain, he speaks of the Jewish temple in the singular, and not of Christian temples or churches in the plural, as Durantus mistakes him. Next, for the Latin church he urges the common opinion, which ascribes the invention of them to Pope Vitalian, anno 660. But his authorities for this are no better than Platina and the Pontifical, which are little to be regarded against clear evidences to the contrary. That which some urge out of Clemens Alexandrinus,[102] I shall not answer as Suicerus[103] does, (who, with Hospinian[104] and some others, wholly decrying the use of instrumental music in Christian churches, says, it is an interpolation and corruption of that ancient author,) but only observe, that he speaks not of what was then in use in Christian churches, but of what might lawfully be used by any private Christians, if they were disposed to use it. Which rather argues, that instrumental music, the lute and harp, of which he speaks, was not in use in the public churches. The same may be gathered from the words of St. Chrysostom, who says[105] it was only permitted to the Jews as sacrifice was, for the heaviness and grossness of their souls: God condescended to their weakness, because they were lately drawn off from idols. But now, instead of organs,[106] we may use our own bodies to praise him withal. Theodoret[107] has

[90] Aquin. 2da 2dæ Quæst. 91. Artic. 2. Ecclesia nostra non assumit instrumenta musica, sicut citharas et psalteria in Divinas laudes, ne videatur judaizare.

[91] Gregory, Discour. of the Singing of the Nicene Creed, Inter Oper. Posthuma, p. 51.

[92] Cajetan. in Loc. Aquin. et in summula.

[93] Navar. de Orat. et Horis Canonicis, cap. 16.

[94] Wharton, Append. ad Cave, Histor. Literar. p. 13. Marinus Sanutus, cognomento Torcellus, Germani cujusdam artificis opera usus, organa illa pneumatica, quæ hodie usurpantur, Italice Torcellos dicta, primus omnium in ecclesiam induxit: inde datum ei Torcelli nomen.

[95] Durand. Rational. lib. 4. c. 34. lib. 5. c. 2.

[96] Vide Vitam Juliani per Morentinum, p. 11.

[97] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 25. n. 19.

[98] Sigebert. an. 766. [99] Annales Metenses, an. 757.

[100] Durant. de Ritib. lib. 1. c. 13. n. 2.

[101] Julian. Catena in Job xxx. p. 465. Οὐδὲ κεχρῆσθαι ὀργάνοις ἀπείρητο, μετ' εὐσεβείας γινομένου, ὅπουγε ἐν τῷ ναῷ τούτοις ἐκέχρηντο.

[102] Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2. c. 4.

[103] Suicer. Thesaur. voce Ὄργανον, p. 501.

[104] Hospin. de Templis, lib. 2. c. 11. p. 74.

[105] Chrysost. in Psal. cxlix. t. 3. p. 634.

[106] Id. in Psal. cxliv.

[107] Theod. in Psal. xxxii. et cl.

many the like expressions, in his comments upon the Psalms and other places. But the author under the name of Justin Martyr is more express in his determination, as to matter of fact, telling us plainly, that the use[108] of singing with instrumental music was not received in the Christian churches, as it was among the Jews in their infant state, but only the use of plain song. So that there being no use of organs till the twelfth century, I could not speak of them as utensils of the ancient churches.

Sect. 15. Of the original of bells, and how church assemblies were called before their invention.

For the same reason I reckon not bells among the ancient utensils, because they are known to be a modern invention. For the first three hundred years it is certain the primitive Christians did not meet in their assemblies by the notice of any public signal: though Amalarius[109] fancies they had some sounding instruments of wood for this purpose. But this is so absurd a fancy, and altogether groundless dream, to imagine that in an age of persecutions, when they met privately in the night, they should betray themselves, as it were, and provoke their enemies to destroy them, that neither Bona[110] nor Baronius[111] himself could digest it. But Baronius has another fancy, which is not much better grounded. He supposes there was an order of men appointed on purpose to give private notice to every member, when and where the assembly was to be held; and these, he says,[112] are called *cursores*, or *θεόδρομοι*, couriers, in the ancient language of the church. His sole authority for this is Ignatius[113] in his epistle to Polycarp, where he has indeed the name, but in a quite different sense from what Baronius explains it to be. For he speaks not of persons employed in calling together religious assemblies, but of messengers to be sent from one country to another upon the important affairs of the church, as any one that looks carefully into Ignatius will easily discern. These he in another place[114] calls *θεοπρεσβύτας*, divine ambassadors, as all learned men agree that it ought to be read; and so the old Latin translation has it, *sacros legatos*, and Polycarp[115] uses the same name when he speaks of those messengers of the churches. These were commonly some deacons, or others of the inferior clergy, whom the bishop thought fit to send upon the embassies of the church. But as to calling of religious assemblies, we are not sure how it was then performed, save only that it was done in a private way: and perhaps the deaconesses were the fittest persons to be employed therein, as being least known or suspected by the heathen; but for want of light we can determine nothing about it. In the following ages we find several other inventions before bells to call religious assemblies together. In Egypt they seem to have used trumpets, after the manner of the Jews. Whence Pachomius,[116] the father of the Egyptian monks, makes it one article of his Rule, that every monk should leave his cell, as soon as he heard the sound of the trumpet calling to church. And the same custom is mentioned by Johannes Climacus,[117] who was abbot of Mount Sinai in the sixth century; whence we may conjecture, that the old usage continued till that time in Palestine also. But in some monasteries they took the office by turns of going about to every one's cell, and with the knock of a hammer calling the monks to church, which custom is often mentioned by Cassian,[118] and Palladius,[119] and Moschus,[120] as used chiefly for their night assemblies, whence the instrument is termed by them the night signal, and the wakening mallet. In the monastery of virgins, which Paula, the famous Roman lady, set up and governed at Jerusalem, the signal was used to be given by one going about and singing hallelujah: for that word was their call to church, as St. Jerom[121] informs us. In other parts of the East they had their sounding instruments of wood, as Bona[122] shows at large out of the Acts of the second Council of Nice, and Theodorus Studita, and Nicephorus Blemides, and several other writers. And the use of bells was not known among them, as he observes out of Baronius,[123] till the year 865, when Ursus Patriciacus, duke of Venice, made a present of some to Michael the Greek emperor, who first built a tower to the church of Sancta Sophia to hang them in. But whether it be that this custom never generally prevailed among the Greeks, or whether it be that the Turks will not permit them to use any bells, so it is at present that they have none, but follow their old custom of using wooden boards or iron plates full of holes, which they call *σήμαντρα*, and *χειροσήμαντρα*, because they hold them in their hands, and knock them with a hammer or mallet to call the people together to church, as we are informed by

[108] Justin. Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox. qu. 107. Ἐν *ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προαίρεται ἐκ τῶν ἀσμάτων ἡ χρῆσις τῶν τοιέτων ὀργάνων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν νηπίοις ὄντων ἁρμοδίων, καὶ ὑπολέλειπται τὸ ᾆται ἁπλῶς.*

[109] Amalar. de Officiis, lib. 4. c. 21.

[110] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 22. n. 1.

[111] Baron. an. 58. n. 108. [112] Ibid. n. 102.

[113] Ignat. Ep. ad Polycarp, n. 7.

[114] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 11.

[115] Polycarp. Ep. ad Philip. n. 13.

[116] Pachom. Regula, c. 3. Bibl. Patr. t. 15. p. 629. Cum audierit vocem tubæ ad collectam vocantis, statim egrediatur.

[117] Climac. Scala Paradisi, Gradu 19. Bibl. Patr. t. 5. p. 244.

[118] Cassian. Institut. lib. 2. c. 17. lib. 4. c. 12.

[119] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 104. Ἐξυπνιαστήριον *σφυρίον.*

[120] Moschus, Prat. Spirit. Nocturnum pulsare signum, &c.

[121] Hieron. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ, p. 178. Post alleluya cantatum, quo signo vocabantur ad collectam, nulli residere licitum erat.

[122] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 22. n. 2.

[123] Baron. an. 865. t. 10. p. 310.

Allatius, and a late learned writer[124] of our own, who has been an eye-witness of their customs. Who first brought bells into use in the Latin church, is a thing yet undetermined; some ascribing them to Pope Sabinianus, St. Gregory's successor, anno 604, and others to Paulinus, bishop of Nola, contemporary with St. Jerom. This last is certainly a vulgar error, and seems to owe its rise to no other foundation, but only that he was bishop of Nola in Campania, (where bells, perhaps, were first invented, and thence called *nolæ* and *campanæ*,) and some bold modern writer thence concluded that he was therefore the author of them. And it might make the story look a little more plausible, because that he also founded a church in Nola. But then it happened unluckily for this fiction, that he himself describes his church, and that very minutely, in his twelfth epistle to Severus, but takes no notice of tower or bells, though he is exact in recounting all other lesser edifices belonging to his church. Which, as Bona truly observes, is a shrewd argument, joined with the silence of all other ancient writers, to prove that he was not the inventor of them. Yet Bona after all would have it thought, that they began to be used in the Latin church immediately upon the conversion of Christian emperors, because the *tintinnabula*, or lesser sort of bells, had been used before by the heathens to the like purpose. Which is an argument, I think, that has very little weight in it, since there is no ancient author that countenances his conjecture. For he produces none before Audoenus Rothomagensis, that mentions the use of the *tintinnabula*, nor any before Bede, that uses the name *campana:* both which authors lived in the seventh century, and that is an argument that these things were not come into use among Christians long before, else we might have heard of them in writers before them, as we frequently do in those that follow after. I need not now tell any reader, that the popish custom of consecrating, and anointing, and baptizing of bells, and giving them the name of some saint, is a very modern invention. Baronius carries it no higher than the time of John XIII., anno 968, who consecrated the great bell of the Lateran church, and gave it the name of John,[125] from whence he thinks the custom was authorized in the church. Menardus[126] and Bona[127] would have it thought a little more ancient, but yet they do not pretend to carry it higher than one age more, to the time of Charles the Great, in whose time some rituals, Menardus says, had a form of blessing and anointing bells, under this title or rubric, *Ad signum ecclesiæ benedicendum*, A form for blessing of bells. And it is not improbable but that such a corruption might creep into the rituals of those times, because we find among the Capitulars of Charles the Great, a censure and prohibition of that practice, *ut clocas non baptizent*,[128] that they should not baptize clocks, which is the old German name for a bell. But what was then prohibited, has since been stiffly avowed and practised, and augmented also with some additional rites, to make bells a sort of charm against storms and thunder, and the assaults of Satan, as the reader that pleases may see the ceremony described by Sleidan[129] and Hospinian[130] out of the old Pontificals of the Romish church. But I fear my readers will begin to accuse me now, instead of an omission, of making too long a digression upon this subject, and therefore I return to the business of ancient churches.

[124] Dr. Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 70.
[125] Baron. an. 968. t. 10. p. 810.
[126] Menard. Not. in Sacramental. Gregor. p. 207.
[127] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 22. n. 7.
[128] Capitular. Caroli Magni, cited by Durantus de Ritibus, lib. 1. c. 22. n. 2.
[129] Sleidan. Commentar. lib. 21. p. 388.
[130] Hospin. de Templis, lib. 4. c. 9. p. 113.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE ANATHEMATA, AND OTHER ORNAMENTS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

Sect. 1. What the ancients meant by their *anathemata* in churches.

After having taken a distinct survey of the chief parts and buildings, and common utensils, of the ancient churches, it will not be amiss to cast our eyes upon the ornamental parts thereof, and consider a little after what manner the first Christians beautified their houses of prayer. The richness and splendour of some of their fabrics, and the value of their utensils belonging to the altar, many of which were of silver and gold, I have already taken notice of: what therefore I shall further add in this place, concerns only the remaining ornaments of the church, some of which were a little uncommon, and but rarely mentioned by modern writers. The general name for all sorts of ornaments in churches, whether in the structure itself, or in the vessels and utensils belonging to it, was anciently *anathemata;* which though it most commonly signifies persons devoted or accursed by excommunication or separation from the church, yet it sometimes also denotes things given to God, and devoted to his honour and service. In which sense all the sacred vessels and utensils of the church, and all gifts and ornaments belonging to it, were called *anathemata*, because they were set apart from common use to God's honour and service. Some of the Greeks distinguish thus between *ἀναθήματα* and *ἀναθέματα*, as Suicerus has ob-

served[1] out of Chrysostom,[2] and Hesychius,[3] and Balzamon,[4] and Zonaras, making the first to signify ornaments of the church, or things devoted to God's honour; and the other, things accursed, or devoted to destruction. But others of them do not so nicely observe this distinction, but use the same word to signify both things devoted to God's use, and things devoted to destruction, as Suicerus shows in the same place out of Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, the author of the questions ad Orthodoxos under the name of Justin Martyr, and some others. Here I take both words only as signifying gifts or ornaments of churches. In which sense *ἀναθήματα* is used by St. Luke, xxi. 5, for the gifts and ornaments of the temple. And so Eusebius, describing the hemisphere or altar part of the church of Jerusalem, and the twelve pillars which supported and surrounded it, says, The heads of the pillars were adorned with silver bowls, which Constantine set up as his beautiful *ἀνάθημα*, that is, his gift or offering[5] to his God. And a little after he says again, He adorned it[6] with innumerable gifts of silver and gold and precious stones. So that all the rich vessels and utensils of the altar, the rich vestment which the bishop put on when he administered the sacrament of baptism, which was interwoven with gold, and which, as Theodoret[7] and Sozomen[8] tell us, was one of Constantine's gifts to the church of Jerusalem; these, I say, and all other such like ornaments belonging to the church, as well as what contributed to the beauty and splendour of the fabric itself, were all reckoned among the *anathemata* of the church. But in a more restrained sense, the *anathemata* sometimes denote more particularly those gifts, which were hanged upon pillars and set in public view, as memorials of some great mercy which men had received from God. In allusion to which Socrates[9] thinks the term *anathema* is used for excommunication, because thereby a man's condemnation is published and proclaimed, as if it were hanged up upon a pillar. St. Jerom also had his eye plainly upon this custom, when he speaks of men's gifts[10] hanging in the church upon golden cords, or being set in golden sockets or sconces. For the word *funale* signifies both. And though he rather advises men to offer their gifts to the true temples of Christ, meaning the bodies and souls of the poor; yet that implies another way of offering their gifts to be in common use, that is, hanging up their *anathemata*, or *donaria*, (as he with other Latin writers calls them,) in the material temples. *Vide Sidon. Apollinar. lib.* 4. *Ep.* 18. *et Paulin. Natali* 6. *Felicis.*

Sect. 2. One particular kind of these, called ἐκτυπώματα, when first brought into churches.

Among these there was one particular kind of gifts, which they called *ἐκτυπώματα*, because they were a sort of symbolical memorials, or hieroglyphical representations of the kindness and favour, which in any kind they had received. When first they began to be offered and set up in churches, is not very easy to determine: but I think Bochart's conjecture is very probable,[11] that it was about the middle of the fifth age, because Theodoret is one of the first writers that takes notice of them. He tells us in one of his Therapeutics, or Discourses to the Gentiles,[12] that when any one obtained the benefit of a signal cure from God in any member of his body, as his eyes, or hands, or feet, &c., he then brought his *ἐκτύπωμα*, the effigies or figure of that part in silver or gold, to be hanged up in the church to God, as a memorial of his favour. This, Bochart thinks, was done by way of emulation of the Gentiles, among whom it was customary for such as had escaped any great peril or disaster, to consecrate some monument of their by-past evils to their gods that delivered them. As they that had escaped a shipwreck, dedicated a tablet to Neptune or Isis, representing the manner of their shipwreck. So gladiators hanged up their arms to Hercules; and slaves and captives, when they got their liberty and were made free, offered a chain to the *lares*. And so we read, 1 Sam. vi. 4, that the Philistines sent their golden emerods and mice, figures of the things by which they had suffered, as an offering to the God of Israel. I shall make no further observation upon this practice, but only remark how far the Romish church is degenerate in this matter from the ancient, who offer now to men more than they do to God, and fill their churches with gifts, acknowledging some tutelar saints as their chief patrons and benefactors.

Sect. 3. Churches anciently adorned with portions of Scripture written upon the walls.

But to proceed with the ancient churches: another ornament, which served for use as well as beauty, was their comely and pertinent inscriptions, many of which are preserved and still to be read in ancient authors. These were of two sorts, some taken out of Scripture; others, useful compositions of men's own inventing. The walls of the church seem commonly to have had some select

[1] Suicer. Thesaur. voce Ἀναθήμα.

[2] Chrysost. Hom. 16. in Rom. [3] Hesych. Lexicon.

[4] Balzamon et Zonar. in Can. 3. Concil. in Templo Sophiæ.

[5] Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. 3. c. 38. Ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον ἐποιεῖτο τῷ αὐτοῦ Θεῷ.

[6] Ibid. c. 40. Ἐκόσμει δ' αὐτὸν ἀδιηγήτοις κάλλεσι ἀναθημάτων χρυσοῦ, &c.

[7] Theodor. lib. 2. c. 27. [8] Sozom. lib. 4. c. 25.

[9] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 34.

[10] Hieron. Ep. 27. ad Eustoch. in Epitaphio Paulæ. Jactent alii pecunias et in corbonam Dei æra congesta, funalibusque aureis dona pendentia, &c. Id. Ep. 13. ad Paulin. Verum Christi templum anima credentis est.——Illi offer donaria.

[11] Bochart. Hierozoic. part. 1. lib. 2. cap. 36. p. 368.

[12] Theodor. Serm. 8. de Martyr. t. 4. p. 606.

portions of Scripture written upon them, containing some proper admonition and instruction for all in general, or else more peculiar to that order of persons who had their station in such a particular part or division of the church. Thus I have observed before,[13] out of St. Ambrose,[14] that the place of the virgins had that text of St. Paul sometimes written by it on the walls, "There is difference between a wife and a virgin; the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, how she may please the Lord," &c. And by this one place we may judge how other parts of the church were embellished and adorned with proper instructions out of the Holy Scripture.

Sect. 4. And with other inscriptions of human composition.

But beside these lessons out of the inspired writings, it was very usual to have other inscriptions of human composure written on the several parts and utensils of many churches. Of which I have already given some instances out of Paulinus, speaking of the *catechumenia* and *secretaria*[15] of the church. And the curious reader may find abundance more of the same nature, upon the baptistery, and the altar, and the frontispiece,[16] too long to be here inserted. I shall only here repeat two short distichs written over the doors of the church, one on the outside, exhorting men to enter the church with pure and peaceable hearts, on this wise:

Pax tibi sit, quicunque Dei penetralia Christi
Pectore pacifico candidus ingrederis.

And the other on the inner side of the doors, requiring men, when they go out of the church with their bodies, to leave at least their hearts behind them.

Quisquis ab æde Dei perfectis ordine votis
Egrederis, remea corpore, corde mane.

Many other the like inscriptions may be seen in Sidonius Apollinaris,[17] and other writers of that age; but I will only add one more, which, for the curiosity of it, may deserve to be here inserted. It is the inscription which the emperor Justinian is said to have written round about the altar of the church of Sancta Sophia. The altar itself, Cedrenus tells us, was a most inimitable work: for it was artificially composed of all sorts of materials that either the earth or the sea could afford, gold, silver, and all kinds of stones, wood, metals, and other things. Which being melted and mixed together, a most curious table was framed out of this universal mass; and about it was this inscription: "We thy servants,[18] Justinian and Theodora, offer unto thee, O Christ, thy own gifts out of thy own, which we beseech thee favourably to accept, O Son and Word of God, who wast made flesh and crucified for our sakes. Keep us in the true orthodox faith; and this empire which thou hast committed to our trust, augment and preserve it to thy own glory, *πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου*, by the intercessions of the holy mother of God and Virgin Mary." The reader will not wonder at this last part of this inscription in the sixth age, when the prayers of saints in heaven were thought available without directly praying to them.

Sect. 5. Gilding and Mosaic work used in the ancient churches.

Another considerable part of the ornament of churches was the beautifying of the roof, or *camera*, as they then called it. This was done two ways, either by Mosaic work, which they call *musivum*; or by lacunary work, dividing the roof into several pannels, by architects termed *laquearia*, or *lacunaria*, from *lacus*, some of which were round, and some square, (as Valesius observes out of Isidore,[19]) and divided either with wood, or plaster, or colours, from each other, and then either gilded or painted, as men's fancies led them. Both these were used to adorn the ancient churches. The temple of Sancta Sophia was curiously wrought in Mosaic or chequer work, as Procopius[20] relates; and Constantine's church at Jerusalem was lacunary: for Eusebius[21] says, the whole roof was divided into certain carved tables or panels, and all laid over with shining gold. And this he calls a little before *καμάραν λακωναρίαν*, a lacunary roof adorned with gold. Some churches, as that of Paulinus[22] of Nola, were beautified both ways. For Paulinus says, the roof of his *apsis*, or altar part, was Mosaic work; but the body of the church, and the galleries on both sides the church, were lacunary, that is, divided into panels, as we see in many of our modern churches. The reader that pleases may see a great deal more of this matter in St. Jerom, who often speaks of their lacunary[23] golden roofs, and walls adorned with crust of mar-

[13] Book VIII. chap. 5. sect. 9.

[14] Ambros. ad Virgin. Lapsam.

[15] Chap. 6. sect. 22.

[16] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad. Sever.

[17] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 18.

[18] Cedren. Hist. Compend. an. 32. Justin. p. 386. *Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρομεν οἱ δοῦλοί σου Χριστὲ*, &c.

[19] Isidor. Origen. lib. 19. Laquearia sunt quæ cameram subtegunt et ornant: quæ et lacunaria dicuntur, quod lacus quosdam quadratos vel rotundos, ligno vel gypso vel coloribus habeant pictos, cum signis intermicantibus.

[20] Procop. de Ædificiis Justin. lib. 1. cited by Valesius, Not. in Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 36.

[21] Euseb. lib. 3. de Vit. Const. c. 36 *Τὰ δὲ τῆς εἴσω στέγης γλυφαῖς φατνωμάτων ἀπηρτισμένα*, &c. Vid. c. 32.

[22] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 150 et 151. Apsidem solo et parietibus marmoratam camera musivo illusa clarificat. —Totum vero extra concham basilicæ spatium alto et lacunato culmine geminis utrinque porticibus dilatatur.

[23] Hieron. lib. 2. in Zechar. viii. Non solum laquearia et tecta fulgentia auro, sed parietes diversi marmoris crustis vestiti. Id. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Marmora nitent auro, splendent laquearia, gemmis altare distinguitur, &c. It. Ep. 30. Epitaph. Fabiolæ, c. 4. Sonabant psalmi, et aurata templorum tecta reboans in sublime quatiebat Alleluya. It.

ble; and pillars with their chapiters of shining gold; and gates inlaid with ivory and silver; and altars distinguished and beset with precious stones and gold. Though he was no great admirer of these things himself, but a greater friend to charity.

Sect. 6. No pictures or images allowed in churches for the first three hundred years.

They of the Romish church, when they are describing the ancient churches, commonly add to these other ornaments that of pictures and images, according to the modern custom: and nothing will content them, but to have them as ancient as churches themselves, that is, to be derived from apostolical practice. To this purpose, they have invented an apostolical council at Antioch, wherein not only the use, but the worship of images is pretended to be authorized by the apostles. And the credit of this council is stiffly defended by Baronius,[24] and Turrian, and Binius, and many such over-zealous writers. But Petavius,[25] and Pagi,[26] and other writers of candour and judgment, give it up as a mere forgery, and freely confess it to be a fiction of the modern Greeks. Petavius also[27] owns, that for three or four of the first ages, there was little or no use of images in churches. And indeed the evidences are so plain, that none but they who resolve to wink hard can deny them. The silence of all ancient authors is good evidence in this case. The silence of the heathen is further confirmation. For they never recriminated, or charged the use of images upon them. Nay, in the last persecution, when they often plundered and pillaged their churches, we never read of any images seized in them, though we have several particular catalogues or inventories of what they found there, left upon record by the heathen. It is a very full one which Baronius[28] first published, and is since inserted among the Collections[29] at the end of Optatus. There is a particular breviat of all things found by the persecutors in the church of Paul, bishop of Cirta in Numidia, where we find mention made of cups, and flagons, and bowls, and water-pots, and lamps, and candlesticks, and torches, and coats, and other clothing for men and women, which in those days seem to be laid up in store, either for the poor or the ascetics of the church: but of images or pictures there is not a syllable, which is at least a good negative argument that there was no such thing then in their churches. Nay, there are positive proofs in the fourth age, that in some places they were not then allowed to be set up in churches. As in Spain, in the time of the council of Eliberis, anno 305, there was a positive decree against them. For one of the canons of that council runs in these words: We decree[30] that pictures ought not to be in churches, lest that which is worshipped and adored be painted upon the walls. And it was certainly so in Cyprus to the end of this century, as appears from that famous epistle of Epiphanius to John, bishop of Jerusalem, translated by St. Jerom, where, speaking of his passage through Anablatha, a village of Palestine, he says, he found there a veil hanging before the doors of the church, wherein was painted[31] the image of Christ, or some saint; for he did not well remember whether it was: but seeing, however, the image of a man hanging in the church against the authority of Scripture, he tore it in pieces, and advised the guardians of the church rather to make a winding-sheet of it, to bury some poor man in. Some storm against this passage, as an interpolation of some modern Greek iconoclast; which is the common evasion of Bellarmine[32] and Baronius,[33] and the rest that follow them. But Petavius[34] owns it to be genuine, and says, images were not allowed in the time of Epiphanius in the Cyprian churches: which is certainly the truth of the matter, when men have used all their arts and shifts to persuade the contrary. The common writers of the Romish church are as uneasy about the council of Eliberis.

Ep. 8. ad Demetriad. Virgin. Alii ædificent ecclesias; vestiant parietes marmorum crustis; columnarum moles advehant, earumque deaurent capita, pretiosum ornatum non sentientia; ebore argentoque valvas, et gemmis aurata distinguant altaria. Non reprehendo, non abnuo. Unusquisque in sensu suo abundet. Meliusque est hoc facere, quam repositis opibus incubare. Sed tibi aliud propositum est, Christum vestire in pauperibus, &c.

[24] Baron. an. 102. n. 19 et 20. Binius, Not. in Conc. Antioch. Conc. t. 1. p. 62.

[25] Petav. Dogmat. Theol. de Incarnat. lib. 15. c. 14. n. 5. Quod ad illum canonem apostolicum attinet, quem primus edidit in lucem Franciscus Turrianus, eum puto suppositititium esse, &c.

[26] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 56. n. 3.

[27] Petav. ibid. c. 13. n. 3. Pagi, ibid. Certum est, imagines Christi, et maxime statuas, primis ecclesiæ sæculis non fuisse substitutas loco idolorum, nec fidelium venerationi expositas.

[28] Baron. an. 303. n. 12.

[29] Gesta Purgation. Cæcilian. ad calcem Optati, p. 266. In brevi, sic: calices duo aurei: item calices sex argentei: urceola sex argentea: cucumellum argenteum: lucernæ argenteæ septem: cereofala duo: candelæ breves æneæ cum lucernis suis septem: Item lucernæ æneæ undecim cum catenis suis. Tunicæ muliebres 82: mafortea 38: tunicæ viriles 16: caligæ viriles paria 13: caligæ muliebres paria 47: coplæ rusticanæ 19.

[30] Conc. Eliber. c. 36. Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.

[31] Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hierosol. Inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesiæ tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem quasi Christi vel sancti cujusdam. Non enim satis memini cujus imago fuerit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem in ecclesia Christi contra autoritatem Scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, et magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent et efferrent.

[32] Bellarmin. de Imagin. lib. 2. c. 9.

[33] Baron. an. 392. p. 668.

[34] Petav. de Incarnat. lib. 15. c. 14. n. 8.

Baronius flies to the old refuge of imposture in that single canon; others say, they are all of the same stamp. Others, who think this a little too crude and bold, soften the matter by saying, images were only prohibited for fear the Gentiles should think Christians worshipped stocks and stones; or it was only images painted upon the walls that were prohibited, because these were liable to be abused by the persecutors, which others, that might be removed, were not liable to. So Sylvius, in his notes upon this canon. Others fly to the new notion of *disciplina arcani*, and tell us it was only the images of God and the Trinity that are here prohibited, (not the images of saints and martyrs,) and that only for fear the catechumens and Gentiles should be let into the secrets of their religion, and understand the mystery of the Trinity before their time. Which pleasant notion was first invented by Mendoza,[35] approved by Cardinal Bona,[36] and highly magnified by Schelstrate,[37] and Pagi,[38] as a clear solution to the protestants' argument against the worship of images drawn from this canon. But yet this does not satisfy either Albaspiny or Petavius. For Albaspiny thinks the images[39] of God and the Trinity were prohibited for fear the catechumens and new converts should entertain wrong notions and dishonourable thoughts of the majesty of God, when they saw him, whom they were first taught to believe invisible, and immaterial, and incomprehensible, afterward circumscribed in visible lines and colours. Which is a reason that will always hold against making images of the Deity, though it does not give the full sense of this canon, which certainly prohibits the use of images in general, and not only those of the Trinity, in churches. And therefore Petavius[40] gives a more general reason for the prohibition of all images whatsoever at that time, because the remembrance of idolatry was yet fresh in men's minds, and therefore it was not expedient to set up images in the oratories and temples of Christians. So that, in fact, now the case is clear, that Christians for near four hundred years did not allow of images in churches. Tertullian[41] indeed once mentions the picture of a shepherd bringing home his lost sheep, upon a communion cup in some of the catholic churches. But as this is a singular instance only of a symbolical representation, or emblem, so it is the only instance Petavius pretends to find in all the three first ages. In the middle of the fourth age, the Christians of Paneas, or Cæsarea-Philippi, showed a little respect to the statue of Christ, which the Syrophœnician woman, who had been cured of an issue of blood, was supposed to have erected in honour of our Saviour. For when Julian had removed it, to set his own in the room, and the heathen out of hatred to Christ had used it contumeliously, and broken it in pieces by dragging it about the streets; Sozomen[42] tells us, the Christians gathered the fragments together, and laid them up in the church, where they were kept to his own time. Philostorgius,[43] in telling the same story, adds one circumstance, which well explains Sozomen's meaning: for he says, they were laid up in the *diaconicum* or vestry of the church, and there carefully kept indeed, but by no means worshipped or adored. So that it was not a statue set up in a church, but only the fragments of it laid up in the repository of the church; and there not to be worshipped, but only to be kept from violence, and that the heathen might offer no more such barbarous indignities to it. Which was so far a commendable act, but yet no proof of images being set up publicly in churches.

Sect. 7. First brought in by Paulinus and his contemporaries, privately and by degrees, in the latter end of the fourth century.

Yet it is not denied, but that in some places, about the latter end of the fourth century, pictures of saints and martyrs began to creep into churches. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, to keep the country people employed, and prevent their running into riot and excess, when they met together to celebrate the anniversary festival of the dedication of the church of St. Felix, ordered the church to be painted with the images of saints and Scripture histories, such as those of Esther, and Job, and Tobit, and Judith, as he himself[44] acquaints us in his writings. And some intimations are given of the beginnings of the same practice in other places by St. Austin, who often speaks of the pictures[45] of Abraham sacrificing his son, and of the pictures[46] of Peter and Paul, and of some worshippers of pictures[47] too, but they have not his approbation. Nor had they the approbation of the catholic church: for he says, the church condemned them, as ignorant, and superstitious, and

[35] Mendoza, Not. in Conc. Eliber. c. 36. Conc. t. 1. p. 1240.

[36] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 16. n. 2.

[37] Schelstrat. Disciplina Arcani, c. 6. art. 3.

[38] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 55. n. 5.

[39] Albaspin. Not. in can. 36. Concil. Eliber.

[40] Petav. de Incarnat. lib. 15. c. 14. n. 8. Recentem adhuc idololatriæ memoriam fuisse: ob idque nondum expedisse Christianorum in oratoriis ac templis imagines statui.

[41] Tertul. de Pudicit. c. 10. Si forte patrocinabitur pastor, quem in calice depingis—At ego ejus pastoris Scripturam haurio, qui non potest frangi.

[42] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 21.

[43] Philostorg. lib. 7. c. 3. Τὸν ἀνδριάντα μεταστησάμενοι ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διακονικῷ, τὰ πρέποντα ἐθεράπευον, σέβοντες μὲν ἢ προσκυνοῦντες οὐδαμῶς.

[44] Paulin. Natal. 9. Felicis, p. 615. Propterea visum nobis opus utile, totis Felicis domibus pictura illudere sancta. Id. Natal. 10. p. 617. Martyribus mediam pictis pia nomina signant, &c.

[45] Aug. cont. Faust. lib. 22. c. 73. t. 6.

[46] Id. de Consensu Evangel. lib. 1. c. 10.

[47] Id. de Morib. Eccl. Cathol. lib. 1. c. 34. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores—quos et ipsa ecclesia condemnat, et tanquam malos filios corrigere studet.

self-willed persons, and daily endeavoured to correct them, as untoward children.

Sect. 8. The pictures of kings and bishops brought into the church about the same time.

From which any rational and unprejudiced person will easily conclude, that the first design of bringing pictures into churches, was only for ornament or history, and not for worship and adoration, as St. Austin and Philostorgius have declared. And this may be further confirmed from what Paulinus himself and other writers assure us of, that at first the pictures of the living had their place in the church, as well as the dead, and bishops and kings were joined with the saints and martyrs. Paulinus his own picture was set with St. Martin's in the baptistery of the church built by Severus, and Paulinus himself[48] wrote two epigrams by way of inscription to be set by them, to teach men not to worship, but to imitate them, the one as a saint, the other as a penitent sinner. Baronius thinks[49] Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, was the first that had this honour done him, anno 488. But Valesius[50] judiciously corrects his error, and observes it to have been customary long before. And the instance I have given in Paulinus sufficiently confirms his observation. Theodorus Lector[51] speaks of the same honour done to Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, in the remark that he makes upon Timotheus his successor, that whatever church he went into, he would never begin Divine service, till the images of Macedonius were first pulled down. Suidas takes notice of the picture of Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, being joined with that of Christ,[52] and Christ speaking to him in these words, "Destroy this temple, and in thy successor's days I will raise it up again." Damascen, a great advocate for images,[53] pretends to carry this practice as high as Constantine, telling us from Socrates, that Constantine ordered his own images to be set up in temples: but, as Mr. Spanheim[54] has observed, there is something of fraud in the relation: for Socrates speaks not of Christian churches, but of heathen[55] temples, in which having demolished their idols, he caused his own images to be placed in their room. But admitting it had been as Damascen pretends, it makes nothing to the purpose for which he alleges it, which was to prove the worship of images in churches.

Sect. 9. But neither pictures of the living or dead designed for worship.

For now, I presume, no one will suspect that the pictures of bishops and kings were set up in churches to be worshipped, while they were living among other men, but only designed to be an ornament to the church, or a civil honour to the persons. And the same must be concluded of the pictures of the dead, since the first introducers of them intermixed their own pictures with them. But it must be owned, that this superstition presently followed upon the setting up of pictures in churches: yet it was never approved, till the second council of Nice, anno 787, made a decree in favour of it. Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, ordered all images to be defaced, and cast out of all the churches of his diocese: and though Gregory the Great blamed him for this, and defended the use of pictures in churches as innocent, and useful for instruction of the vulgar,[56] yet he equally condemns the worship and adoration of them. And when the council of Nice had established it, in opposition to the council of Constantinople of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, held anno 754, who had before condemned it, the decrees of Nice were rejected by all the Western world, the popes of Rome only excepted. The council of Frankfort in Germany, the council of Paris in France, and some other councils in Britain, agreed unanimously to condemn them, and for some hundred years after the worship of images was not received in any of the three foresaid nations. But it is as much beyond my design to pursue this history any further, as it is needless, there being so many excellent discourses on this particular subject, especially those of Mr. Daille,[57] Bishop Stillingfleet,[58] and Spanheim,[59] who have omitted nothing on this head that was necessary to answer the cavils of their Romish antagonists, or give satisfaction to a curious reader.

Sect. 10. No images of God or the Trinity allowed in churches till after the second Nicene council.

All I shall add further, therefore, upon this subject, is only two observations, which Petavius himself[60] has made for us. The first is, that the ancients never allowed any pictures of God the Father, or the Trinity, to be set up in their churches. For this he produces the testimonies of Origen,[61] St. Ambrose,[62] and St. Austin,[63] who particularly pronounces it to be an impious thing for any Christian

[48] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 142. Adstat perfectæ Martinus regula vitæ: Paulinus veniam quo mereare docet. Hunc peccatores, illum spectate beati: exemplar sanctis ille sit, iste reis.

[49] Baron. an. 488. p. 438. Ex Suida, voce Acacius.

[50] Vales. Not. in Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 167.

[51] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 563.

[52] Suidas Lexicon. voce Acacius.

[53] Damascen. Orat. 3. de Imagin.

[54] Spanheim. Histor. Imagin. sect. 1. p. 14.

[55] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19. *Εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπέθετο.*

[56] Gregor. lib. 9. Ep. 9. Quia sanctorum imagines adorari vetuisses, omnino laudavimus: fregisse vero reprehendimus, &c. Vid. lib. 7. Ep. 110.

[57] Dallæus de Imaginibus.

[58] Stillingfl. Defence of the Discourse of Idolatry, &c.

[59] Spanheim. Historia Imaginum, Lugdun. Bat. 1686. 8vo.

[60] Petav. de Incarnat. lib. 15. c. 14. n. 1.

[61] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 6.

[62] Ambros. in Psal. cxviii. Octonar. 12.

[63] Aug. de Fide et Symbolo, c. 7. Tale simulachrum nefas est Christiano in templo collocare, multo magis in corde nefarium est.

to set up any such image in the church, and much more to do it in his heart. Nay, Pope Gregory II., who was otherwise a great stickler for images, in that very epistle[64] which he wrote to the emperor Leo to defend the worship of them, denies it to be lawful to make any image of the Divine nature. And the second council of Nice itself was against it, as is evident from the epistles of Germanus, bishop of Constantinople,[65] and John, bishop of Thessalonica, which are recited with approbation in the Acts of that council. And Damascen, following the doctrine of the same council, says, It is as great impiety as it is folly,[66] to make any image of the Divine nature, which is invisible, incorporeal, incircumscriptible, and not to be figured by the art of man. And therefore in all ancient history we never meet with any one instance of picturing God the Father, because it was supposed he never appeared in any visible shape, but only by a voice from heaven. Upon this account Paulinus, where he describes a symbolical representation of the three Divine Persons, made in the painting of a church, makes a lamb to be the symbol of Christ, and a dove the symbol of the Holy Ghost, but for God the Father[67] nothing but a voice from heaven. And this they did in compliance with that text in Deut. iv. 12. "The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of his words, but saw no similitude, only ye heard a voice." By which we see how much the present church of Rome has outgone the first patrons even of image worship itself, by allowing pictures of the Deity commonly in their temples, which the ancients reckoned to be impious and absurd, and is acknowledged to be an abuse fit to be corrected by Cassander,[68] though Petavius, after all his concessions and acknowledgments of the novelty of the thing, and its contrariety to ancient custom, endeavours to find out some colour for the present practice.

Sect. 11. Nor usually statues or massy images, but only paintings and pictures, and those symbolical rather than any other.

His other acknowledgment of a difference between the practice of the ancient church, and that of his own at this day, is, that the ancients did not approve of massy images, or statues of wood, or metal, or stone, but only pictures or paintings to be used in churches. This he proves from the testimonies of Germanus, bishop of Constantinople,[69] and Stephanus Bostrensis, both alleged in the Acts of the second Council of Nice: which shows, that massy images or statues were thought to look too much like idols even by that worst of councils. But some plead the authority of Gregory Nazianzen[70] for statues in churches, to whom Petavius answers, that he speaks not of statues in temples, but of profane statues in other places. Which is a very just and true observation. For it is most certain from the writings of St. Austin[71] and Optatus,[72] that there were no statues in that age in their churches, or upon their altars, because they reckon both those to be mere heathenish customs. And Cassander observes[73] the same out of the writings of Gregory the Great. He also notes, that till the time of the sixth general council, the images of Christ were not usually in the effigies or figure of a man, but only symbolically represented under the type of a lamb: and so the Holy Ghost was represented under the type or symbol of a dove: but that council forbade[74] the picturing of Christ any more in the symbol of a lamb, and ordered it only to be drawn in the effigies of a man. I presume, by this time the worship of images was begun, anno 692. And it was now thought indecent to pay their devotions to the picture of a lamb, and therefore they would no longer endure it to be seen in the church. I have been the more particular in recounting and explaining these things distinctly, that the reader might have in one short view the rise and progress of that grand superstition, which has so overspread the church and defaced its worship in the matter of images, which were introduced at first only for historical use, to be laymen's books, and a sort of ornaments for the church, though, as the event proved, the most dangerous of any other.

Sect. 12. Of adorning the church with flowers and branches.

There was one way more of adorning churches, which I should not have thought worth mentioning, but for its innocency and natural simplicity; that is, the custom of garnishing and decking them with flowers and branches. Which was not done at any certain times for any pretended mystery, but only to make them more decent and fit for a body of men to meet in. St. Austin takes notice of the custom, speaking of one[75] who carried away with him some flowers from off the altar. And Paulinus, in his poetical way, refers to it likewise.[76] But St. Jerom does it the greatest honour, to give it a place

[64] Gregor. 2. Ep. 1. ad Leon. in Act. 4. Conc. Nicen. 2.

[65] German. Ep. ad Leon. Act. 4. Conc. Nic. 2.

[66] Damascen. de Fide Orthodox. lib. 4. c. 17. Παραφροσύνης ἄκρας καὶ ἀσεβείας τὸ σχηματίζειν τὸ θεῖον, &c. Id. Orat. 1 et 2. de Imagin. passim.

[67] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 150. Pleno coruscat Trinitas mysterio; stat Christus agno; vox Patris cœlo tonat: et per columbam Spiritus Sanctus fluit.

[68] Cassand. Consultat. Sect. de Imagin. p. 179. Illud quoque inter abusus ponendum est, quod etiam Divinitati in Trinitatis deformatione simulachrum effingitur, quod veteres absurdum et nefarium judicassent.

[69] German. Ep. ad Thom. Claudiopol. in Act. 4. Conc. Nic. 2. Stephan. Bostren. ibid. Act. 2.

[70] Nazian. Ep. 49. [71] Aug. in Psal. cxiii. [72] Optat. lib. 2.

[73] Cassand. Consult. de Imagin. p. 165.

[74] Conc. Trull. c. 83.

[75] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. Abscedens aliquid de altari florum, quod occurrit, tulit, &c.

[76] Paulin. Natal. 3. Felicis, p. 541. Ferte Deo pueri laudem, pia solvite vota: spargite flore solum, prætexite limina sertis.

in his panegyric upon his friend Nepotian, making it a part[77] of his commendable character, that he took care to have every thing neat and clean about the church, the altar bright, the walls whited, the pavement swept, the gates veiled, the vestry clean, and the vessels shining; and so far did his pious solicitude about these matters extend, that he made flowers, and leaves, and branches of trees contribute to the beauty and ornament of the churches. These were but small things in themselves, St. Jerom says, but a pious mind devoted to Christ is intent upon things great and small, and neglects nothing that may deserve the name of the very meanest office in the church. And it is plain St. Jerom had a greater value for such sort of natural beauty and comeliness in churches, than for rich ornaments of costly pictures and paintings, and silver, and gold, and precious stones. And therefore, as I observed before,[78] he rather advised his rich friends to lay out their wealth upon the living temples of God, the backs and bellies of the poor, and commended the rich lady Paula for so doing,[79] rather than for hanging up needless and superfluous gifts, as others did, upon the pillars of the temple. And it is no wonder then he should commend Nepotian's frugal care, who had divested himself of all his estate to relieve the poor, and left himself no ability to adorn the church any other way, but that which was most to St. Jerom's liking and approbation.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

Sect. 1. What the ancients meant by the consecration of churches.

Anciently, when churches were finished and adorned, it was then usual to proceed to a dedication or consecration of them; which was a thing that was sometimes performed with a great deal of pious solemnity, and therefore it will be proper in the next place to make a little inquiry into the nature and circumstances of it. Now, I must observe first of all, that by the consecration of the church, the ancients always mean the devoting or setting it apart peculiarly for Divine service: but the manner and ceremony of doing this was not always exactly one and the same; therefore we are chiefly to regard the substance of the thing, which was the separation of any building from common use to a religious service. Whatever ceremony this was performed with, the first act of initiating and appropriating it to a Divine use was its consecration. And therefore, in allusion to this, the first beginning of any thing is many times called its dedication. As when Cyprian, speaking of Aurelius the confessor, whom he had ordained a reader, says, he dedicated[1] his reading, he means no more but that he performed the first act of his office in the church, which, in his phrase, was its dedication. Whether churches had any other ceremony besides this in their dedication for the three first ages, is not certain; though it is highly probable they might have a solemn thanksgiving and prayer for a sanctified use of them also, over and besides the usual liturgy of the church, because this was in use among the Jews; who thus dedicated not only their temple, 1 Kings viii., but also their private houses and walls of their cities, when they were finished, as appears from the title of the 30th Psalm, which is inscribed, "A Psalm or Song at the dedication of the house of David;" and from the account which is given by Nehemiah, xii. 27, of the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem. It is further probable, from the constant practice of Christians in consecrating their ordinary meat by thanksgiving and prayer, before they begin to use it; and from the manner of consecrating churches in the following ages after the time of Constantine: all which make it highly probable, that the Christians of the three first ages used the same ceremony of particular prayers and thanksgiving to God in the dedication of their churches. But having no express testimonies for this, I will not pretend positively to assert it. Durantus[2] and Bona[3] are indeed very confident it was always so from the time of the apostles: but they build upon no better foundation than the feigned epistles of Clemens Romanus, Evaristus, and Hyginus, and the Acts of St. Cæcilia in Simeon Metaphrastes, which are writings of no authority, when the question is about matters of fact in the first and apostolical ages.

Sect. 2. The first authentic accounts of thi[s] to be fetched fro[m] the fourth century.

Therefore leaving this matter, for want of better evidence, as a thing only probable, but not certain, I proceed to consider it as practised in the next age, when, in the peaceable reign of Constantine, churches were rebuilt over all the world, and dedicated with great solemnity. Then it was a desirable sight, as Eusebius[4] words it, to behold how

[77] Hieron. Ep. 3. Epitaph. Nepotian. Erat sollicitus si niteret altare, si parietes absque fuligine, si pavimenta tersa, si janitor creber in portis, vela semper in ostiis, si sacrarium mundum, si vasa luculenta, et in omnes ceremonias pia sollicitudo disposita.—Basilicas ecclesiæ et martyrum conciliabula diversis floribus et arborum comis, vitiumque pampinis adumbravit. [78] See before, sect. 5.

[79] Hieron. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ. Nolebat in his lapidibus pecuniam effundere, qui cum terra et sæculo transituri sunt: sed in vivis lapidibus, qui volvuntur super terram.—

[1] Cyprian. Ep. 37. al. 38. ad Cler. Carthag. Dominico le[gi]t interim nobis, id est, auspicatus est pacem, dum dedica[t] lectionem.

[2] Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 24. n. 1.

[3] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 20. n. 3.

[4] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 3. Τὸ πᾶσιν εὐκταῖον θέαμα, ἐγκαινίων ἑορταὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἄρτι νεοπαγῶν προσευτηρίων ἀφιερώσεις. Vide Euseb. de Laud. Constant. c. 1

the consecrations of the new-built churches and the feasts of the dedications were solemnized in every city. That which made these solemnities the more august and venerable, was, that commonly a whole synod of the neighbouring or provincial bishops met at the dedication. The church of Jerusalem which Constantine built over our Saviour's sepulchre, was consecrated in a full synod of all the bishops of the East, whom Constantine called first to Tyre, and then to Jerusalem, anno 335, for this very purpose, as Eusebius[5] and all the other historians inform us. In like manner Socrates observes,[6] that the council of Antioch, anno 341, was summoned on purpose to dedicate the famous church there, called *Dominicum aureum*, which was begun by Constantine and finished by Constantius. And there are many examples of the like nature to be met with in ancient history. Now, the solemnity was usually begun with a panegyrical oration or sermon, consisting chiefly of praise and thanksgiving to God, and sometimes expatiating upon the commendation of the founder, or the glory of the new-built church. Such as that oration in Eusebius,[7] made at the dedication of the church of Paulinus at Tyre, and others[8] in Gaudentius and St. Ambrose upon the like occasion. Sometimes they had more than one discourse upon it: for Eusebius, speaking of the dedication of churches in the time of Constantine, says, Every bishop that was present[9] made a speech in praise of the convention; so that the panegyric which he there records, was but one of many that were spoken. In another place, describing the dedication of the church of Jerusalem, he says, Some made speeches by way of panegyric[10] upon the emperor and the magnificence of his building; others handled a common place in divinity adapted to the present occasion; and others discoursed upon the lessons of Scripture that were read, expounding the mystical sense of them: and he bore a part in each of these himself, being present at that solemnity. When this part of the ceremony was over, they then proceeded to the mystical service, or the offering of the unbloody sacrifice, as he there terms it, to God; praying for the peace of the world, the prosperity of the church, and a blessing upon the emperor and his children. Among these prayers they seem to have had a particular prayer for the church then dedicated, as some understand St. Ambrose, who is thought[11] to have a form upon such an occasion; which, because we have not many such in the writings of the ancients, I will here insert in his own words: "I beseech thee now, O Lord, let thine eye be continually upon this house, upon this altar, which is now dedicated unto thee, upon these spiritual stones, in every one of which a sensible temple is consecrated unto thee: let the prayers of thy servants, which are poured out in this place, be always accepted of thy Divine mercy. Let every sacrifice, that is offered in this temple with a pure faith and a pious zeal, be unto thee a sweet-smelling savour of sanctification. And when thou lookest upon that sacrifice of salvation, which taketh away the sins of the world, have respect to these oblations of chastity, and defend them by thy continual help, that they may be sweet and acceptable offerings unto thee, and pleasing unto Christ the Lord: vouchsafe to keep their whole spirit, soul, and body, without blame, unto the day of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." I do not deny, but that this prayer, in some parts of it, may seem to look more like a consecration of virgins than a consecration of churches: perhaps it might serve for both, the spiritual and the material temples of God together; but if any thinks it means only the former, I will not contend about it, seeing it is already proved out of Eusebius, that at least panegyrical orations, and praises of God, and prayers for the church, were always part of the solemnity and ceremony of these dedications. And till a solemn day was appointed for the performance of these, it was not according to rule for any one to use a new-built church as a place of worship, unless a great necessity compelled him to it. Which is evident from the apology that Athanasius makes for himself to Constantius, for using the great church of Alexandria on the Easter festival, before it was finished and dedicated by the emperor its founder. He says,[12] the multitude was so great, that the lesser churches would not contain them without hazard of their lives, and therefore they importuned the bishop that they might assemble in the great church, otherwise threatening that they would meet in the open fields: upon which he consented to have prayers in this church; but this did not go for its dedication; for he tells the emperor, they still expected a day, when he

[5] Euseb. lib. 4. de Vit. Const. c. 43. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 28. Sozomen. lib. 2. c. 26. Theodor. lib. 1. c. 31.

[6] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 8.

[7] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4.

[8] Gaudent. Serm. 17. in Dedicat. Basilicæ. Ambros. Serm. 89.

[9] Euseb. lib. 10. c. 3.

[10] Euseb. de. Vit. Constant. lib. 4. c. 45.

[11] Ambros. Exhort. ad Virgines, in fine. Te nunc, Domine, precor, ut supra hanc domum tuam, supra hæc altaria quæ hodie dedicantur, supra hos lapides spirituales, quibus sensibile tibi in singulis templum sacratur, quotidianus præsul intendas, orationesque servorum tuorum, quæ in hoc loco funduntur, Divina tua suscipias misericordia. Fiat tibi in odorem sanctificationis omne sacrificium, quod in hoc templo fide integra, pia sedulitate offertur. Et cum ad illam respicis hostiam salutarem, per quam peccatum mundi hujus aboletur, respicias etiam ad has piæ hostias castitatis, et diuturno eas tuearis auxilio, ut fiant tibi in odorem suavitatis hostiæ acceptabiles, Christo Domino placentes, et integrum spiritum eorum, animam et corpus, sine querelæ loco usque in diem Domini Jesu Christi Filii tui servare digneris. Amen.

[12] Athan. Apol. 1. ad Constant. t. 1. p. 682 et 684.

himself should give the orders for its *encœnia*, or feast of dedication, and then solemnly give his thanks to God for the finishing of it, as had been done in the time of his predecessor Alexander, when the church of Theonas was building, and as he had seen it done at Triers, and Aquileia, and other places, where churches were sometimes used for prayer upon such urgent and pressing necessities before they were finished; but the using them for Divine service upon such occasions was not their dedication; but that always came after, and was a proper and solemn eucharistical service, or thanksgiving to God for the accomplishment of the holy structure. So that this evidently makes out the observation that has been made out of Eusebius before, That the common prayers of the church were not looked upon as a formal dedication, without special panegyrical orations, and forms of adoration and praise more peculiar to that occasion. And this also confutes the opinion of those, who think the setting up the sign of a cross, or placing a communion table in a church, was its dedication. For these things might be done without any dedication. Which appears not only from this discourse of Athanasius, but from a case related in Synesius, where some pretended that a certain place was consecrated into a church, because it had been used for prayer and administration of the sacrament in a time of hostile invasion; against which Synesius positively determines,[13] that such a use in time of necessity was no consecration; for otherwise mountains, and valleys, and private houses would be churches.

Sect. 3. The bishop in every diocese the ordinary minister of these consecrations.

It is evident from what has been already said, that these consecrations being generally performed in a synod of bishops, the bishops were the ministers always employed in this service. But it might happen that none but the bishop of the diocese could be there, and then it was his business peculiarly to perform the office of consecration, which, by some ancient canons, is so specially reserved to the office of bishops, that presbyters are not allowed to perform it. The first council of Bracara, anno 563, makes it deprivation[14] for any presbyter to consecrate an altar or a church, and says the canons of old forbade it likewise. Among our British councils collected by Sir Henry Spelman, there is one under St. Patrick, anno 450, where we have a canon to this very purpose, That a presbyter,[15] though he builds a church, shall not offer the oblation in it, before he brings his bishop to consecrate it, because this was regular and decent. And ancient history affords no approved examples to the contrary.

Sect. 4. No church to be built without the bishop's leave.

This will receive a little further confirmation from our observing two or three other things, which have a near relation to this matter. As, first, that no church regularly could be builded without the licence or consent of the bishop in whose diocese it was erected. This is expressly provided in one of the canons of the council of Chalcedon, which subjects both monasteries and churches so to the bishop's care, that neither of them might[16] be founded without his consent and approbation.

Sect. 5. Nor till the bishop had first made a solemn prayer in the place where it was to be builded.

And by the laws of Justinian no church was to be begun, before the bishop had first made a solemn prayer, and fixed the sign of the cross in the place where a new church was to be erected. Which we have over and over again repeated in that emperor's Novels, both with relation to monasteries and churches.[17] And Gothofred, not without reason, thinks the same custom was observed in expiating the temples of the heathen, when they were to be consecrated into Christian churches. For so he understands that law[18] of Theodosius, which orders the temples to be expiated by placing in them the sign of the Christian religion, that is, the sign of the cross. And whereas some monks, and other orders of men, would sometimes presume to set up the sign of the cross in public buildings, and other places erected for the divertisement of the people; which was, in effect, a pretending to make them churches without the bishop's leave; therefore the emperor Leo made a decree,[19] that nothing of this nature should be done by usurpation for the future, but whether it was to erect a cross, or bring the relics of a martyr into any place, both these should be done by the direction of the bishops, and not

[13] Synes. Ep. 67. p. 238. *Εὔξασθαι τἀναγκαῖα, τοῦτο τον τόπον οὐ καθιεροῖ*, &c.

[14] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 37. Si quis presbyter post hoc interdictum ausus fuerit chrisma benedicere, aut ecclesiam aut altarium consecrare, a suo officio deponatur. Nam et antiqui canones hoc vetuerunt.

[15] Conc. Hibernicum, Conc. t. 1. p. 1480. can. 23. Si quis presbyterorum ecclesiam ædificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat suum pontificem, ut eum consecret, quia sic decet.

[16] Conc. Chalced. can. 4. *Ἔδοξε μηδένα μὲν μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν, μήδε συνιστᾷν μοναστήριον, ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον, παρὰ γνώμης τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου.*

[17] Justin. Novel. 131. c. 7. Si quis voluerit fabricare venerabile oratorium aut monasterium, præcipimus non aliter inchoandam fabricam, nisi locorum episcopus orationem ibi fecerit et venerabilem fixerit crucem. Vid. Novel. 67. c. 1. Novel. 5. c. 1.

[18] Cod. Theod. lib. 1. Tit. de Paganis, Leg. 25. Conlocatione venerandæ Christianæ religionis signi expiari præcipimus.

[19] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 26. Decernimus, ut posthac neque monachi, neque quicunque alii in ædes publicas, vel in quæcunque loca populi voluptatibus fabricata, venerabilem crucem et sanctorum martyrum reliquias illicite inferre conentur, vel occupare audeant ea, quæ vel ad publicas causas, vel ad populi oblectamenta, constructa sunt, &c.

otherwise. And hence it is probably conjectured, both by Suicerus and Meursius, that a bishop's diocese is sometimes called *σταυροπήγιον*, that is, the district wherein he had power to fix the cross within his own bounds for the building of churches. So the word will signify both the act of making a cross, and the limits wherein he had power to make it.

Sect. 6. No bishop to consecrate a church in another's diocese except necessity required it.

For it is to be observed further, that though bishops had the power of consecrating churches, yet that was limited to their own diocese, and they might not exceed their own bounds, unless called to assist another, or to minister in the vacancy of another bishopric. Which is so strictly insisted on by the council of Orange, that it forbids a bishop, who builds a church himself at his own expence, in another man's diocese, to assume to himself the consecration[20] of it, but to leave that to the bishop in whose territory the church is erected. The third council[21] of Orleans and others have decrees of the like nature. But in case a church was built in a vacant diocese, then any neighbouring bishop might be called to consecrate it, as Sidonius Apollinaris was called to consecrate the church of Ruteni, or Rhodez, in France, though he was bishop of another diocese: but the reason[22] was, as Savaro rightly observes, because Rhodez at that time had no bishop of its own to officiate in the consecration. Now, all these things show, that the bishop in every diocese was the proper minister of this service; for he was to be consulted before the work was begun, he was to come also and pray at the place before the foundation was laid, and when the building was finished, he was to be called to consecrate it, or else some other bishop in his stead. But if presbyters could regularly have done it, there had been no need to have sent for a bishop out of another diocese to perform it. But perhaps it will be asked, What if a presbyter did take upon him to do the thing, did his act stand good, or did the bishop proceed to a new consecration? To which I answer, this being a thing reserved to bishops only by ecclesiastical law and custom, (for the Scripture has nothing about it,) we do not find any new consecrations practised in such cases; but because it was a schismatical act in a presbyter so to go against rule and canon in contempt of his bishop, therefore he was to be punished[23] with deposition or degradation, as appears from the forecited canon of the council of Bracara. And even a bishop that pretended to consecrate a church in another man's diocese, was for his offence to be suspended a year from his office[24] as a transgressor of the canons, in the French churches.

Sect. 7. No necessity of a licence from the bishop of Rome for a bishop to consecrate in former ages.

Some pretend, that a bishop in his own diocese could not, according to ancient canons, consecrate a church without the bishop of Rome's licence to authorize him to do it. This is one of Gratian's doctrines to magnify the pope's power[25] in the canon law. Which the new Roman correctors are so far from altering or censuring, that they bring Socrates in as a further evidence to vouch for it. Socrates indeed, speaking of the council of Antioch, which Constantius summoned under pretence of dedicating his new church there, (though the true design was to have Athanasius condemned in a general council,) excepts against it upon this ground, because the bishop of Rome was not there, whose consent was necessary, by the ecclesiastical canon, to make laws or rules for the church.[26] Which was a privilege equally belonging to all patriarchs, that no general council should be held, nor general rules made for the whole church, without their presence and advice first taken in such public deliberations. But this has nothing to do with the consecration of churches in every private bishop's diocese, of which there is no instance in all ancient history, of any bishop's being obliged to send to the bishop of Rome for his licence to consecrate a church within his own diocese. But that which seems to have imposed upon these censors, was their misunderstanding those Greek words, *κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας*, which does not signify dedicating of churches, (though Musculus so translates it, and Hospinian follows him in the same error,) but the church's making laws or canons for her own government: in which the bishop of Rome was allowed to have a patriarchal privilege, but not in the consecration of churches, though that now be insisted on by some, who would have every thing flow from the immense plenitude of power in the bishops of Rome.

Sect. 8. Churches always dedicated to God, and not to saints, though sometimes distinguished by their names for a memorial of them.

Next to the minister consecrating, it will be proper to say something of the object, to whom churches were dedicated; which anciently was solely to God and his service. Of which custom St. Austin is a most irrefragable witness, who, disputing with Maximinus, the Arian bishop, uses this argument to prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, That he must be God, because temples were builded and dedicated to him, which it would be sacrilege to do to any creature. If, says he, we

[20] Conc. Arausican. can. 10. Si quis episcoporum in alienæ civitatis territorio ecclesiam ædificare disponit——permissa licentia ædificandi, non præsumat dedicationem, quæ illi omnimodo reservatur, in cujus territorio ecclesia assurgit.

[21] Conc. Aurelian. 3. c. 15.

[22] Sidon. lib. 4. Ep. 15. et Savaro in locum.

[23] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 37. [24] Conc. Aurelian. 3. c. 15.

[25] Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. 1. c. 6 et 27. Edit. Romæ Jussu Gregor. 13. 1582.

[26] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 8. Κανόνος ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κελεύοντος, μὴ δεῖν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ῥώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας.

should make a temple of wood and stone to any holy angel, though never so excellent, should we not be anathematized by the truth of Christ and the church of God, for exhibiting to the creature that service which is only due to the Creator? Since, therefore, we should be sacrilegious in building a temple to any creature,[27] how can he be otherwise than the true God, to whom we not only build temples, but are ourselves his temples? In another place, he rejects with scorn the false imputation of Faustus the Manichee, who charged the catholics with erecting temples to their martyrs, and offering sacrifice and other acts of worship to them therein. To this he replies, That they never offered sacrifice to any martyr, but only to the God of the martyrs, though they erected altars in the memorials of the martyrs.[28] For what bishop, when he stands by the altar in any place where the holy bodies lie, ever says, We offer unto thee, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian? But what is offered, is offered unto God, (who crowns the martyrs,) in the memorials of the martyrs who are crowned by him. He often repeats it in other places,[29] that they did not so honour their martyrs, by erecting temples or altars to them, but only unto God. The same place, indeed, was often a monument or memorial of a martyr, and a temple of God, because churches were commonly built over the sepulchres of the martyrs, or in the places where they suffered, or else the relics of the martyrs were translated into them: and hence they were called by the martyrs' name, because they were memorials of them. The church and the altar that was built at Carthage, in the place where St. Cyprian suffered martyrdom, was, upon that account, called *Mensa Cypriani*, Cyprian's Altar, not because it was built or dedicated to him or his worship, (for St. Austin says[30] it was erected only to God and his service,) but because it was a memorial of his martyrdom, being built in the place where Cyprian himself was offered a sacrifice unto God.

Sect. 9. Churches sometimes named from their founders, or other circumstances in their building.

And from hence it is very plain, that the naming a church by the name of a saint or martyr was far from dedicating it to that saint or martyr, though it served for a memorial of him among the living, and so far was an honour to his memory, though dedicated only to God and his service. And this is further evident from this consideration, that churches were sometimes named from their founders, who certainly did not intend to dedicate churches to themselves. Thus Sirmond[31] has observed three churches in Carthage to be so denominated from their founders, *Basilica Fausti*, *Florentii*, and *Leontii*. And Sozomen[32] tells us, that the temple of Serapis, when it was turned into a church, was called by the name of Arcadius. As some in Rome and Antioch bare the name of Constantine and Justinian. Sometimes they had their name from a particular circumstance of time, or place, or other accident in the building of them. The church of Jerusalem was called *Anastasis* and *Crux*, not because it was dedicated to any St. Anastasis or cross, but because it was by Constantine built in the place of our Saviour's crucifixion and resurrection, as Valesius[33] and others have rightly observed. So the church of Anastasia at Constantinople was so termed, not from any saint of the same name, but because it was the church where Gregory Nazianzen by his preaching gave a sort of new life or resurrection to the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, after it had been long oppressed by the Arian faction, as he himself[34] accounts for the reason of the name in several places of his writings. And upon the like ground one of the churches of Carthage was called *Basilica Restituta*, from its being rescued out of the hands of the Arians. One of the churches of Alexandria was commonly called *Cæsareum*,[35] which Valesius[36] thinks was for no other reason but because the place before had been called *Cæsareum*, or the temple of the Cæsars. As a

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[27] Aug. cont. Maximin. lib. 1. t. 6. p. 288. Nonne si templum alicui sancto angelo excellentissimo de lignis et lapidibus faceremus, anathematizaremur a veritate Christi et ab ecclesia Dei, quoniam creaturæ exhiberemus eam servitutem, quæ uni tantum deberetur Deo? Si ergo sacrilegi essemus faciendo templum cuicunque creaturæ, quomodo non est Deus verus, cui non templum facimus, sed nos ipsi templum sumus?

[28] Aug. cont. Faust. lib. 20. c. 21. Nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum sacrificamus, quamvis in memoriis martyrum constituamus altaria. Quis enim antistitum in locis sanctorum corporum assistens altari, aliquando dixit, Offerimus tibi Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane; sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, qui martyres coronavit, apud memorias eorum quos coronavit.

[29] Aug. de Vera Relig. c. 55. Honoramus eos charitate, non servitute. Nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim sic se honorari a nobis, &c. It. de Civit. Dei, lib. 22. c. 10. Illi (ethnici) talibus diis suis et templa ædificaverunt, et statuerunt aras, et sacerdotes instituerunt, et sacrificia fecerunt. Nos autem martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis fabricamus: nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus martyribus, sed uni Deo et martyrum et nostro.

[30] Aug. Ser. 63. de Diversis, t. 10. p. 592. Ut mensa illa quæ Dei est, etiam Cypriani vocetur, hæc causa est: quia ut illa modo cingitur ab obsequentibus, ibi Cyprianus cingebatur a persequentibus, &c. Item. Mensa Deo constructa est, tamen mensa dicitur Cypriani—quia ibi est immolatus, et quia ipsa immolatione sua paravit hanc mensam, non in qua pascat sive pascatur, sed in qua sacrificium Deo, cui et ipse oblatus est, offeratur.

[31] Sirmond. Not. in Aug. Serm. 37. a se Edit. t. 10. p. 753.

[32] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 15.

[33] Vid. Vales. Epist. de Anastas. ad Calcem Eusebii.

[34] Naz. Orat. 32. ad 150 Episcopos, t. 1. p. 527. It. Carm. 9. de Somnio Anastasiæ, t. 2. p. 78.

[35] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 15. Liberat. Breviar. c. 18.

[36] Vales. Not. in Evagr. lib. 2. c. 8.

church of Antioch was called *Palæa*, because built in that part of the city which they termed παλαιὰν, or the old city. So St. Peter's at Rome was anciently called *Triumphalis*, because it stood in *Via Triumphali*, or the triumphal way leading to the capitol. And we are assured from St. Jerom,[37] that the Lateran church had its name from Lateranus the heathen, who was slain by Nero, because it had formerly been that nobleman's palace in Rome. A thousand observations of the like nature might be made; but these few are sufficient to show, that there were different reasons for giving names to churches; and that it was no argument of churches being dedicated to saints, because they bare the names of saints; it being otherwise apparent, that they were consecrated only to God, and not to any creature.

Sect. 10. When altars first began to have a particular consecration with new ceremonies distinct from churches.

What has been observed of churches is equally true of altars, that they were always dedicated to God alone, and not to any other being whatever, even after they began to have a particular consecration with some new ceremonies distinct from churches: which seems to have begun first of all in the sixth century. For the council of Agde, anno 506, is the first public record that we meet with, giving any account of a distinct consecration of altars: and there we find the new ceremony of chrism[38] added to the sacerdotal benediction. And not long after we find a like decree in the council of Epone, anno 517, That no altars but such as were made of stone, should be consecrated with[39] the infusion of chrism upon them. Which implies, that at least some altars, if not all, had then the ceremony of chrism in their consecration. But as this ceremony was new, so was the consecration of altars, as distinct from churches, a new thing also; and much more the consecration of communion cloths, and cups, and images, and crosses, and paschal tapers, and holy water, and beads, and bells, of which the reader may find a particular account in Hospinian,[40] with all the new rites of consecrating churches in the Romish rituals, which it is none of my business here further to pursue.

Sect. 11. No church to be built or consecrated before it was endowed.

Concerning the ancient consecrations we have further to observe, that by the laws of Justinian no man was to begin to build a church, before he had given security to the bishop of a maintenance for the ministry[41] and the repairs of the church, and whatever was otherwise necessary to uphold Divine service in it. And by a rule of one of the Spanish councils,[42] a bishop was not to consecrate a church, before the donation of its maintenance was delivered to him in writing confirmed by law. Which were necessary rules to preserve churches from falling to ruin, and their ministry and service from contempt and disgrace.

Sect. 12. Yet bishops not to demand any thing for consecration.

But beyond this suitable provision and settlement for the service of the church, the bishop was not to exact or demand any thing further of the founder; but it being part of his ordinary office to consecrate churches, he was obliged to do it without requiring any reward for his service; unless the founder thought fit to make him any voluntary oblation, in which case he was at liberty to receive it. So it is determined in the foresaid Spanish council of Bracara,[43] and for the French churches in the second council of Chalons,[44] and others in the time of Charles the Great.

Sect. 13. Consecrations performed indifferently upon any day.

As to the time of consecration, they did not anciently confine themselves to perform it only upon Sundays, but all days were at first indifferent both for this and the ordinations of the clergy likewise. Which is an observation frequently made by the learned Pagi[45] in his critical remarks on the chronology of the ancient church. Particularly he observes, that Constantine's famous dedication of the church of Jerusalem in a full synod of bishops, anno 335, must needs have been upon a Saturday: for all writers agree, that it was upon the ides of September, that is, upon the 13th day of September, which, according to the exact rules and method of the cycle, must fall upon a Saturday that year. Whence Pagi rightly concludes, that the custom had not yet prevailed, which confined consecration of churches to the Lord's day.

Sect. 14. The day of consecration usually celebrated among their anniversary festivals.

I have nothing further to remark upon this head, save only that the day of consecration was in many churches solemnly kept and observed among

[37] Hieron. Ep. 30. Epitaph. Fabiolæ. Ut ante diem paschæ in basilica quondam Laterani, qui Cæsariano truncatus est gladio, staret in ordine pœnitentium. Speaking of Fabiola doing penance there.

[38] Conc. Agathen. can. 14. Altaria placuit non solum unctione chrismatis, sed etiam sacerdotali benedictione sacrari.

[39] Conc. Epaunens. c. 26. Altaria nisi lapidea infusione chrismatis non sacrentur.

[40] Hospin. de Templis, lib. 4. c. 2, &c.

[41] Justin. Novel. 67. c. 2. Non aliter quempiam ecclesiam de novo exædificare, priusquam loquatur ad Deo amabilem episcopum, et definiat mensuram quam deputat ad luminaria, et ad sacrum ministerium, et ad domus custodiam, et ad alimenta ministrantium, &c.

[42] Conc. Bracarens. 3. c. 5. Unusquisque episcoporum meminerit, ut non prius dedicet ecclesiam, nisi antea dotem basilicæ et obsequium ipsius per donationem chartulæ confirmatum accipiat. Vid. Conc. Tolet. 3. c. 15.

[43] Conc. Bracar. 3. c. 5. Quoties ab aliquo fidelium ad consecrandas ecclesias episcopi invitantur, non quasi ex debito munus aliquod a fundatore requirant; sed si ipse quidem aliquid ex suo voto obtulerit, non respuatur.

[44] Conc. Cabillon. 2. c. 16.

[45] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 335. n. 4.

their anniversary festivals. For Sozomen gives us this account of the dedication of the church of Jerusalem,[46] that in the memory of it they held a yearly festival, which lasted for eight days together, during which time both they of the church, and all strangers, which flocked thither in abundance, held ecclesiastical assemblies and met together for Divine service. To this Gregory the Great seems to have added a new custom here in England, which was, that on the annual feast of the dedication the people might build themselves booths round about the church, and there feast and entertain themselves with eating and drinking, in lieu of their ancient sacrifices while they were heathens: which is related by Bede,[47] out of Gregory's letters to Austin, and Mellitus, the first bishop of the Saxons. And from this custom, it is more than probable, came our wakes, which are still observed in some places, as the remains of those feasts of dedication of particular churches.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE RESPECT AND REVERENCE WHICH THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS PAID TO THEIR CHURCHES.

Sect. I. Churches never put to any profane use, but only sacred and religious service.

Next to their adorning and consecration of churches, it will be proper to examine what respect and reverence they paid to consecrated places, after they were once set apart for Divine service. They then used them only as the houses of God, for acts of devotion and religion, and did not allow of any thing to be done there, that had not some tendency towards piety, or immediate relation to it. They might be used for religious assemblies, for the elections of the bishops and clergy, for the sitting of councils, for catechetic schools, for conferences and collations about religion; but not be put to the use of common houses, to eat, or drink, or lodge in. And therefore, though the law allowed men to take sanctuary in the church, as we shall see in the next chapter, yet it did not allow them to have their meat and lodging there. When some abused the *catechumenia*, (which I have showed before to be places within the church for men and women to hear Divine service in,) and turned them into rooms to lodge in, the emperor Leo made a decree, that all such should be expelled from their habitations in the church. The case was different when men spent whole nights in the church in watching and prayer; as they did frequently both in their public and private vigils; such pernoctations in the church were allowed, because they were but necessary circumstances of Divine service: only women were forbidden by the council of Eliberis[1] to keep private vigils in the church, because many times, under pretence of prayer, secret wickedness was committed. And for the like reason their *agapæ*, or feasts of charity, which were originally an apostolical practice, and kept in the church, were afterwards prohibited, or at least discouraged, for the excess and consequent profaneness that attended them. The council of Laodicea[2] peremptorily forbids them under that name of charity feasts, and commands that no one should eat, or prepare beds or tables for that purpose, in the house of God. And the third council of Carthage forbids all feasting in the church[3] in general to the clergy, except in case of necessity, when they were upon a journey, and could not otherwise be entertained; and orders, that the custom should be discountenanced as much as possible also in the laity: for though they were forced to tolerate it for some time, yet they did not approve of it, as St. Austin tells Faustus[4] the Manichee, but endeavoured to correct both the excess that many ran into upon such occasions, and the very custom itself of feasting in the church, or at the graves of the martyrs, because two errors crept into the church by that means, intolerable excess, and a heathenish superstition therewith: for men began, as he[5] complains, in these riots to worship pictures and tombstones, and reckoned their feasts a sort of sacrifice to the dead, placing even their voracities and drunkenness to the account of religion; so that it was high time to lay aside all manner of banquetings in the church, that the house of God might not be profaned with such excesses of riot as were not to be endured in private houses. And this was their general rule in all cases, to lay aside all customs that were not absolutely necessary, though innocent and useful in their original, rather than suffer the abuses and corruptions of them to end in the profanation of churches.

[46] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 26. [47] Bede, Hist. lib. 1. c. 30.

[1] Conc. Eliber. c. 35. Placuit prohiberi, ne fœminæ in cœmeterio pervigilent, eo quod sæpe sub obtentu religionis scelera latenter committant.

[2] Conc. Laodic. c. 28. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσθίειν καὶ ἀκούβιτα στρωννύειν.

[3] Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 30. Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia conviventur, nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiantur. Populi etiam, quantum fieri potest, ab hujusmodi conviviis prohibeantur. Vid. Cod. Afric. can. 42.

[4] Aug. cont. Faust. lib. 20. c. 21. Qui se in memoriis martyrum inebriant, quomodo a nobis approbari possunt, cum eos, etiam si in domibus suis id faciant, sana doctrina condemnet? Sed aliud est quod docemus, aliud quod sustinemus: aliud quod præcipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare præcipimur, et donec emendemus, tolerare compellimur.

[5] Aug. de Morib. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 34. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores: novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos seipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni.

Sect. 2. The like caution observed about the sacred vessels and utensils of the church.

The like reverence and respect was also showed to every sacred vessel and utensil belonging to the administration of the sacraments and Divine service: they might not be employed to any other use, but only what was sacred, and answerable to the designation and appointment of them. Upon this account, they were kept in the *sceuophylacium* of the church, and never removed thence, but when the service of the altar required them. This custom was so nicely observed, that when Athanasius was accused for breaking the mystical cup, he clears himself of the accusation by saying, That in the place where it was pretended that he had broken it, there was neither church nor minister,[6] nor was it the time of celebrating the eucharist: therefore, since the cup was never in the custody of any but the ministers of the church, nor ever used but in the church in time of Divine service, he could not be guilty of the crime laid against him, seeing there were none but private men, in whose keeping the cup could not be in that place. The vessels were usually kept by the deacon; and the subdeacons and other inferior orders are by the councils of Laodicea[7] and Agde[8] forbidden to touch them. There was but one case in which it was lawful to put these things to common use, and that was the case of absolute necessity, when no other method could be found out to redeem captives, or relieve the poor in times of extreme exigence: then it was thought that mercy was to be preferred before sacrifice, and that the living and spiritual temples of God were to be preserved at the expense of the material ones; and they never made any scruple to melt down their communion plate or part with their ornaments upon such occasions, of which I have given full proof heretofore from the examples of St. Ambrose, St. Austin, Cyril of Jerusalem, Acacius bishop of Amida, Exuperius of Tholouse, and the laws[9] of Justinian, which need not be repeated in this place. But excepting this one extraordinary case, it was esteemed the highest profanation and sacrilege, to divert any thing to any other use which was given to God's service: and there are some instances of very remarkable judgments that befell such profaners, one or two of which it may not be amiss to mention. Theodoret[10] tells us, Julian the apostate sent two of his officers, Felix and his uncle Julian, to plunder the church of Antioch, called the golden church, and bring the rich vessels, which Constantine and Constantius had dedicated, into his own coffers. But they were not content barely to commit sacrilege, unless they could vent their spite also in some unmannerly and profane abuses: therefore Julian pissed upon the holy table, and Felix, seeing the holy vessels, broke out into this rude expression, Behold what fine vessels Mary's Son is served in! But the impious wretches did not long go unpunished: for Julian was immediately seized with an ulcer, which turned all his bowels into putrefaction, and he died voiding his own excrements at his blasphemous mouth; and Felix, by the same Divine vengeance, voided blood at his mouth, without intermission, day and night until he died. Victor Uticensis[11] gives us a like account of one Proculus, an agent of one of the kings of the Vandals, who, having ravaged and plundered the catholic churches, made himself a shirt and breeches of the palls or coverings of the altar. But not long after he fell into a frenzy, which made him eat off his own tongue, piece by piece, and so he breathed out his last in a most ignominious death. It is no less remarkable, what Optatus reports of some Donatist bishops, who, in their mad zeal against the catholics, ordered the eucharist which the catholics had consecrated to be thrown to their dogs; but not without an immediate sign of Divine vengeance[12] upon them: for the dogs, instead of devouring the elements, fell upon their masters, as if they had never known them, and tore them to pieces, as robbers and profaners of the holy body of Christ. Which makes Optatus put them in mind of that admonition of our Saviour, Matt. vii. 6, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you." Other instances might be added of the same nature, but I choose rather to go on with the account of their reverence, than to dwell any longer upon the punishments of the profaners.

Sect. 3. What difference made between churches and private houses.

Let us next, then, observe the difference that was made between churches and private houses. Some heretics made very light of this distinction, as the Eustathians, Massalians, and others. Against the Eustathians we have two canons made in the council of Gangra, from which we may learn their errors, and what were the catholic tenets in opposition to them. The first is, If any one[13] teach, that the house of God, and the assemblies held therein, are to be despised, let him be anathema. And the other, If any one[14] hold assemblies privately

[6] Athan. Apol. 2. t. 1. p. 732.

[7] Conc. Laodic. c. 21. [8] Conc. Agathen. c. 66.

[9] Book V. chap. 6. sect. 6. [10] Theodor. lib. 3. c. 12.

[11] Victor de Persecut. Vandal. lib. 1. p. 593.

[12] Optat. lib. 2. p. 55. Ut omnia sacrosancta supra memorati vestri episcopi violarent, jusserunt eucharistiam canibus fundi: non sine signo Divini judicii. Nam iidem canes accensi rabie, ipsos dominos suos, quasi latrones, sancti corporis reos, dente vindice, tanquam ignotos et inimicos laniaverunt.

[13] Conc. Gangren. c. 5. *Εἴ τις διδάσκοι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συνάξεις, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*

[14] Ibid. c. 6. *Εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησιά-*

out of the church, and, despising the church, chooses to perform ecclesiastical offices where there is no presbyter appointed by the bishop, let him be anathema. These heretics seem to have contemned both a regular ministry and the public churches, and to have made no difference between the house of God and other houses, but to have taught that ecclesiastical offices might as well be performed at home as in the church. Against which errors this council rising up so severely, gives us to understand, that according to the sentiments of the catholic church, the public offices of the church were to be performed in public, and not in private houses, and that it was a contempt of the house of God to perform them otherwise. At present I do not remember any one allowed instance of the contrary practice in all ancient history, except in cases of necessity, which are above all laws. And therefore I could not but reckon this difference, which was so universally put between the house of God and private houses, amongst the instances of respect and reverence, which the ancients paid to their churches.

Sect. 4. How some chose rather to die than deliver up churches to be profaned by heretics.

It will deserve here also to be remembered, particularly to the praise of St. Ambrose, how he acted with the courage and resolution of a martyr in defence of the churches, that they might not be delivered up to the profanation of the Arians. For when the younger Valentinian had, by the instigation of his mother Justina, an Arian empress, first published a law, now extant in the Theodosian Code,[15] allowing the Arians liberty to hold assemblies; and afterwards sent his commands to Ambrose to deliver up to them one of the churches of Milan; he returned him this brave and generous answer: "If the emperor asks of me any thing[16] that is my own, my estates, my money, I shall freely recede from my right, though all that I have belongs to the poor. But those things which are God's, are not subject to the emperor's power. If my patrimony is demanded, you may invade it; if my body, I will offer it of my own accord. Will you carry me into prison, or unto death? I will voluntarily submit to it. I will not guard myself with an army of my people about me; I will not lay hold of the altar, and supplicate for life, but more joyfully be sacrificed myself for the altar." He thought it absolutely unlawful for the emperor to grant to the Arians, the enemies of Christ, those temples which had been dedicated to the service of Christ; and that it did much less become a bishop, the minister of Christ, to be accessory to so foul a dishonour to his Lord: and therefore he rather resolved to die at the altar, if it must be so, than give his consent to so great a profanation. By this one instance we may easily judge, what opinion the ancients had of the sacredness of churches, as God's propriety; and that they would as soon deliver up their Bibles to be burnt by the heathen, as their churches to be profaned by heretical assemblies, where impiety would be taught for true religion, and blasphemy offered to God instead of adoration.

Sect. 5. The ceremony of washing their hands when they went into the church.

As to the ceremonies of respect used by them when they entered into the church, we find one of pretty general observation, which was the custom of washing their hands and their face, in token of innocency and purity, when they went to worship God at the holy altar. Which seems to be taken from that of the psalmist, "I will wash my hands in innocency, and so will I compass thy altar." This custom is frequently mentioned by Chrysostom, Eusebius, Tertullian, Synesius, Paulinus, and others, whose testimonies have been already alleged in the former part[17] of this book, where I had also occasion to show, that fountains and cisterns of water were commonly set in the *atrium* or court before the church for this very purpose.

Sect. 6. The ceremony of putting off their shoes used by some, but this no general custom.

Another ceremony used by some few, (for it was no general custom,) was putting off their shoes when they went into the house of God. Cassian observes of the Egyptian monks, that they always wore sandals instead of shoes, and those they also put off whenever they went[18] to celebrate or receive the holy mysteries, thinking themselves obliged to do so, by interpreting literally that intimation of reverence which was given to Moses and Joshua, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." But others did not understand this as an absolute command, obliging all men precisely to use this ceremony of respect, but only where the custom of any nation had made it an indication of reverence, as it was among the Eastern nations in the time of Moses and Joshua. Whence we do not find it mentioned as any general custom prevailing among the primitive Christians; unless perhaps it may be thought

ζοι, καὶ καταφρονῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐθέλοι πράττειν, μὴ συνόντος τȣ̃ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώμην τȣ̃ ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔςω.

15 Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 1. de Fid. Cathol. Leg. 4.

16 Ambros. Ep. 33. ad Marcel. de Tradendis Basilicis. Si a me peteret quod meum esset, id est, fundum meum, argentum meum, jus hujusmodi meum me non refragaturum, quanquam omnia quæ mea sunt essent pauperum. Verum ea quæ Divina, imperatoriæ potestati non esse subjecta, &c.

17 Chap. 3. sect. 6.

18 Cassian. Institut. lib. 1. c. 10. Nequaquam tamen caligas pedibus inhærere permittunt, cum accedunt ad celebranda vel percipienda sacrosancta mysteria, illud æstimantes etiam secundum literam custodiri debere, quod dicitur ad Moysen vel ad Jesum filium Nave: solve corrigiam calceamenti tui, locus enim in quo stas terra sancta est.

to have been so in the Ethiopian or Abyssin churches, because, as Mr. Mede has observed[19] out of Zaga Zabo's account of them in Damianus a Goes, the same custom continues still among them at this day. Which, whether it be derived from ancient tradition of their churches, or be a practice lately taken up among them, is not now very easy to be determined.

Sect. 7. Whether the ancients used the ceremony of bowing toward the altar at their entrance into the church.

And I think the same resolution must be given to the question about bowing toward the altar at their first entrance into churches. Mr. Mede thinks there is no plain demonstration of it in the ancient writers, but some probability of such a custom derived from the Jews. For he says, What reverential guise, ceremony, or worship,[20] they used at their ingress into God's house in the ages next to the apostles, (and some I believe they did,) is wholly buried in silence and oblivion. The Jews before them, from whom the Christian religion sprang, used to bow themselves down towards the mercy-seat. The Christians after them, in the Greek and Oriental churches, have, time out of mind, and without any known beginning thereof, used to bow in like manner, with their posture toward the altar, or holy table, saying that of the publican in the Gospel, "God be merciful to me a sinner;" as appears by the liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, and as they are still known to do at this day. Which custom of theirs, not being found to have been ordained or established by any decree or canon of any council, and being so agreeable to the use of God's people of the Old Testament, may therefore seem to have been derived to them from very remote and ancient tradition. Nothing therefore can be known of the use of those first ages of the church, further than it shall seem probable they might imitate the Jews. This is spoken according to the wonted ingenuity of that learned person, who never advances a probability into a demonstration. I shall only add one thing out of Chrysostom, to make his opinion seem the more probable, which I note from the observation of Mr. Aubertin,[21] who, among some other instances of reverence paid to God, at the reading of the Gospel and reception of baptism, takes notice of this, that when the candidates of baptism came near the baptistery, which, in Chrysostom's language,[22] is the bride-chamber of the Spirit and the port of grace, they were then as captives to fall down before their King, and all to cast themselves together upon their knees. Now, if such an act of reverence was performed to God at their entrance into the baptistery, it is not improbable but that some such reverence might also be used at their entrance into the temple. But in matters which have not a clear light and proof, it is not prudent to be over-bold in our determinations.

Sect. 8. Kings laid aside their crowns and guards, when they went into the house of the King of kings.

It is more certain, that when kings and emperors went into the house of God, they paid this respect to the place, that they left not only their arms and their guards, but also their crowns behind them; as thinking it indecent to appear in their regalia in the presence of the King of kings, or to seem to want arms and guards when they were under the peaceable roof of the Prince of peace. St. Chrysostom often spends his eloquence[23] upon this custom, and uses it as an argument to persuade all inferiors to a profound reverence, humility, and peace, when they came into the courts of God, because they had such examples of their kings before them. The emperor Theodosius junior also makes use of the same topic in one of his laws,[24] which was made to regulate the abuses of some who fled for sanctuary in the church with their arms about them: which profanation was not to be endured in any, since he himself always left his arms without doors, and first laid aside his diadem, the badge of imperial majesty, before he went into the church. Nay, Julian himself had regard to this custom, as Sozomen truly observes[25] out of his epistle to Arsacius, high priest of Galatia, where one of the things he would have them imitate the Christians in, was this, that when they went into the temples of their gods, no man of arms should appear among them. And I have already[26] noted out of Leo Grammaticus, how Michael, the Greek emperor, in latter ages, was censured for presuming to pass the beautiful or royal gates crowned, at which gates it had ever been customary for his predecessors to lay aside their crowns, when they went into the church.

Sect. 9. The doors and pillars of the church and altar often kissed and embraced in token of love and respect to them.

Another very usual piece of respect paid to the altar and the church, was men's embracing, saluting, and kissing them, or any part of them, the doors, threshold, pillars, in token of their great love and affection for them. St. Ambrose takes notice of this in the account he gives of the great consternation they were in at Milan, when the

[19] Mede, Disc. on Eccl. v. 1. p. 348.

[20] Id. on Psal. cxxxii. 7. p. 397.

[21] Albertin. de Euchar. lib. 2. p. 432.

[22] Chrysost. in illud, Simile est Regnum Cœlor. &c. Ἐπειδὰν εἰσδράμητε τὴν παστάδα τῆς χάριτος, ἐπειδὰν πλησίον γένησθε τῆς φοβερᾶς ὁμοῦ καὶ ποθεινῆς κολυμβήθρας, ὡς αἰχμάλωτοι προσπέσητε τῷ βασιλεῖ, ῥίψατε πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ γόνατα.

[23] Chrysost. Orat. post Redit. ab Exilio, t. 4. p. 971. It. Hom. in Psal. xlviii. t. 3. p. 812.

[24] Edict. Theodos. ad calcem Conc. Ephes. et in Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. Leg. 4. Nos qui legitimis imperii armis semper circumdamur——Dei templum ingressuri, foris arma relinquimus, et ipsum etiam diadema, regiæ majestatis insigne, deponimus.

[25] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 16.

[26] See chap. 5. sect. 1.

emperor's orders came for delivering up the churches to the Arians. The soldiers were the men who first brought the welcome news into the church, that the emperor had revoked his fatal sentence: and they strove who should first get to the altar and kiss it,[27] to signify, that all things now were in peace and safety. He alludes, no doubt, to the *osculum pacis*, the solemn kiss of peace, which the faithful anciently were used to give mutually to each other in the communion service, as a testimony of their cordial love and affection for one another. And therefore it cannot be supposed that such salutations of the church or altar were intended as acts of religious worship, but only as civil indications of their love and respect for them. And by this rule we are to interpret all other places of ancient authors, which frequently speak of this custom, as Sidonius Apollinaris,[28] Paulinus,[29] Prudentius,[30] Chrysostom,[31] Athanasius,[32] Cassiodore,[33] and the author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy,[34] under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, and several others, who wrote before the superstitious adoration of images had gained any credit in the church: the like respect to this having been also showed to the book of the Gospels, without any suspicion of adoring the materials of it.

Sect. 10. Churches used for private meditation and prayer, as well as public.

I think it not improper also to observe under this head, that churches were many times chosen as the properest places for private devotion and prayer upon extraordinary occasions. Theodoret[35] observes of Theodosius the emperor, that the night before he was to engage Eugenius the tyrant, was by him wholly spent in an oratory, which happened to be in the place where he had pitched his camp. And in like manner both Athanasius,[36] and Socrates,[37] and the other historians, tell us of Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, that when the faction of Eusebius had threatened to oblige him upon a certain day to receive Arius into communion, he betook himself the night before to the church, and there, prostrating himself before the altar, continued all night in prayer, begging of God, that if the faith which he held was truth, and the opinion of Arius false, he would punish Arius as his impiety justly deserved. Which was accordingly fulfilled: for the the next day Arius, as he was going triumphantly to church, having occasion to turn aside to go to stool, voided his entrails with his excrements, and so perished by a most ignominious death. I mention these things only to show, that the ancients paid such a respect to their churches, that upon special occasions they thought them the properest places as well for private devotion as for public. And I have already noted[38] that many of their churches were so framed, as to have private cells or recesses for men to retire to, and exercise themselves at leisure times in private reading of the Scriptures, and meditation and prayer.

Sect. 11. Their public behaviour in the church expressive of great reverence.

As to their public behaviour in the church, it was generally such as expressed great reverence for it, as the sanctuary of God, and the place of his immediate presence. They entered it as the palace of the Great King, where the angels attended, and heaven opened itself, and Christ sat upon his throne, and all was filled with incorporeal powers, as Chrysostom words it[39] in some of his elegant descriptions. It is particularly remarked by Gregory Nazianzen,[40] of his own mother Nonna, that the zeal of her devotion was always so flaming and fervent, that she never spake a word in the church, but what was necessary to be done in joining in the sacred service; she never turned her back upon the altar, nor ever allowed herself to spit upon the pavement of the church. But I cannot say these were necessary laws for all to observe; for Nazianzen intimates she did something above the common pitch, and consequently that it was choice and zeal, and not any binding rules of the church, that obliged her to it. We might here have considered further their reverent postures of devotion, standing, kneeling, and prostration; and have exposed the practice of sitting at prayers and at the communion service, which Perron and some others, for different reasons, contend for, as a posture of devotion used in the ancient church; but I shall have a more proper occasion to speak of these things hereafter, when we come to the particular offices and services of the church.

Sect. 12. Churches the safest repository for things of any value, and the best retreat in times of distress.

The last instance of their reverence for churches which I shall take notice of, is, that the sacredness of them made them commonly the safest repository for things of value, and the best security and retreat in times of common calamity and distress. The church had not only her own private archives, her treasury, and her *cemeliarchium*, for

[27] Ambros. Ep. 33. Certatim hoc nunciare milites, irruentes in altaria, osculis significare pacis insigne.

[28] Sidon. Lib. 1. Ep. 5. Triumphalibus apostolorum liminibus affusus, &c.

[29] Paulin. Natal. 6. Felicis, p. 569. Sternitur ante fores, et postibus oscula figit.

[30] Prudent. Hymn. 11. in S. Laurent. Apostolorum ac martyrum exosculantur limina.

[31] Chrysost. Hom. 29. in 2 Cor. Πρόθυρα φιλοῦμεν τοῦ ναοῦ.

[32] Athanas. Homil. adv. eos qui in homine spem figunt, t. 2. p. 301. Προσιόντες τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ μετὰ φόβου καὶ χαρᾶς ἀσπαζόμενοι.

[33] Cassiodor. Hist. Tripart. lib. 9. c. 30.

[34] Dionys. Eccl. Hier. c. 2.

[35] Theodor. lib. 5. c. 24.

[36] Athanas. Epist. ad Serapion. p. 671.

[37] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 37. Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 12.

[38] See chap. 5. sect. 8.

[39] Chrysost. Hom. 3. in Ephes. et Hom. 15. in Hebr.

[40] Naz. Orat. 19. in Fun. Patris, t. 1. p. 292.

preserving her own writings, her utensils, and her treasures, but was a place of common tuition and defence, both for things and persons, in many other cases. Thus it is noted by Ruffin,[41] and Socrates,[42] and Sozomen, that the cubit wherewith they were used to measure the increase of the waters of Nile, when it overflowed, having been before usually kept in the temple of Serapis, was by the order of Constantine laid up in the Christian church, where it continued till Julian the apostate caused it to be removed to the temple of Serapis again. But persons, as well as things, found a safe retreat and security in the sacredness of churches, when many times in barbarous invasions no other places would protect them against the insolence and fury of a conquering enemy. Nay, the very heathens themselves often found their account in flying to the Christian churches, as St. Austin glories over them, beginning his famous book against the pagans, De Civitate Dei, with this observation. There he tells them what ungrateful wretches they were to the religion of Christ, to clamour and inveigh so bitterly against it, when yet, had it not been for the protection of their lives in places dedicated to Christ, whither they[43] fled from the swords of their enemies, they had never been able at that day to have moved their tongues against it. For when Alaric the Goth took and sacked Rome, he gave orders that all the churches should be inviolable, and whoever fled thither should be spared; the sanctity of the place should be their protection: by which means the heathens escaped as well as the Christians. For the soldiers inviolably observed their general's commands, and when they had barbarously plundered and murdered in all other places, they did not pretend to meddle with churches, or offer the least violence to any who betook themselves thither for safety and protection. Nay, they carried some into churches themselves, whom they intended to spare, and so secured them from the violence of others that might have assaulted them. So great a veneration had even the barbarous Arian Goths for churches, in the midst of all their anger and fury against the Romans, as not only St. Austin, but Orosius,[44] and St. Jerom,[45] and Cassiodore,[46] and Sozomen,[47] with other ancient writers, relate the story. And it can hardly be doubted, then, but that the catholics had the same veneration for churches; especially when it is considered also, how both by general custom and law under the Christian emperors, every church was invested with the privilege of an asylum, or place of sanctuary and refuge, in certain cases; of the original of which, and the ancient laws relating to it, (because some abuses have been added in after ages by the canon law,) I will give a particular account in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE FIRST ORIGINAL OF ASYLUMS, OR PLACES OF SANCTUARY AND REFUGE, WITH THE LAWS RELATING TO THEM, IN CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

Sect. I. The original of this privilege to be deduced from the time of Constantine.

ALL that is necessary to be known of this privilege, so far as concerns the use of it in the ancient church, either relates to the original of the custom, or the place itself where sanctuary might be had, or the persons who were entitled to the benefit, or, lastly, the conditions they were to observe in order to obtain and enjoy it. And therefore under these four heads we will briefly consider it. As to the original of it, there is no dispute made by any author, but that it began to be a privilege of churches from the time of Constantine, though there are no laws about it older than Theodosius, either in the Justinian or the Theodosian Code. But the law of Theodosius is sufficient evidence itself, that it was the custom or practice of the church before; for his law was not made to authorize the thing itself, but to regulate some points relating to it, which supposes the thing to be in use before. But whether Constantine made any law to establish it, is very much doubted by learned men. Baronius[1] affirms it upon the credit of the acts of Pope Sylvester: but those are known to be spurious and forged writings, no older than the ninth or tenth age, by the acknowledgment of Papebrochius and Pagi,[2] who have accurately examined and refuted Baronius's vindication of them. However, Gothofred allows what seems to be the truth of the case, that practice and custom established this privilege by degrees even from the time of Constantine; for before Theodosius made any law about it, the thing was certainly in use in the church, as appears from the account which Gregory Nazianzen gives of it in the Life of Basil,[3] where he tells us how St. Basil protected a widow, who fled to the altar, against the violence that was offered to her by the governor of Pontus. The like is reported of St. Ambrose in his Life,[4] written by Paulinus; and St. Ambrose himself speaks

[41] Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 30.

[42] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 18. Sozom. lib. 1. c. 8.

[43] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 1. c. 1. Hodie contra eam linguas non moverent, nisi ferrum hostile fugientes, in sacratis ejus locis vitam, de qua superbiunt, invenirent, &c.

[44] Oros. lib. 7. c. 39. [45] Hieron. Epist. 16. ad Principiam.

[46] Cassiodor. Variar. lib. 12. c. 20.

[47] Sozom. lib. 9. cap. 10. [1] Baron. an. 324. n. 61.

[2] Papebroch. Conatus Chronico-Histor. p. 49. Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 315. n. 4.

[3] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil. t. 1. p. 353.

[4] Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 9.

of the custom in one of his epistles, where, in answer to the emperor Valentinian junior, who had commanded him to deliver up one of the churches of Milan to the Arians, he tells him, that was a thing he could never obey him in; but if he commanded him to be carried to prison or to death, that he would voluntarily submit to, and neither use force to defend himself, nor fly to the altar to supplicate for his life.[5] These and some other such like instances show, that the churches enjoyed this privilege by ancient custom, before Theodosius made any law about it; which he did first, anno 392, not to authorize the thing, but to explain and regulate some things relating to it, of which more by and by in their proper place.

Sect. 2. At first only the altar and inner fabric of the church the place of refuge: but afterwards any outer buildings or precincts of the church invested with the same privilege.

Here we are next to examine what part of the church was more peculiarly assigned to be the place of sanctuary and refuge. Gothofred thinks, that at first only the inner buildings and apartments of the church, and especially the altar, were the places of refuge: whence in Synesius[6] and other ancient writers the altar is so frequently called ἄσυλος τράπεζα, the table from which no one could be ravished or taken away. But whether this was originally so or not, it is certain that in the time of Theodosius junior these limits for taking sanctuary were enlarged. For in one of his laws now extant in both the Codes,[7] not only the altar and the body of the church, but all between the church and outward walls, that is, houses and lodgings of the bishop and clergy, gardens, baths, courts, cloisters, are appointed to enjoy the same privilege of being a sanctuary to such as fled for refuge, as well as the innermost part of the temple. Particularly the baptisteries, which, as I have showed before, were places without the church, were invested with this privilege equally with the altar: for Proterius, bishop of Alexandria, as Liberatus[8] and Evagrius[9] report, took sanctuary in the baptistery of the church, to avoid the fury of the Eutychian faction headed by Timotheus Ælurus; and though that was a place which even the barbarians themselves had some reverence for, yet, as the Egyptian bishops[10] complain in their letter to the emperor Leo, the malice of the Eutychians pursued him thither, and there slew him, mangled his body, dragged it about the streets, and at last burnt it to ashes, and scattered his ashes in the wind; for which unparalleled barbarity committed against the laws of religion, the emperor Leo deposed Timotheus Ælurus, and sent him into banishment all his life. There were a great many other places, which had this privilege of sanctuary also beside churches, as the statues of the emperors, of which there is a particular title in the Theodosian Code;[11] also the emperor's standard in the camp, the bishop's house, the graves and sepulchres of the dead, together with the cross, schools, monasteries, and hospitals in after ages, of which, being all foreign to the business of churches, I say nothing further, but refer the curious reader to the elaborate treatise of Rittershusius[12] upon this subject among the London critics, where each of these and some other privileged places are particularly considered.

Sect. 3. What persons allowed to take sanctuary.

Next to the places of refuge, we are to consider the persons to whom this benefit extended, and in what cases they were allowed to take sanctuary in their churches. For this privilege anciently was not intended to patronize wickedness, or shelter men from the due execution of justice, or the force of the laws in ordinary cases; but chiefly to be a refuge for the innocent, the injured, and oppressed: or in doubtful causes, whether criminal or civil, only to give men protection so long, till they might have an equitable and fair hearing of the judges, and not be proceeded against barbarously and rigorously, under pretence and colour of justice; or at most, only to give bishops opportunity to intercede for criminals and delinquents in such cases, as it was both becoming and lawful for bishops to turn intercessors. These were the sanctuaries which Basil[13] pleaded for against the governor of Pontus, and Synesius[14] against Andronicus, governor of Ptolemais, and Chrysostom against Eutropius, who had prevailed with Arcadius to abrogate by law all privileges[15] of this nature belonging to the church; but by God's providence, he was the first man that wanted this privilege, being fallen under the emperor's displeasure, and forced to fly to the altar for that refuge which he had denied to others. This gave Chrysostom occasion to make that eloquent and curious oration upon his case, whereby he artfully wrought the people into a tender compassion for their bitterest enemy, that they might go and supplicate the emperor for him, who now lay prostrate at the altar, and by their supplications they obtained his life, for the sentence of death was mi-

[5] Ambros. Ep. 33. ad Marcellin. Nec altaria tenebo vitam obsecrans, &c.

[6] Synes. Ep. 58. p. 193.

[7] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Ecclesias confugiunt. Leg. 4. Inter templum, quod parietum descripsimus cinctu, et post loca publica et januas primas ecclesiæ, quicquid fuerit interjacens, sive in cellulis, sive in domibus, hortulis, balneis, areis atque porticibus, confugas interioris templi vice tueatur, &c. Vid. Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 12. Leg. 3.

[8] Liberat. Breviar. c. 15.

[9] Evagr. lib. 2. c. 8.

[10] Epist. Episcoporum Ægypt. ad calcem Concil. Chalced. n. 32. p. 894.

[11] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 44. de his qui ad statuas Imperatorum confugiunt.

[12] Rittershus. de Asylis, c. 3.

[13] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil.

[14] Synes. Ep. 58.

[15] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccl. confug Leg. 3.

tigated, and turned into confiscation and banishment only,[16] though afterward by treachery he lost his life. These were chiefly the cases which the ancient privilege of sanctuary respected, and commonly thirty days' protection was granted to men in such pitiable circumstances, which term was thought sufficient[17] by the law to end any controversies that such men might have before the civil judges. Though the Saxon law of King Alfred allowed but three days' time for this, as both Rittershusius and Gothofred have observed out of Lambard's account of our ancient[18] English and Saxon laws. During this time they were maintained by the church, if they were poor, out of the revenues of the poor; but if they were able to subsist themselves, it was sufficient for the church to grant them her protection, and that only in the forementioned cases, and no other.

Sect. 4. What sort of persons and crimes denied this privilege. First, Public debtors.

Therefore, that no one might presume upon indemnity by virtue of this privilege, who had not a just and legal title to it, several crimes and cases were specified by the law, as excepted, for which the church could grant no protection. As, first, Public debtors, who either embezzled or kept back by fraud the public revenues of the state. By a law of Theodosius the Great, now extant in both the Codes, such debtors, though they fled to the church for sanctuary, were to reap no benefit by it, but immediately to be taken thence by force:[19] or if they were concealed by the clergy, the bishop and church in that case were liable to be called upon, and made to answer the debt to the public. And Baronius[20] is of opinion, that it was by virtue of this law that St. Austin was obliged to pay the debt of one Fastius, who fled to the church for refuge, not being able to answer the pressing demands of the public exactors; and therefore St. Austin made a public collection for him in his church, because he would not deliver him up to be tortured by his creditors, as he himself informs us in one of his epistles.[21] This was the reason, as I have observed in another place,[22] why St. Austin refused to accept the donation of a man's estate, which was originally tied to certain public service in the corporation of the *navicularii*, or those who were bound to transport the public corn from Africa to Rome. For it might happen, that the men whom the church was to employ in this service, might, by mischance of shipwreck, or other means, become obnoxious to the public: and then the church must either deliver up her servants to be tortured, or else pay the debt; for there was no refuge or sanctuary allowed in this case but upon that condition. And therefore St. Austin[23] himself tells us, he refused such an estate, because one way or other it might have involved the church in great trouble. In private cases, Gothofred seems to think that the benefit of sanctuary was allowed to poor debtors, that they might have a little respite from torture, and either compound with their creditors, or find some other method to discharge their debt, whilst they were under the shelter and protection of the church.

Sect. 5. Secondly, Jews that pretended to turn Christians only to avoid paying their debts, or suffering legal punishment for their crimes.

But then even this benefit was not universal; for the Jewish converts were particularly excepted from it. For by a law of Arcadius and Honorius, extant in both the Codes, it was provided, That all Jews, who, being either in debt, or under prosecution as criminals, pretended to unite themselves to the Christian religion, that thereby they might have the privilege of taking sanctuary in the church, and avoid the punishment of their crimes[24] or burden of their debts, should be rejected, and not received till they had discharged their debts, or proved themselves innocent of the crimes laid against them. Yet, in other cases, the Jews were not denied this benefit, but had the common privilege of sanctuary with other men, if Gothofred[25] judge right, who cites Julius Clarus and Petrus Sarpus[26] for the same opinion.

Sect. 6. Thirdly, Heretics and apostates.

Rittershusius[27] thinks the case of heretics and apostates was something worse in this respect than that of Jews, because they who deserted the church were wholly excluded from having any benefit of sanctuary in it. Covarruvias, and Panormitan, and Sarpus collect the same before him, but not from any express law about this matter, but only from a general law of Theodosius and Valentinian, which excludes apostates and heretics from all society, and many other common privileges allowed to other men.[28] From whence they conclude, by parity of reason, that they could lay no claim to the benefit

[16] Vid. Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 40. de Pœnis, Leg. 17.

[17] Vid. Justin. Novel. 17. c. 6.

[18] Lambard. de Legibus Angliæ, p. 28.

[19] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccles. confug. Leg. 1. Publicos debitores, si confugiendum ad ecclesias crediderint; aut illico extrahi de latebris oportebit, aut pro his ipsos, qui eos occultare probantur episcopos exigi, &c.

[20] Baron. an. 392, p. 661.

[21] Aug. Ep. 215. Ne corporalem pateretur injuriam, ad auxilium sanctæ ecclesiæ convolavit, &c.

[22] Book V. chap. 3. sect. 5.

[23] Aug. Hom. 49. de Diversis, t. 10. p. 520. Navicularium nolui esse ecclesiam Christi, &c.

[24] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. Leg. 2. Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 12. Leg. 1. Judæi, qui reatu aliquo vel debitis fatigati, simulant se Christianæ legi velle conjungi, ut ad ecclesias confugientes evitare possint crimina, vel pondera debitorum, arceantur, nec ante suscipiantur, quam debita universa reddiderint.

[25] Gothofred, t. 3. p. 361.

[26] Sarpus de jure Asyli, c. 5. p. 58.

[27] Rittershusius de Asylis, cap. 6.

[28] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 7. de Apostat. Leg. 4. Hi qui sanctam fidem prodiderunt, et sanctum baptisma hæretica

of sanctuary in any case, because deserters of religion, which they had once owned in baptism, were reckoned worse than Jews, who had never made profession of it. And therefore, by another law of Theodosius, their slaves were entitled to the favour which the masters themselves were denied: for if the slave of an apostate or a heretic[29] fled from his master, and took sanctuary in the church, he was not only to be protected, but to have his manumission, or freedom, granted him likewise. There being an equal design in the law to encourage orthodoxy, and discourage heresy and apostacy, by respective rewards and punishments allotted to them.

Sect. 7. Fourthly, Slaves that fled from their masters.

This was particularly determined in the case of the Donatists for re-baptizing their slaves, to initiate them into their own religion. But in other cases the slaves of orthodox masters had not so large a privilege. For by a law of Arcadius and Honorius, anno 398, slaves are put in the same condition with public debtors, and the *curiales*, and other public officers, whom no privilege of sanctuary[30] was to excuse from the proper duties of their station. And therefore, though any such one fled to the church for refuge, or was ordained a clerk in the church, there was no legal protection allowed him, but he might be reclaimed and fetched thence immediately to his proper servitude or station again, by the authority of the civil judges. I know, indeed, Gothofred takes this to be that law of Arcadius, procured by the instigation of Eutropius against the immunities of the church, which is so much reflected on by St. Chrysostom,[31] and Prosper,[32] and Socrates,[33] and Sozomen,[34] and some other ancient writers of the church, and which Arcadius himself thought fit to revoke within a year after, when Eutropius was fallen under his displeasure: which, whether it be that very law or not, is a thing I shall not now nicely dispute; for, admitting it to be so, I observe, that it was never wholly revoked and disannulled, but only in some particular instances. For that part about the illegal ordination of the *curiales* was left in a great measure in its full force, as has been clearly demonstrated in another place:[35] and that part which concerns slaves taking sanctuary in the church, was with a very small variation renewed and reinforced by Theodosius junior, son of Arcadius, and compiler of the Theodosian Code. For by one of his laws,[36] which is the last upon this head in that Code, No slave is allowed to have sanctuary or entertainment in any church above one day, when notice was to be given to his master from whom he fled for fear of punishment, that he might reclaim him and carry him back to his own possession, only giving a promise of indemnity and pardon for his faults, if they were not very great and heinous. And Rittershusius[37] cites a law of Theodoric, king of the Goths, and some others, to the same purpose.

Sect. 8. Fifthly, Robbers, murderers, conspirators, ravishers of virgins, adulterers, and other criminals of the like nature.

But in case men were guilty of crimes of a more heinous nature, such as theft and robbery, or treason and conspiracy against the government, or murder and bloodshed, or ravishing of virgins, or adultery, or any crimes of the like nature; then it mattered not whether the criminals were bond or free, there was not an hour's respite allowed to such men, but they were to be taken immediately by force of the civil magistrate, if need required, even from the very altar; or if they pretended to make any resistance with arms, they might with indemnity be slain there. This is undeniably evident from the laws of Justinian, which specify these and all such criminals as excepted universally from all benefit of sanctuary; it being[38] wholly against the intent and design of that privilege to give any protection to murderers, adulterers, ravishers of virgins, or any the like, but rather to the innocent and injured parties, who were exposed to their violence and abuses: temples were never designed by law to give sanctuary both to the passive and the aggressors: and therefore if any that were guilty of such crimes fled to the altar for refuge, they should be drawn thence, and punished according to law with

superstitione profanarunt, a consortio omnium segregati sint, &c.

[29] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 6. Ne sanctum baptisma iteretur. Leg. 4. His qui fortisan ad rebaptizandum cogentur, refugiendi ad ecclesiam catholicam sit facultas, ut ejus præsidio adversus hujus criminis auctores attributæ libertatis præsidio defendantur.

[30] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. Leg. 3. Si quis in posterum servus, ancilla, curialis, debitor publicus, procurator, murilegulus, quilibet postremo publicis privatisve rationibus involutus, ad ecclesiam confugiens, vel clericus ordinatus, vel quocunque modo fuerit a clericis defensatus, nec statim conventione præmissa pristinæ conditioni reddatur, decuriones quidem, et omnes, quos solita ad debitum munus functio vocat, vigore et solertia judicantum ad pristinam sortem revocentur.

[31] Chrysost. Hom. in Eutrop. t. 4.

[32] Prosper de Prædict. lib. 3. c. 38

[33] Socrat. lib. 6. c. 5.

[34] Sozom. lib. 8. c. 7.

[35] Book IV. chap. 4. sect. 4.

[36] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccles. confug. Leg. 5. Si quidem servus cujusquam ecclesiam, altariave, loci tantum veneratione confisus, sine ullo telo petierit, is non plus uno die ibidem dimittatur, quin domino ejus, vel cujus metu pœnam imminentem visus est declinasse, a clericis, quorum interest, nuntietur. Isque eum, impertita indulgentia peccatorum, abducat.

[37] Rittershus. de Asylis, c. 8. p. 284.

[38] Justin. Novel. 17. c. 7. Neque autem homicidis, neque adulteris, neque virginum raptoribus, vel talia delinquentibus, terminorum custodies cautelam: sed etiam inde extrahes, et supplicium eis inferes. Non enim talia delinquentibus parcere competit, sed hoc patientibus, ut non talia a præsumptoribus patiantur. Deinde templorum cautela non nocentibus, sed læsis datur a lege, et non erit possibile utrumque tueri cautela sacrorum locorum, et lædentem et læsum.

punishments suitable to their offences. This one law of Justinian's shows us plainly the true intent and meaning of all other ancient laws relating to this privilege of sanctuary, that the design of them, as I observed before, was chiefly to protect the innocent, the injured, and oppressed from violence, and in some hard or dubious cases to grant a little respite, till a fair hearing might be procured, or some intercession made to the judges, by the bishop or clergy, for such persons as might seem to want it. And so Gothofred[39] upon the whole matter determines, that anciently legal refuge was no more but the clergy's deprecation or intercession for men in distress. And such as they might laudably and decently intercede for, they might for some time legally protect from violence and torture in the church; but not obstruct the due execution of justice upon other sort of criminals, for which it was scandalous to intercede.

Sect. 9. A just reflection upon the great abuse of modern sanctuaries, in exempting men from legal punishment, and enervating the force of civil laws.

In which respect most of the modern sanctuaries have been complained of by considering men, as guilty of great abuses, in giving protection almost to all sorts of criminals, and so encouraging the practice of villany, by exempting men from legal punishment, and enervating the force of civil laws. For the canon law of Gratian, and the pope's Decretals, grant protection to all criminals, except night robbers, and robbers on the highway, and such as commit enormous crimes in the church itself upon presumption of its protection. But all other criminals have liberty of taking sanctuary, and it is reckoned a violation of the immunities of the church to take them thence, unless a promise or an oath be first given, that neither death,[40] nor any other corporal punishment, but only a pecuniary mulct, shall be inflicted on them, as Pope Innocent III. determined in one of his letters to the king of Scots, which Gregory IX. inserted into the body of his Decretals. The council of Orleans[41] has some canons to the same purpose, which, though contrary to all other ancient laws, Gratian[42] thought fit to adopt into his own Collections. And so the modern canon law, under pretence of ecclesiastical immunities, opened a wide gap to licentiousness, by taking off those restraints which the ancient laws had justly set upon this matter, when they granted refuge to innocent and injured men, but not to notorious criminals. Which difference is not only noted and complained of by all protestant writers, but also by some of the Romish church. Polydore Virgil[43] makes no scruple to condemn them all over the Christian world, but more especially here in England, where protection was given, not to the innocent and oppressed, but to all sorts of criminals, such as were guilty of treason and rebellion not excepted. Whence he thinks it very apparent, that the thing, as then practised, was not to be derived from Moses, who allowed refuge to none but such as killed a man unawares and against their will, but from Romulus: which was the cause that so many villains took heart and encouragement to practise wickedness, there being churches every where ready to receive and protect them; though nothing was more directly contrary to the establishment of Moses, whose law was guarded with this sanction, Exod. xxi. 14, "If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from my altar, that he may die." This was the difference, in the opinion of that author, between the modern sanctuaries and those of Moses and the ancient church.

Sect. 10. Conditions anciently to be observed by such as fled for sanctuary. 1st, No one to fly with arms into the church.

There is one thing more to be observed concerning the privilege of sanctuary in the laws of the ancient church, which is, that such persons as were allowed this benefit, were obliged to observe certain conditions in taking refuge, otherwise they forfeited all their right and title to it. As, first, They were not to fly with arms into the church, nor into any place or building adjoining to it, as the gardens, houses, courts, cloisters, to which the privilege of sanctuary was annexed. This is particularly specified and provided by a law[44] of Theodosius junior, which has this sanction added to it, That if any one pretended to act otherwise, and, being admonished by the church, refused to lay aside his arms, that then it should be lawful for the magistrate, by the consent of the bishop, to send his officers with arms into the church upon such an exigence, and take him thence by force; and if the

[39] Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. Leg. 5. p. 373. Nihil ad ecclesiam perfugium erat, quam clericorum deprecatio seu intercessio.

[40] Decretal. Gregor. lib. 3. Tit. 49. de Immunit. Eccles. c. 6. Quantumcunque gravia maleficia perpetraverit, non est violenter ab ecclesia extrahendus: nec inde damnari debet ad mortem vel ad pœnam, sed rectores ecclesiarum sibi obtinere debent membra et vitam. Super hoc tamen quod inique fecit, est alias legitime puniendus.

[41] Conc. Aurelian. 1. can. 3 et 4.

[42] Gratian. Caus. 17. qu. 4. c. 36. It. Caus. 36. qu. 1. c. 3.

[43] Polydor. Virgil. de Inventor. Rerum, lib. 3. c. 12. Sunt hodie in orbe nostro Christiano, præsertim apud Anglos, passim asyla, quæ non modo insidias timentibus, sed quibusvis sontibus, etiam majestatis reis patent: quod facit ut manifeste appareat, nos id institutum non a Mose, qui illis duntaxat qui nolentes hominem occidissent, asylum posuit, sed a Romulo esse mutuatos. Quæ nempe res haud dubie in causa est, cur bene multi a maleficiis minus abstineant manus, &c.

[44] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccles. confug. Leg. 4. Si ecclesiæ voce moniti, noluerint arma relinquere —armatis, si ita res exegerit, intromissis, trahendos se abstrahendosque esse cognoscant, et omnibus casibus esse subdendos, &c.

refugee still persisted in his opposition, and chanced to be slain in the engagement, it was to be reckoned purely his own fault, and no violation of the church's privilege in that case, because he refused to observe this necessary condition of safety. The emperors themselves laid aside their arms and crowns when they entered into the church, and therefore Theodosius argues,[45] that it was but reasonable all refugees should do the same, and trust only to the laws and sacredness of the place for their protection.

Sect. 11. 2ndly, No one to raise a seditious clamour or tumult, as he fled thither.

A second condition to be observed in this case was, That men should betake themselves silently and modestly to the church, and not by any rude and indecent clamours endeavour to raise any popular tumult. Learned men collect this from a law in the Greek Constitutions, and the Justinian Code,[46] which forbids refugees to make any clamorous petitions to the emperor on such festivals as he came to the great church, but if they had any request to be preferred, they should do it privately by the archbishop or defensors of the church: otherwise they should forfeit their privilege, and be cast out of the church, and be delivered over to the city magistrate to be punished.

Sect. 12. 3rdly, No one to eat or lodge in the church but to be entertained in some outward building.

Thirdly, Though refugees might fly to the church, and even to the very altar; yet they were neither to eat nor lodge there; but the clergy were obliged to prohibit them from doing either of these by an express law of Theodosius junior,[47] who, to cut off all pretences for the contrary practices, as if men could not be safe but within the walls of the church, made not only the church and the altar places of refuge, but all other buildings and places belonging to the church; giving this reason for allowing such an ample space for the benefit of sanctuary, that men might not have the excuse of fear to make them eat or lodge in the church, which he thought to be things not so decent in their own nature, nor agreeable to the state of religion, and the respect and reverence that was due to churches, as places appropriated to God, and set apart for his service.

[45] Edict. Theodos. ad calcem Concil. Ephesin. cited before, chap. 10. n. 8.

[46] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 12. de his qui ad Eccles. confug. Leg. 8. Qui imperatore ad magnam ecclesiam in festo procedente, exclamatione usus fuerit, excidet re sperata, et per præfectum ejectus castigabitur, &c.

[47] Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 45. de his qui ad Eccles. confug. Leg. 4. Hanc autem spatii latitudinem ideo indulgemus, ne in ipso Dei templo et sacrosanctis altaribus confugientium quenquam mane vel vespere cubare vel pernoctare liceat; ipsis hoc clericis religionis causa vetantibus, &c.

BOOK IX.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH, OR AN ACCOUNT OF ITS DIVISION INTO PROVINCES, DIOCESES, AND PARISHES: AND OF THE FIRST ORIGINAL OF THESE.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE STATE AND DIVISION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, AND OF THE CHURCH'S CONFORMING TO THAT IN MODELLING HER OWN EXTERNAL POLITY AND GOVERNMENT.

Sect. 1. The state of the Roman empire in the days of the apostles.

HAVING thus far spoken of churches, as they signify the material buildings, or places of convention set apart for Christian worship, I come now to consider them in another notion, as they are put to signify any number of Christian people within a certain district, as in a parish, diocese, province, patriarchate; which are names that we frequently meet with in ancient writers, though they are not all equally of the same antiquity: and therefore I shall here inquire both into the nature and original of them. Something has already been said upon this head, in speaking of the several officers of the church that were placed in those districts, as patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, and presbyters, so far as was necessary to explain the powers and duties of those ministers in the church: yet there are many things to be noted further, which could not then come under consideration; for which reason I now make them the subject of a peculiar inquiry. And here, to understand the state and division of the church aright, it will be proper to take a short view of the state and division of the Roman empire: for it is generally thought by learned men, that the church held some conformity to that in her external policy and government, both at her first settlement, and in the changes and variations that were made in after ages. In the time of the apostles, every city among the Greeks and Romans was under the immediate government of certain magistrates within its own body, commonly known by the name of βουλή or *senatus*, its common council or senate, otherwise called *ordo* and *curia*, the states and court of the city: among which there was usually one chief or principal above the rest, whom some call the dictator, and others, the *defensor civitatis;* whose power extended not only over the city, but all the adjacent territory, commonly called the προάστεια, the suburbs, or lesser towns, belonging to its jurisdiction. This was a city in the civil account, a place where the civil magistrate and a sort of lesser senate was fixed, to order the affairs of that community, and govern within such a precinct.

Sect. 2. The state of the church conformable to it.

Now, much after the same manner, the apostles in first planting and establishing the church, wherever they found a civil magistracy settled in any place, there they endeavoured to settle an ecclesiastical one, consisting of a senate or presbytery, a common council of presbyters, and one chief president above the rest, commonly called the προεστώς, or the apostle, or bishop, or angel of the church; whose jurisdiction was not confined to a single congregation, but extended to the whole region or district belonging to the city, which was the προάστεια, or παροικία, or, as we now call it, the diocese of the church. According to this model, most probably, St. Paul directed Titus to ordain elders in Crete, κατὰ πόλιν, in every city, that is, to settle an ecclesiastical senate and government in every place where there was before a civil one: which, from the subsequent history of the church, we learn, was a bishop and his presbytery, who were conjunctly called the elders and senate of the church. The cities of the empire had also their magistrates in the territory or country round them; but these were subordinate to the magistrates of the city, and generally chosen by them, as learned men[1] have observed out of Frontinus de Limitibus Agrariis, and other Roman antiquaries. In like manner, every city church had spiritual officers in all towns and villages belonging to the city region; and these depending on the mother church both for the exercise of their power and their institution; they being both subordinate and accountable to the city church,

[1] See Dr. Maurice, Dioces. Episc. p. 390.

as the subordinate magistrates were in the civil disposition.

Sect. 3. The division of the Roman empire into provinces and dioceses.

Another division of the Roman empire was into provinces and dioceses. A province was the cities of a whole region subjected to the authority of one chief magistrate, who resided in the metropolis, or chief city of the province. This was commonly a prætor, or a proconsul, or some magistrate of the like eminence and dignity. A diocese was still a larger district, containing several provinces within the compass of it: in the capital city of which district a more general magistrate had his residence, whose power extended over the whole diocese, to receive appeals, and determine all causes that were referred to him for a new hearing from any city within the district. And this magistrate was sometimes called an *eparchus*, or *vicarius* of the Roman empire, and particularly a *præfectus Augustalis* at Alexandria. When first this division was made, it is not so certainly agreed among learned men; but it is generally owned, that the division of provinces is more ancient than that of dioceses. For the division into dioceses began only about the time of Constantine. But the cantonizing of the empire into provinces was long before; by some referred to Vespasian, by others reckoned still more ancient, and coeval to the first establishment of the Christian church.

Sect. 4. The same model followed by the church.

However this was, it is very plain, that the church took her model, in setting up metropolitical and patriarchal power, from this plan of the state. For as in every metropolis, or chief city of each province, there was a superior magistrate above the magistrates of every single city; so likewise in the same metropolis there was a bishop, whose power extended over the whole province, whence he was called the metropolitan, or primate, as being the principal bishop of the province. And in all places therefore the see of the bishop was fixed to the civil metropolis, except in Africa, where the primate was commonly the senior bishop of the province, as has been showed in another place. In like manner as the state had a *vicarius* in every capital city of each civil diocese; so the church in process of time came to have her exarchs, or patriarchs, in many, if not in all the capital cities of the empire.

Sect. 5. This evidenced from the civil *notitia* of the empire.

This will appear plainly from the civil *notitia* of the empire, when compared with the ecclesiastical; which, because it not only gives light in this matter, but is of singular use in many other respects to all that study ecclesiastical history, I will here insert it out of the book called Notitia Imperii, said to be written about the time of Arcadius and Honorius, where the whole empire is divided into thirteen dioceses, under four *præfecti-prætorio*; and about a hundred and twenty provinces contained in them, in the manner and form following.

The *præfectus-prætorio Orientis*, and under him five dioceses, viz. The Oriental, Egyptian, Asiatic, Pontic, and Thracian dioceses.

I. In the Oriental diocese are contained fifteen provinces. 1. Palæstina. 2. Phœnice. 3. Syria. 4. Cilicia. 5. Cyprus. 6. Arabia. 7. Isauria. 8. Palæstina Salutaris. 9. Palæstina Secunda. 10. Phœnice Libani. 11. Euphratensis. 12. Syria Salutaris. 13. Osrhoena. 14. Mesopotamia. 15. Cilicia Secunda.

II. In the diocese of Egypt six provinces. 1. Libya Superior. 2. Libya Inferior. 3. Thebais. 4. Ægyptus. 5. Arcadia. 6. Augustanica.

III. In the Asiatic diocese ten provinces. 1. Pamphylia. 2. Hellespontus. 3. Lydia. 4. Pisidia. 5. Lycaonia. 6. Phrygia Pacatiana. 7. Phrygia Salutaris. 8. Lycia. 9. Caria. 10. Insulæ Cyclades.

IV. In the Pontic diocese eleven provinces. 1. Galatia. 2. Bithynia. 3. Honorias. 4. Cappadocia Prima. 5. Paphlagonia. 6. Pontus Polemoniacus. 7. Hellenopontus. 8. Armenia Prima. 9. Armenia Secunda. 10. Galatia Salutaris. 11. Cappadocia Secunda.

V. In the diocese of Thrace six provinces. 1. Europa. 2. Thracia. 3. Hæmimontis. 4. Rhodope. 5. Mæsia Secunda. 6. Scythia.

The *præfectus-prætorio* of Illyricum, and under him two dioceses, Macedonia and Dacia.

VI. In the diocese of Macedonia six provinces. 1. Achaia. 2. Macedonia. 3. Creta. 4. Thessalia. 5. Epirus Vetus. 6. Epirus Nova, and pars Macedoniæ Salutaris.

VII. In the diocese of Dacia five provinces. 1. Dacia Mediterranea. 2. Dacia Ripensis. 3. Mæsia Prima. 4. Dardania. 5. Pars Macedoniæ Salutaris, and Prævalitana.

The *præfectus-prætorio* of Italy, and under him three dioceses, viz. Italy or the Italic diocese, Illyricum, and Africa.

VIII. In the Italic diocese are contained seventeen provinces. 1. Venetiæ. 2. Æmylia. 3. Liguria. 4. Flaminia and Picenum Annonarium. 5. Tuscia and Umbria. 6. Picenum Suburbicarium. 7. Campania. 8. Sicilia. 9. Apulia and Calabria. 10. Lucania and Brutii. 11. Alpes Cottiæ. 12. Rhætia Prima. 13. Rhætia Secunda. 14. Samnium. 15. Valeria. 16. Sardinia. 17. Corsica.

IX. In the diocese of Illyricum six provinces. 1. Pannonia Secunda. 2. Savia. 3. Dalmatia. 4. Pannonia Prima. 5. Noricum Mediterraneum. 6. Noricum Ripense.

X. In the diocese of Africa six provinces. 1. Byzacium. 2. Numidia. 3. Mauritania Sitifensis. 4. Mauritania Cæsariensis. 5. Tripolis. 6. Africa Proconsularis.

The *præfectus-prætorio* Galliarum, and under him three dioceses, viz. Hispania, Gallia, Britannia.

XI. In the Spanish diocese seven provinces. 1. Bœtica. 2. Lusitania. 3. Gallæcia. 4. Tarraconensis. 4. Carthaginensis. 6. Tingitania. 7. Baleares.

XII. In the Gallican diocese seventeen provinces. 1. Viennensis. 2. Lugdunensis Prima. 3. Germania Prima. 4. Germania Secunda. 5. Belgica Prima. 6. Belgica Secunda. 7. Alpes Maritimæ. 8. Alpes Penninæ et Graiæ. 9. Maxima Sequanorum. 10. Aquitania Prima. 11. Aquitania Secunda. 12. Novem Populi. 13. Narbonensis Prima. 14. Narbonensis Secunda. 15 Lugdunensis Secunda. 16. Lugdunensis Tertia. 17. Lugdunensis Senonia.

XIII. In the Britannic diocese five provinces. 1. Maxima Cæsariensis. 2. Valentia. 3. Britannia Prima. 4. Britannia Secunda. 5. Flavia Cæsariensis. Thus far the *notitia* of the empire.

Sect. 6. Compared with the most ancient accounts of the division of provinces in the church.

Now, though we have no *notitia* of the church so ancient as this; (for that of Leo Sapiens, which is exhibited hereafter, is of later date;) yet by comparing the broken fragments that remain in the acts and subscriptions of the ancient councils, with this *notitia* of the empire, and conferring both with the later *notitias* of the church, it plainly appears that the church was divided into dioceses and provinces much after the same manner as the empire; having an exarch, or patriarch, in almost every diocese, and a metropolitan, or primate, in every province. The most probable account of which, conformed to the foresaid civil *notitia*, is presented in the following Table, according as the division of the church seems to have stood in the latter end of the fourth century.

I. In the Oriental diocese. Patriarch of Antioch.

PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Palæstina Prima.	1. Cæsarea.
2. Phœnice.	2. Tyrus.
3. Syria.	3. Antiochia.
4. Cilicia Prima.	4. Tarsus.
5. Cyprus.	5. Constantia.
6 Arabia.	6. Bostra.
7. Isauria.	7. Seleucia.
8. Palæstina Salutaris.	8. Jerusalem, or Ælia.
9. Palæstina Secunda.	9. Scythopolis.
10. Phœnice Libani.	10. Emissa.
11. Euphratensis.	11. Hierapolis.
12. Syria Salutaris.	12. Apamea.
13. Osrhoene.	13. Edessa.
14. Mesopotamia.	14. Amida.
15. Cilicia Secunda.	15. Anazarbus.

II. In the diocese of Egypt. Patriarch of Alexandria.

PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Libya Superior.	1. Ptolemais.
2. Libya Inferior.	2. Dranieon.
3. Thebais.	3. Antinoe, or Lycopolis.
4. Ægyptus.	4. Alexandria.
5. Arcadia.	5. Oxirinchus.
6. Augustanica.	6. Pelusium.

III. In the diocese of Asia. Exarch of Ephesus.

PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Pamphylia.	1. Perga, or Sida.
2. Hellespont.	2. Cyzicus.
3. Lydia.	3. Sardes.
4. Pisidia.	4. Antiochia.
5. Lycaonia.	5. Iconium.
6. Phrygia Pacatiana.	6. Laodicea.
7. Phrygia Salutaris.	7. Synada.
8. Lycia.	8. Myra.
9. Caria.	9. Amphrodisias, or Stauropolis.
10. Insulæ Cyclades.	10. Rhodus.
11. Asia Proconsularis.	11. Ephesus.

IV. Diocese of Pontus. Exarch of Cæsarea.

PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Galatia.	1. Ancyra.
2. Bithynia.	2. Nicomedia.
3. Cappadocia Prima.	3. Cæsarea.
4. Cappadocia Secunda.	4. Tyana.
5. Honorias.	5. Claudiopolis.
6. Paphlagonia.	6. Gangra.
7. Pontus Polemoniacus.	7. Neocæsarea.
8. Helenopontus.	8. Amasea.
9. Armenia Prima.	9. Sebastia.
10. Armenia Secunda.	10. Melitine.
11. Galatia Salutaris.	11. Pessinus al. Justinianopolis.

V. Diocese of Thrace. Exarch of Heraclea first, afterward Constantinople.

PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Europa.	1. Heraclea.
2. Thracia.	2. Philippopolis.

PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
3. Hæmi montis.	3. Adrianople.
4. Rhodope.	4. Trajanople.
5. Mæsia Secunda.	5. Marcianople.
6. Scythia.	6. Tomi. But the bishop of Tomi is rather to be reckoned an *autocephalus* than a metropolitan, because he had no suffragan bishops under him.

VI. In the diocese of Macedonia.	The exarch of Thessalonica.
PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Achaia.	1. Corinthus.
2. Macedonia.	2. Thessalonica.
3. Creta.	3. Gortyna.
4. Thessalia.	4. Larissa.
5. Epirus Vetus.	5. Nicopolis.
6. Epirus Nova.	6. Dyrrachium.

VII. Diocese of Dacia.	Exarch perhaps first at Sardica, afterwards at Acrida, or Justiniana Prima, erected by Justinian.
PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Dacia Mediterranea.	1. Sardica.
2. Dacia Ripensis.	2. The same.
3. Mæsia Prima.	3. The same.
4. Dardania.	4. Scupi.
5. Prævalitana.	5. Acrida.

VIII. The diocese of Italy is by some reckoned but one diocese, by others divided into two, the diocese of Italy, and prefecture of Rome.

In the Italic diocese.	Exarch of Milan.
PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Flaminia and Picenum Annon.	1. Ravenna.
2. Venetia and Histria.	2. Aquileia.
3. Æmilia.	3. Ravenna.
4. Liguria.	4. Mediolanum, Milan.
5. Alpes Cottiæ.	5. Milan.
6. Rhætia Prima.	6. Milan.
7. Rhætia Secunda.	7. Milan, others Rhætiopolis, called Augusta Tiberii, now Ratisbon.

In the Roman prefecture.	Patriarch of Rome.
PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Picenum Suburbicarium.	1. Rome.
2. Campania.	2. Rome, others Capua.

PROVINCES.	METROPOLIS.
3. Tuscia and Umbria.	3. Rome.
4. Apulia and Calabria.	4. Rome.
5. Brutii and Lucania.	5. Rome.
6. Samnium.	6. Rome.
7. Valeria.	7. Rome.
8. Sicilia.	8. Syracuse.
9. Sardinia.	9. Calaris.
10. Corsica.	10. Uncertain. Others say Rome.

IX. Diocese of Illyricum Occidentale.	Exarch of Sirmium.
PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Pannonia Prima, or Superior.	1. Laureacum.
2. Pannonia Secunda.	2. Sirmium.
3. Salvia.	3. Sirmium. Others Vindomana.
4. Dalmatia.	4. Salona.
5. Noricum Mediterraneum.	5. Some say, Saltzburg.
6. Noricum Ripense.	6. Some say, Laureacum. Others leave these two uncertain.

X. Diocese of Africa.	Exarch of Carthage.
PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Africa Proconsularis.	1. Carthago.
2. Byzacium.	2. Civil metropolis, Adrumetum. But the ecclesiastical followed the see of the senior bishop. So in all the rest.
3. Numidia.	3. Cirta Julia, or Constantina.
4. Tripolis.	4. Tripolis.
5. Mauritania Sitifensis.	5. Sitifi.
6. Mauritania Cæsariensis.	6. Cæsarea.

XI. Diocese of Spain.	Exarch uncertain.
PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Bœtica.	1. Hispalis.
2. Lusitania.	2. Emerita Augusta.
3. Gallicia.	3. Bracara.
4. Tarraconensis.	4. Tarraco.
5. Carthaginensis.	5. Carthago Hispanica.
6. Tingitana.	6. See of the sen. bishop.
7. Insulæ Baleares.	7. Uncertain; some say Palma.

XII. Diocese of Gallia.	Exarch uncertain.
PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Viennensis.	1. Arelate. Others say Vienna.
2. Lugdunensis Prima.	2. Lugdunum.

PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
3. Germania Prima.	3. Treviris. Since Mentz.
4. Germania Secunda.	4. Treveris. Since Colen.
5. Belgica Prima.	5. Treveris.
6. Belgica Secunda.	6. Rhemi.
7. Alpes Maritimæ.	7. Ebrodunum.
8. Alpes Penninæ and Graiæ.	8. Vienna.
9. Maxima Sequanorum.	9. Vesontio. Besançon.
10. Aquitania Prima.	10. Bituriges. Bourges.
11. Aquitania Secunda.	11. Burdigala.
12. Novem Populorum.	12. Elusa, or Augusta Ausciorum.
13. Narbonensis Prima.	13. Narbo.
14. Narbonensis Secunda.	14. Aquæ Sextiæ. Aix.
15. Lugdunensis Secunda.	15. Rothomagus. Rouen.
16. Lugdunensis Tertia.	16. Turones. Tours.
16. Lugdunensis Senoniæ.	17. Senonæ. Sens.

XIII. Diocese of Britain. Exarch of York, if any.

PROVINCES.	METROPOLES.
1. Maxima Cæsariensis, which was at the first all from the Thames to the northern borders.	1. Eboracum. York.
2. Flavia Cæsariensis, taken out of the former, and containing all from the Thames to the Humber.	2. York.
3. Britannia Prima, all on the south of Thames.	3. London.
4. Britannia Secunda, or all beyond Severn.	4. Caerleon.
5. Valentia, beyond the Picts' wall.	5. York.

This, in the main, was the state and division of the church into provinces, and exarchates, or metropolitical and patriarchal dioceses, in the latter end of the fourth century; from which it appears, that a very near correspondence was observed between the church and state in this matter both in the Western and Eastern empire.

Sect. 7. This evidenced further from the rules and canons of the church.

And this may be evidenced further both from the rules and canons, and the known practice of the church in this case. For when any provinces were divided in the state, there commonly followed a division in the church also: and when any city was advanced to a greater dignity in the civil account, it usually obtained a like promotion in the ecclesiastical: so when controversies arose about primacy between two churches in the same province or district, the way to end the dispute was to inquire, which of them was the metropolis in the state, and order the same to be the metropolis in the church. Of all which there are manifest proofs in ancient history. It was by this rule that the bishop of Constantinople was advanced to patriarchal power in the church, who before was not so much as a metropolitan, but subject to the primate of Heraclea in Thrace. And this very reason is given by two general councils, which confirmed him in the possession of this new-acquired power. The first of Constantinople decreed,[2] That he should have the next place of honour after the bishop of Rome, because Constantinople was New Rome. Which was thus again confirmed and ratified in the council of Chalcedon, which says, Forasmuch as we think it proper to follow the decrees of the holy fathers, and allow the canon made by those hundred and fifty bishops assembled under the emperor Theodosius in the royal city Constantinople, we ourselves order[3] and decree the same concerning the privileges of the most holy church of the said city, which is New Rome. For our forefathers gave Old Rome her privileges in regard that she was the royal city: and those hundred and fifty bishops were moved with the same consideration to grant equal privileges to the episcopal throne of New Rome; judging it but reasonable, that the city which was honoured with the royal seat of the empire and senate, and enjoyed the same privileges with Old Rome in all matters of a civil nature, should also be advanced to the same dignity in ecclesiastical affairs, and be accounted the second in order after her. Accordingly they determined now, that the three whole dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, should be settled under the jurisdiction of this new patriarch of Constantinople. Which plainly shows, they had a particular regard to the model of the state in settling the bounds and limits of jurisdiction in the church. The council of Antioch assigns this for the reason of paying deference to metropolitan bishops in general, because they were placed in the metropolis of the province,[4] whither all men that had business or controversies had recourse. And therefore if any dispute happened, as sometimes there did, between two bishops in the same province about metropolitical power, each laying a claim to it; the way to end this controversy was to inquire, which of their sees was the true metropolis in the state? and adjudge the same to have the true legal right and privilege in the church. By this rule the council of Turin[5] deter-

[2] Concil. Constant. c. 3. Τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην.

[3] Concil. Chalced. c. 28.

[4] Concil. Antioch. c. 9.

[5] Concil. Taurin. c. 2. Illud inter episcopos urbium Arelatensis et Viennensis, qui de primatus apud nos honore certabant, a sancta synodo definitum est, ut qui ex eis comprobaverit suam civitatem esse metropolim, is totius provinciæ honorem primatus obtineat, et ipse juxta præceptum canonum, ordinationum habeat potestatem.

mined the controversy about presidency betwixt the two churches of Arles and Vienna, decreeing, That that bishop should be the primate, who could prove his city to be the metropolis of the province. It sometimes happened that an ambitious spirit would petition the emperor to grant him the honour and power of a metropolitan in the church, when yet the province to which he belonged had but one metropolis in the state; which was so contrary to the foresaid rule of the church, that the great council of Chalcedon[6] made it deposition for any bishop to attempt it. But on the other hand, if the emperor thought fit to divide a province into two, and erect a new metropolis in the second part; then the church many times allowed the bishop of the new metropolis to become a metropolitan in the church also. By this means Tyana, in Cappadocia, came to be a metropolitical see, as well as Cæsarea, because the province was divided into two by imperial edict. And the like happened upon the division of many other provinces, Galatia, Pamphylia, &c. As may be seen in the *notitia* of the church, which follows in the end of this book. The canons of the church were made to favour this practice in the erection of new bishoprics also. For the council of Chalcedon[7] has another canon, which says, That if the imperial power made any innovation in the precincts or parishes belonging to any city, then the state of the church-precincts might be altered in conformity to the alterations that were made in the political and civil state. Which canon is repeated and confirmed in the council[8] of Trullo. So that if any place was advanced to the privilege of a city, and governed by a civil magistracy of its own, which was not so before, it might then also be freed from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of its former bishop, and be governed by one of its own. Thus when Maiuma in Palestine, a dependant on Gaza, was advanced by Constantine to the privilege of a city, and governed by a magistracy of its own; that was presently followed with the erection of a new bishop's see, which continued ever after, notwithstanding that Julian, in spite to Christianity, disfranchised the city, and annexed it to Gaza again. Sozomen is our author for this, and he adds further,[9] that in his time the bishop of Gaza, upon a vacancy of Maiuma, laying claim to it as only an appendage of his own city; and pleading, that one city ought not to have two bishops; the cause came to a hearing before a provincial synod, which determined in favour of the Maiumitans, and ordained them another bishop. For they thought it not proper, that they who for their piety had obtained the privilege of being made a city, and were only deprived of their right by the envy of a pagan prince, should lose their other rights, which concerned the priesthood and the church. So it always continued an episcopal see, and has its place among the rest in the *notitia* of the church. The like may be observed of Emmaus, which at first was but a village belonging to the diocese and city of Jerusalem. But being afterward rebuilt by the Romans, and called Nicopolis, from their great victories over the Jews, it became a city and a bishop's see, under which character the reader may also find it in the *notitia* of the church. These are evident proofs, that in settling the limits of dioceses and other districts, and modelling the external polity of the church, a great regard was had to the rules of the state, and many things ordered in conformity to the measure observed in the Roman empire.

Sect. 8. Yet the church not tied precisely to observe this model, but used her liberty in varying from it.

Yet these being matters only of conveniency and outward order, the church did not tie herself absolutely to follow that model, but only so far as she judged it expedient and conducive to the ends of her own spiritual government and discipline. And therefore she did not imitate the state model in all things: she never had one universal bishop, in imitation of a universal emperor; nor an Eastern and a Western pontificate, in imitation of an Eastern and Western empire; nor four grand spiritual administrators, answering to the four great ministers of state, the *præfecti-prætorio*, in the civil government; not to mention any other forms or ministers of state affairs, multitudes of which may be seen in the *notitia* of the empire. Nay, in those things wherein she followed the civil form, her liberty seems to have been preserved both by the laws of church and state; and nothing of this nature was forced upon her, but as she thought fit to order it in her own wisdom and discretion. This may be collected from one of Justinian's Novels, where having divided the two Armenias into four provinces, he adds,[10] That as to what concerned the state of the church, his intent was to leave every thing in its ancient form, and make no alterations in the rights of the old metropolitans, or their power of ordaining their suffragans, &c. And this appears further from the answer of Pope Innocent, bishop of Rome, or one under his name, given to Alexander of Antioch, who had put the question,[11] Whether

[6] Concil. Chalced. c. 12.

[7] Concil. Chalced. c. 17. *Εἴ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω.*

[8] Concil. Trul. c. 38, which instead of *παροικιῶν*, reads, *πραγμάτων*.

[9] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 3.

[10] Justin. Novel. 31. Quæ vero ad sacerdotia spectant, ea volumus in pristina manere forma, ut neque circa jus metropoliticum, neque circa ordinationes quicquam innovetur. Vid. 28. c. 2.

[11] Innocent. Ep. 18. ad Alex. Antioch. Quod sciscitaris, utrum divisis imperiali judicio provinciis, ut duæ metropoles fiant, sic duo metropolitani episcopi debeant nomi-

upon the division of a province, and the erection of two civil metropoles in it by a royal decree, there ought also to be two metropolitan bishops in the church? To this he answers, That there was no reason the church should undergo alterations upon every necessary change that was made in the civil state, or have her honours and dignitaries multiplied or divided according to what the emperor thought fit to do in his own affairs. This shows, that the church was at liberty in this matter, to follow the model and divisions of the civil state or not, as she judged most expedient for herself: and when any alterations of this nature were made, they were generally done by the direction or consent of a provincial or general council, or the tacit consent and approbation of the church.

Sect. 9. An account of the *ecclesiæ suburbicariæ* in the district of the Roman church.

Whilst we are upon this head relating to the ancient division of the church, it comes properly to be inquired, what the primitive writers mean by the term *ecclesiæ suburbicariæ*, suburbicary churches, in the district of the Roman church. Ruffinus, in his translation and abstract of the Nicene canons, gives us the sixth of them in these words,[12] "The ancient custom of Alexandria and Rome shall still be observed, that the one shall have the care or government of the Egyptian, and the other that of the suburbicary churches." A great many questions have been raised by learned men in the last age concerning this, which I shall not clog this discourse with, but only resolve two questions, which are most material for a reader to know. 1. What was the extent of this district? 2. Whether it was the limits of his metropolitical or patriarchal power? To know what was the extent of this district, we cannot take a surer way, than to consider what is meant by the suburbicary regions in other places. For this is a term that often occurs in the Theodosian Code,[13] where Gothofred,[14] and our learned Dr. Cave,[15] and many others take it to signify the district of the *præfectus urbis*, or jurisdiction of the provost of Rome, which was a circuit of about a hundred miles next to Rome; as is evident from the ancient law, which says, his government extended not only to Rome, but to a hundred miles round it,[16] where the limits of his jurisdiction ceased. Which is noted also by Cassiodore,[17] and Dio,[18] who instead of *centesimus lapis*, uses the phrase of seven hundred and fifty stadia, or furlongs, which is not much short of the legal computation. Others reckon the *regiones suburbicariæ* to be the same ten provinces of the Italic diocese which were under the *vicarius urbicus*, who with the other *vicarius* of Italy divided the Italic diocese between them: so that the Roman *vicarius* had seven provinces in Italy, (mentioned before in the *notitia*,) and the three islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, under his jurisdiction; which they reckon the suburbicary provinces of Rome. So our learned Mr. Brerewood,[19] and Sirmond,[20] and Du Pin, and some others, who extend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome to all those ten provinces under the inspection of the *vicarius urbis*. Either of these opinions may be admitted, as having at least their arguments of probability to defend them: whereas they who confine the suburbicary churches to a single diocese, or extend them so far as to include all the provinces of the Western empire, run into contrary extremes, for which there is no ground either in the Nicene canon itself, or any other part of the history of the church in that age. For it is evident the canon speaks of the power of the three great bishops, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, as extending further than a single diocese: but that the authority of the bishop of Rome in those days extended over the whole Western empire, is not once so much as hinted in the Nicene canon, but is contrary to all the common senses of suburbicary churches, and refuted by the known distinction between Italic and Roman churches or provinces, and the constant opposition that was made by the African churches, and those of Britain, Milan, and others, to the least pretences of patriarchal power over them. From which it is rational to conclude, that the notion of suburbicary churches ought not to be extended beyond the limits either of the *præfectus urbis*, which was a hundred miles about Rome; and, as Dr. Cave and some others think, was also the limits of the pope's metropolitical power; or at most not beyond the limits of those ten provinces, which were immediately subjected to the civil disposition and jurisdiction of the *vicarius urbis:* viz. 1. Campania. 2. Tuscia and Umbria. 3. Picenum Suburbicarium. 4. Valeria. 5. Samnium. 6. Apulia and Calabria. 7. Lucania and Brutii. 8. Sicilia. 9. Sardinia. 10. Corsica. Which Dr. Cave[21] supposes to have been the exact and proper limits of the pope's patriarchal power, as he thinks the other were the bounds of his metropolitical jurisdiction.

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nari: non visum est ad mobilitatem necessitatum mundanarum Dei ecclesiam commutari, honoresque aut divisiones perpeti, quas pro suis causis faciendas duxerit imperator.

[12] Ruffin. Hist. lib. 1. c. 6. Ut apud Alexandriam, et in urbe Roma, vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Ægypti, vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat.

[13] Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 1. de Annona. Leg. 9. Vid. plura apud Gothofred. in locum.

[14] Gothofred. in loc.

[15] Cave, Anc. Church Gov. c. 3. p. 115.

[16] Digest. lib. 1. Tit. 12. Leg. 1. Si quid intra centesimum milliarium admissum sit, ad præfectum urbi pertinet, &c.

[17] Cassiodor. Form. lib. 6. p. 207.

[18] Dio, lib. 52. p. 548.

[19] Brerewood of Patriarch. Gov. qu. 1. p. 99.

[20] Sirmond. Censur. Conjectur. lib. 1. c. 4.

[21] Cave, Anc. Church Gov. c. 5. p. 256.

Sect. 10. This most probably the true ancient limits of the bishop of Rome's both metropolitical and patriarchal jurisdiction.

But it matters not much, I think, whether we call this district of these ten provinces the bishop of Rome's metropolitical or patriarchal dioceses or provinces. For after all the disputes that have been raised about this matter, these seem to have been in a great measure the true ancient limits both of his metropolitical and patriarchal power. Many, I know, will take this for a paradox: but I have showed it to be true[22] in the case of the bishop of Alexandria, the bounds of whose jurisdiction were the same, viz. the six provinces of the Egyptian diocese, both when he was a metropolitan and patriarch: and why then might not the case be the same with the bishop of Rome, whose privileges are prescribed as a model for the bishop of Alexandria by the council of Nice, whose words are these:[23] Let ancient customs prevail; in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, let the bishop of Alexandria have authority over all, because the same is customary with the bishop of Rome: in like manner at Antioch, and in other provinces, let the privileges be secured to the churches. Some think the bishop of Rome was only a metropolitan when this canon was made, as Launoy, Bishop Beveridge, Bishop Stillingfleet, Dr. Cave; according to whose sentiments it must follow, that the suburbicary churches were the district or subject of his metropolitical power. Mr. Brerewood[24] and Spalatensis, after St. Jerom, think he was properly a patriarch; and I have showed elsewhere,[25] that there are some reasons to countenance their opinion: but then the limits of his patriarchal power were still the same, (according as it was at Alexandria,) and the ten provinces of the Roman diocese were the legal bounds of his jurisdiction. And so Du Pin[26] amongst the Romanists makes no scruple ingenuously to confess; exempting Germany, Spain, France, Britain, Africa, Illyricum, and seven of the Italic provinces, from any subjection to the jurisdiction of the Roman patriarch in those first and primitive ages.

Sect. 11. Some evident proofs of this.

This is contrary to the general stream and current of the Romish writers, one of which is so angry with Du Pin upon this account, that he treats him with all the scorn and bitterness imaginable for making such a bold concession, and endeavours to answer[27] both what he and Bishop Stillingfleet had advanced against the pope's pretence to patriarchal power over the whole Western empire: but with what success, the reader may easily judge from these few instances, which are evident proofs of the sense that has been given of the extent and limits of the pope's patriarchal jurisdiction. 1. Ruffinus, who was an Italian, and presbyter of Aquileia, and therefore could not be ignorant of the bounds of the pope's patriarchal power, in interpreting the sixth canon of the council of Nice, confines his jurisdiction to the suburbicary provinces:[28] and other ancient versions, published by Sirmondus and Justellus, agree with his interpretation. 2. The other seven provinces of Italy, which properly constituted the Italic diocese, as distinct from the Roman provinces, with Milan their metropolis at the head of them, were not anciently subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome. For Milan is frequently styled the metropolis of Italy by Athanasius[29] and Theodoret,[30] taking Italy in its strict and peculiar notion, as distinct from the provinces subject to Rome. The bishop of Milan was never ordained by the bishop of Rome, (which yet he must have been, had he been subject to his patriarchal power,) but by the bishop of Aquileia, as the bishop of Aquileia and other places were ordained by Milan, which is evident from the epistle of Pope Pelagius,[31] and De Marca[32] does not pretend to deny it. The like has been observed by learned men concerning Ravenna, and other places in Italy, which frequently contested the point of superiority and subjection with the bishops of Rome, of which Dr. Cave[33] gives the reader a particular historical account for many ages successively, too long to be here inserted. 3. For the African provinces (which are pretended to be part of the pope's patriarchal dominions) they had always an exarch or patriarch of their own, the primate of Carthage, who was absolute and independent[34] of any other, as Justinian declares in one of his Novels. And it is plain the African councils always thought so: for as they never sent to Rome for ordinations, so they prohibited all appeals thither upon any account whatsoever. Which is evident beyond all contradiction from the council of Milevis,[35] which orders every African clerk, that appeals from the sentence of his own bishop, or a synod of select judges, to appeal to none but African synods, or the primates of the provinces. And if any presumed to appeal beyond seas, meaning to Rome, he should be excluded from all communion in the African churches. This de-

[22] Book II. chap. 17. sect. 11. [23] Conc. Nic. c. 6.
[24] Brerewood of Patriarchal Power, qu. 1.
[25] Book II. chap. 17. sect. 8.
[26] Du Pin de Disciplin. Eccles. Dissert. 1. n. 14. p. 92.
[27] Schelstrate's Dissertation of Metropolitical and Patriarchal Power against Stillingfleet, Lond. 1688.
[28] Ruffin. Hist. lib. 1. c. 6. See before, sect. 9.
[29] Athanas. Ep. ad Solitar. t. 1. p. 831.
[30] Theod. lib. 2. c. 15.
[31] Pelag. Ep. 17. Conc. t. 5. p. 805.
[32] Marca de Concord. Sacerdot. lib. 6. c. 4. n. 7, 8.
[33] Cave, Anc. Church Gov. c. 5.
[34] Justin. Novel. 131. c. 4.
[35] Conc. Milevit. c. 22. Quod si et ab eis appellandum putaverint, non provocent nisi ad Africana consilia, vel ad primates provinciarum suarum. Ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communione suscipiatur.

cree was further confirmed by several acts of their general synods, made upon the famous case and appeal of Apiarius, an African presbyter, whom Zosimus, bishop of Rome, pretended to restore to communion, after he had been deposed by an African council. Zosimus alleged for himself a pretended decree of the council of Nice, giving him authority to receive appeals: but this the African fathers proved to be a forgery, by sending for authentic copies of the Nicene decrees from Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, where no such thing appeared. Upon this the African fathers write a very sharp letter to Pope Celestine; (for Zosimus and Boniface his successor were both dead whilst this controversy was depending;) where among other things they desire him, that he would not for the future give ear to any that came from Africa, nor admit those to communion whom they had excommunicated, which he might easily perceive to be prohibited by the council of Nice, according to whose decrees both the inferior clergy and the bishops themselves were committed to the judgment of their own metropolitans: for the Nicene fathers very justly and wisely conceived, that all controversies ought to be ended in the places where they arose. And it was very unreasonable in itself to think, that God should enable a single person to examine the justice of a cause, and deny his grace to a vast number of persons assembled in council. Therefore, upon the whole matter, they desire him henceforth to forbear sending any of his clerks into Africa, to execute his sentence there, lest they should seem to introduce the smoky pride of the world into the church of Christ. With abundance more to the same purpose, which the reader may find at large inserted[36] among the canons of the African Code. From which it is as plain as the sun at noon-day, that in the time of St. Austin the pope could lay no just claim to patriarchal power over any of the African churches. 4. Baluzius has further demonstrated for the Gallican churches, (in his excellent preface to Antonius Augustinus's book De Emendatione Gratiani,) that for eight hundred years the French synods never allowed of any appeals from their own determinations to the pope. They always ordained their own metropolitans, as is evident from the second synod of Orleans,[37] anno 533. And many times stoutly resisted the encroachments of the popes, for which I refer the reader to the foresaid Baluzius and Dr. Cave,[38] the particulars being too long to be inserted here. 5. Lastly, For the Britannic churches, it is evident, that for six hundred years they never acknowledged any dependence upon Rome. When Austin the monk came into England, and pleaded with the British bishops (seven in number) for subjection to the bishop of Rome, and conformity to the Roman rites in the observation of Easter, and some other things; he was answered positively,[39] That they owed no obedience to the pope of Rome, but were under the government of the bishop of Caerleon upon Uske, who was their overseer under God. And for the business of the paschal controversy, they were so far from paying any deference to the Roman custom, that they continued their ancient practice of observing Easter on a different Sunday from Rome for some ages after, notwithstanding all the arguments that the pope or his party could urge against them. For which reasons they were treated as schismatics by the agents and emissaries of Rome; which is an evident demonstration, that they did not then acknowledge any thing of the pope's patriarchal power over them. All this is clear from Bede,[40] who repeats it in several places. And William of Malmsbury,[41] and Stephen Heddius,[42] and Eadmerus,[43] and other writers of the Life of Wilfrid, archbishop of York, (a great zealot for the Romish cause against the British customs,) tell us the very same story. For they say, Wilfrid refused to receive ordination from the Scottish or British bishops, or from any ordained by them, because the apostolical see had rejected their communion. So that, as Bishop Stillingfleet has observed[44] out of these authors, it is plain, the British and Scottish churches stood excommunicate at that time by the church of Rome, because they would not submit to her rites and customs about Easter, and her pretended power over them. A great deal more has been alleged by our learned antiquaries, Mr. Brerewood,[45] Mr. Watson,[46] Dr. Cave,[47] and Bishop Stillingfleet,[48] to show the ancient liberty and independency of the Britannic churches, which I shall not here repeat, but only consider an exception or two, which are made by Schelstrate in his Dissertation concerning the patriarchal power of the bishop of Rome, in answer to Bishop Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Church.

Sect. 12. The contrary exceptions of Schelstrate, relating to the Britannic church, considered.

He says,[49] the manuscript set out by Sir H. Spelman, containing the answer of Dinothus to Austin, is spurious and forged; for the style

[36] Cod. Can. Afric. a cap. 135. ad cap. 138.
[37] Conc. Aurel. 2. c. 7.
[38] Cave, Anc. Church Gov. c. 5. p. 220.
[39] Spelman. Concil. Britan. an. 601. t. 1. p. 108.
[40] Bede, Hist. lib. 2. c. 2 et 19. lib. 3. c. 25. lib. 5. c. 16 et 22.
[41] Malmsbur. de Gestis Pontific. Anglor. lib. 3.
[42] Steph. Heddius, Vit. Wilfrid. c. 12.
[43] Eadmer. Vit. Wilfrid.
[44] Stillingfleet's Answer to Cressy, p. 300.
[45] Brerewood of Patriarch. Gov. qu. 3.
[46] Watson De Eccles. Britan. Antiqua Libertate, Thes. 2
[47] Cave, Anc. Church Gov. c. 5. p. 241.
[48] Stilling. Origin. Britan. c. 5.
[49] Schelstrat. Dissert. c. 6. p. 130.

manifestly discovers it to be modern. Which is a weighty argument indeed from a person who was so competent a judge of the British style, in which that manuscript was written, that he professes he did not understand even the English tongue without the help of an interpreter. And how then should he be able to judge of a British writing by its style, without knowing a syllable of the language? But, he adds, the matter of it also discovers it to be a forgery: for it is manifest there was no archbishop of Caerleon upon Usk at that time, as the writing pretends; but that the metropolitan jurisdiction had for above a hundred years before been transferred to Menevia. As if it was not as manifest to all the world, that the archbishop of Menevia or St. David's might retain the title of Caerleon, though the see was removed, because Caerleon was the original seat; as well as the bishop of the Isle of Man now retains the title of *episcopus Sodorensis*, because Sodora and all the Hebrides, or islands on the west of Scotland, were once part of his diocese, though now for many ages they have been separated from it. Or to give an instance nearer Rome, we are told by geographers,[50] that Ostia and Porto still give title to two bishops, one whereof is always a senior cardinal, and the other dean of the college of cardinals, though both places are now in such ruins, that there is scarce an inhabitant in either. We shall see hereafter, in the fifth chapter of this book, that many times three or four ancient Italian bishoprics were united into one, as Holstenius[51] has observed of Tarquina, Cornetum, and Gravisca; in which case no absurdity is committed, whichever of the titles the bishop of the united diocese was called by. Why then must it be an objection against the validity of this testimony, that it calls the bishop of Menevia by the title of Caerleon, when that was the original title? But, secondly, he says, It appears from Bede, that the question was not concerning the primacy of the Roman bishop, but about Austin's metropolitical jurisdiction over them. But how then came the British bishops to be reckoned schismatics, if the pope's authority was no ways concerned in the dispute? Would they be schismatics for rejecting Austin's metropolitical jurisdiction, had he unwarrantably usurped that power of his own head, and without a legal commission from some superior obtruded himself upon them? It is plain, therefore, the one was included in the other, and the rejecting Austin was rejecting the power that sent him. But they also contested the pope's supremacy in another respect, refusing to comply with the Romish rites and usages in the observation of Easter, the administration of baptism, St. Peter's tonsure, and some other customs; which was an argument, that as they had no dependence upon the church of Rome heretofore, nor much communication with her, but rather with the Eastern churches; so now they intended not to submit to her dictates, but to follow their own ancient customs as a free church, and independent of her. Can any one suppose, that had the British bishops looked upon the pope as invested with a legal supremacy over them, they would have scrupled complying with directions in such matters, as the observation of Easter and the like, when such things were but the smallest part of patriarchal jurisdiction? Even our author himself, when he comes to consider the matter a little further, is not so hardy as to stand by his own assertion, but comes to call them names at last, with Baronius and others of his own party, telling us,[52] that after the Saxons had broken in upon them, they deserted the doctrines and rites of the catholic church, and receded as schismatics from the centre of ecclesiastical communion: and that it ought to be concluded, that God was willing to show the falsehood of the schismatical church of Britain, by the miracle which he wrought upon Austin's intercession. This is home to our point, and gives up the cause in question, which is, whether the British church owned the pope's supremacy at the coming of Austin hither? Which our author, after some small bickerings with his learned adversary, is forced to deny, and join issue with him, and then betakes himself to their last and common refuge, ill names and miracles; which being no arguments in this case, I shall not stand to give them any answer; but only inquire into one thing more, how it appears, that the Britons had deserted any ancient doctrine relating to the pope's patriarchal power, upon the coming of the Saxons? To evidence this, our author must give us very plain proofs, that before that time the British church always owned the bishop of Rome's patriarchal jurisdiction over them. And this, indeed, is the pretended design of his whole Dissertation: but his proofs amount to no more than a few slight conjectures, by which he would be thought to have demonstrated these four things: 1. That St. Peter was the founder of the British church,[53] which any one that reads Bishop Usher de Primordiis,[54] will as readily attribute to St. Paul, or twenty others: so little reason is there for grounding the pope's patriarchal power upon the first conversion of the British church. 2. He argues from ancient tradition, that patriarchal power is an apostolical institution, and that thereby[55] the British church was made subject to the Roman, whoever was the first converter of it. But this tradition is involved in greater obscurity, and proceeds upon more precarious

[50] Ferrar. Lexicon. Geogr. voce Ostia, et Portus Augusti.

[51] Holsten. Annot. in Geograph. Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 8.

[52] Schelstrat. Dissert. c. 6. p. 106. [53] Ibid. c. 1 et 2.

[54] Usser. de Antiquit. Eccles. Brit. c. 1.

[55] Schelstrat. Dissert. c. 3.

proofs, than the former. 3. He says, The British bishops in the council of Arles owned the pope's[56] patriarchal power over them, and all the Western world. 4. And lastly, That this power, in this full extent and latitude, is both acknowledged and confirmed[57] by the sixth canon of the council of Nice. How far the council of Nice allowed, or confirmed, this power, has been already showed, in discoursing of the suburbicary churches. So that the only thing remaining, is to examine what weight there is in his argument from the council of Arles. This council was summoned by Constantine, and not by the pope, against the Donatists, anno 314. Here were present three British bishops, Eborius, from York, Restitutus, from London, and Adelphius, from Lincoln, (Colonia Lindi,) as I shall show hereafter it probably ought to be read. Now, in their synodical epistle to Pope Sylvester, there is a passage (but by all acknowledged to be a very corrupt one) which speaks something of his holding the greater dioceses.[58] Which our author interprets to mean his having a patriarchal power over all the great dioceses of the western empire, Macedonia, Dacia, Illyricum, Italy, Africa, Spain, France, and Britain. But one question may be here asked, which will spoil all this flourish of a comment. Did the African fathers, many of which were present at this council, so understand the words, greater dioceses? If they did, how came it to pass, that within an age after they so stiffly opposed three popes successively, and vindicated their own liberties in this very point, (as we have seen before[59] they did,) denying them absolutely all power of receiving appeals from any of the African churches? Had St. Austin, and all the rest of them, forgot what their forefathers had so lately subscribed at Arles, that Africa was one of the pope's larger dioceses? Or had they been harassed out of their senses, like the poor Britons, by some Saxon invasion, and were now run into schism, as the other are reproachfully and falsely said to have done? Nothing of all this can be pretended in the present case: and therefore that is demonstration to me, that neither the African fathers, nor the Britons, nor any others then present in council, took the words, greater dioceses, in the sense which this author puts upon them. So that whatever meaning they must have, it is plain this cannot be their meaning: and then all the argument, which our author has built upon this supposition, in order to subject the Britons to the pope, at once falls to the ground. I will not now stand disputing with him, whether the word diocese was never about this time taken in any author for one of the great dioceses of the Roman empire. He says Constantine[60] so uses it in one place, speaking of the Asiatic and Pontic dioceses: and if that will do him any service, I can help him to another; for Constantine also speaks of a civil officer, called, καθολικὸς διοικήσεως, or *rationalis* of the diocese,[61] where I agree with Valesius, we are to understand one of the great dioceses of the Roman empire. Nay, I have said before, that I think there were patriarchs too in the church at that time, and that they had the great dioceses of the Roman empire divided among them. But does it hence follow, that because the word diocese is sometimes so used, that therefore it must needs signify so in this place, when there is plain demonstration to the contrary? All the world knows, that about the same time the name diocese was given to single episcopal churches also, and they too were called greater dioceses, in opposition to the *tituli* or parishes, which were *quasi diœceses*, the lesser dioceses under them, as the Pontifical words it[62] in the Life of Pope Marcellus, who was one of Sylvester's predecessors. So that Sylvester's holding greater dioceses, may mean no more than his being a metropolitan, or having several episcopal dioceses under his jurisdiction, to whom he was to signify, according to custom, the time of keeping Easter, and other things decreed in the council. Or if we suppose him to have been a patriarch at that time, then his greater dioceses may signify those ten suburbicary provinces, which were the ancient bounds of his patriarchal jurisdiction. But whatever meaning they have, it is certain they cannot be understood in our author's sense, of the great dioceses of the Roman empire: because it were absurd to think, that Africa should acknowledge itself to be one of the pope's dioceses, which never was reckoned among the suburbicary provinces, and what is more, always resolutely opposed the pope's pretences to the least shadow of power over it, claiming an absolute and independent power within itself in all matters of ecclesiastical cognizance and jurisdiction. And the case of the Britannic church being the same with that of Africa, it follows, that it was as independent of Rome as the other was, notwithstanding any pretended confession of subjection made by its bishops in the council of Arles, upon which our author lays the main strength of his cause, though there is nothing in it when fairly canvassed and examined, as I doubt not I have made it appear to every unprejudiced reader. I was the more willing to consider here some of the

[56] Schelstrat. Dissert. c. 4.

[57] Ibid. c. 5.

[58] Conc. Arelat. 1. Epist. Synod. Conc. t. 1. p. 1426. Placuit etiam antequam a te, qui majores diœceses tenes, per te potissimum omnibus insinuari. Schelstrate and Perron correct it thus: Placuit etiam hæc juxta antiquam consuetudinem a te, qui majores diœceses tenes, et per te potissimum omnibus insinuari.

[59] See sect. 11.

[60] Constant. Ep. ad omnes Ecclesias, ap. Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 3. c. 19.

[61] Ibid. lib. 4. c. 36.

[62] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli: Viginti quinque titulos in urbe Roma constituit, quasi diœceses, &c.

chief exceptions of this celebrated writer against the liberties of the Britannic church, because I know not whether any one else has made a reply to them; and these strictures will serve to suggest at once to the reader the true grounds upon which our ancient liberties were founded, and the contrary pretences, which would subject us to the power of the bishop of Rome, as patriarch of the Western empire, though the Britannic diocese had as just title to be independent at that time as Rome itself, or Africa, or any other diocese in the empire. I make no further inquiry here into the bounds of other patriarchs or metropolitans, or their dioceses, because no such momentous disputes have been raised about them, and they may be easily learned from the *notitia* of the church here subjoined in the latter part of this book. Therefore I proceed in the next place to examine the ordinary extent of the ancient episcopal dioceses, or, as we now call them, diocesan churches.

CHAPTER II.

A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE NUMBER, NATURE, AND EXTENT OF DIOCESES, OR EPISCOPAL CHURCHES, IN AFRICA, EGYPT, AND OTHER EASTERN PROVINCES.

Sect. 1. Dioceses anciently called παροικίαι, *parœchiæ*.

It is evident from what has been discoursed in the last chapter, that the most ancient and apostolical division of the church was into dioceses, or episcopal churches; that is, such precincts or districts, as single bishops governed with the assistance of their presbyters. But yet we are to make a little further inquiry into the nature and extent of these, because great errors have been committed by some late writers about them. There are who pretend, that a diocese for the three first ages was never more than such a number of people as could meet, and ordinarily did meet, in a single congregation. Others extend the limits of ancient dioceses further than this at first, to include a city and the whole region about it: but then they reckon, that upon the general conversion of heathens to Christianity, such dioceses ought to have been divided into single congregations, and a new bishop and clergy set over every one. There is no difference betwixt these two opinions save only this, that the one wholly mistakes the church's first and primitive model, and the other quarrels with her practice. But the truth of the matter was, that the church, in settling the bounds of dioceses, went by another rule, not that of single assemblies or congregations, but the rule of government in every city, including not only the city itself, but the suburbs, or region lying round about it, within the verge of its jurisdiction. Which seems to be the plain reason of that great and visible difference which we find in the extent of dioceses; some being very large, others very small, according as the civil government of each city happened to have a larger or lesser jurisdiction. There are two things, indeed, that commonly impose upon unwary readers in this matter. One is, that the ancient name of an episcopal diocese for three hundred years is commonly παροικία, which they mistake for a parish church, or single congregation: whereas, as learned men[1] have rightly observed, it signified then not the places or habitations near a church, but the towns or villages near a city, which, together with the city, was the bishop's παροικία, or, as we now call it, his diocese, the bounds of his ordinary care and jurisdiction. That thus it was appears evidently from this, that the largest dioceses, such as those of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, which had many particular churches in them, were called by the same name, as the reader may find a hundred passages in Eusebius,[2] where he uses the word παροικία, when he speaks of those large and populous cities, which had many particular churches in them. The city of Alexandria, in the time of Alexander and Athanasius, was divided into several districts, called *laura*, in every one of which there was a church, with a presbyter fixed upon it: and yet all these were but one παροικία, as Alexander calls it in his circular epistle[3] against Arius. The reader may see the word so used by Epiphanius,[4] St. Jerom,[5] the councils of Antioch,[6] Ancyra,[7] and many others in after ages, when it is certain episcopal dioceses were something larger than parish churches, as those are taken to signify single congregations. So that nothing can be plainer than the use of the word παροικία for a diocese to the fourth century.

Sect. 2. When the name diocese began first to be used.

And now about this time the name diocese began to be used likewise. For the council of Arles, which was held in the beginning of the fourth century, writing to the bishop of Rome, says, that he did *majores diœceses tenere*,[8] possess greater dioceses; which though Schelstrate and other Romish writers interpret patriarchal dioceses, to aggrandize the pope's jurisdiction; yet it is more probable, as Dr. Cave[9] observes, that it means only single bishoprics;

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[1] Brerewood of Patriarch. Gov. qu. 1. p. 102.
[2] Euseb. lib. 1. c. 1. lib. 2. c. 24.
[3] Alex. Ep. Encycl. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 6.
[4] Epiph. Ep. ad Joh. Hierosol. Ad meæ parochiæ videbantur ecclesiam pertinere, &c.
[5] Hieron. Ep. 53. ad Ripar. Miror sanctum episcopum, in cujus parochia esse presbyter dicitur Vigilantius, acquiescere furori ejus, &c.
[6] Concil. Antioch. c. 9.
[7] Concil. Ancyr. c. 18. August. Epist. 241. Basil, Ep. 264.
[8] Concil. t. 1. p. 1429.
[9] Cave's Anc. Ch. Gov. c. 3. p. 130.

though I grant Constantine might have made the division of the empire into civil dioceses, from whence patriarchal dioceses took their name in the following ages. The word is used frequently for a single diocese in the African councils, as where it is said,[10] A bishop shall not leave his principal seat, and betake himself to any other church in the diocese: so likewise often in the African Code, and the Collation of Carthage. From which it appears, that the words *parochia* and *diœcesis* were of the same import in those times, and the calling of a diocese by the name of *parochia* does not make it a single congregation.

Sect. 3. What meant by the προάστεια, or suburbs of a city.

Another thing that imposes upon men in this matter, is the ambiguity of the names, προάστεια and *suburbia*, the suburbs of a city; which, in the modern acceptation, signifies no more than the houses or habitations next adjoining without the walls of a city; but anciently it denoted all the towns or villages which lay round the city in a certain district, which were therefore reckoned as belonging to that city, though many times at several miles' distance from it. Thus, Canopus was twelve miles distant from Alexandria, and yet, in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, we find it called by one Athanasius,[11] the προάστειον, or suburbs of that city. So Sozomen[12] calls Daphne the suburbs of Antioch, though it was forty furlongs' or five miles' distance from it. And Pancirol[13] notes of the famous suburbs of Constantinople, called Ἕβδομον, or Septimum, that it was so denominated from its being seven miles off from the city at first, though afterward, by the strange growth and increase of that city, it came to be reckoned a more immediate part of it. So there was in the suburbs of Carthage a place called Decimum, because it was ten miles distant from the city, as Procopius informs us.[14] And some think the Ager Sexti, in which Cyprian suffered martyrdom, was so named from its being six miles off from the city; for the Roman martyrology puts Sextum Milliare instead of Ager Sexti. Now, in all such suburbs as these there were particular assemblies, distinct from those of the city churches; as appears from what Eusebius[15] observes out of the epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria, who says, when he was banished to Colluthion, a place in the region of Mareotes, that he should still hold particular assemblies, as they were used to do in those suburbs that were something more remote from the city. So that these ancient words, παροικία and προάστεια, when taken in their true ancient and primitive sense, do not make a bishop's diocese to be only a single parish in the modern sense, but a city with all the towns or villages within the region or district to which the city magistrate extended his jurisdiction. For that Justellus[16] has showed, out of good authors, is the difference between πόλις and κώμη, a city and a village: a city is a place that is governed by a magistracy and laws of its own, and exercises authority over the region or territory that lies about it; but a village is a dependant only on a city, and has no magistrates of its own, but such as belong to the city whereof it is a dependant. According to which notion, an episcopal church was generally a city and a whole region, of the very same extent with the power of the civil magistrate, whose bounds for the most part were the bounds of the bishop's diocese; though the rule was not so universal, but that it admitted of some particular exceptions. And from hence it will appear, that though there was great difference in the extent of dioceses, as there was in city regions and districts, and many of them were but small in comparison of others; yet they were generally so large as to admit both of a bishop and a presbytery in the city church, and presbyters and deacons in the country regions.

Sect. 4. Dioceses not generally so large in nations of the first conversion, as in those converted in the middle ages of the church.

To clear this whole matter, (which is of great use upon several accounts towards understanding rightly the state of the ancient church,) I will here make a particular inquiry into the extent both of the largest and narrowest dioceses, and distinctly consider the state of each. For though they differed much in extent, yet they all agreed in the same species of government; the essence of which consisted not in being confined precisely to such or such limits; for that was but accidental to the constitution: the same species of government is still preserved in most parts of the church, and yet any one that will allow himself the liberty of making just observations, may easily discern a difference between some of the first conversions, and those that followed in the middle ages of the church: for in the former, it is evident, dioceses were generally more numerous, and not so large as in the latter. The whole extent of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont to the river Euphrates, is estimated by the best geographers at 630 miles; the breadth from Sinus Issicus in Cilicia to Trabezond at 210: yet there were almost four hundred dioceses in this tract of land, as the reader may satisfy himself from the *notitia* of the church in the end of this book.

[10] Concil. Carthag. 5. c. 5. Nemini sit facultas, relicta principali cathedra, ad aliquam ecclesiam in diœcesi constitutam se conferre. Vid. Con. Can. Afric. c. 117, 118, 119, 123.

[11] Concil. Chalced. Act. 3. t. 4. p. 408.

[12] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 19.

[13] Pancirol. Com. in Notit. Imper. lib. 1. c. 72.

[14] Procop. Vandalic. lib. 1. c. 17.

[15] Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11. Ὡς ἐν προαστείοις πορρωτέρω κειμένοις, κατὰ μέρος ἔσονται συναγωγαί.

[16] Justel. Not. in Cod. Canon. &c. Concil. Antioch. c. 9.

But now, if we look into any middle age conversions, we shall find the number of dioceses very small in comparison of these, and their extent very great. For in Germany, which is computed above twice as large as Asia Minor, (being 840 miles in length, and 740 in breadth,) there are but forty bishoprics; in all Belgium but eighteen; in Denmark but fifteen; in Swedeland but ten; in Russia twenty-one; in Poland thirty; as Dr. Heylin and other geographers have computed them. And our number in England, being also a later conversion, bears no proportion to those of Asia Minor, though the isle of Great Britain is not much inferior to it in bigness. I leave the curious and the learned to inquire into the reasons of this difference, whilst I go on to show the different extent of dioceses in the primitive church, where we shall meet with some very large, others very narrow, but the same species of episcopacy preserved in all, and none confined absolutely to a single congregation.

Sect. 5. A particular account of the dioceses of Africa.

I shall begin with the dioceses of Africa, which some by mistake have reckoned the least bishoprics in the world; whereas upon a just computation they will appear to be far larger than many others. The whole extent of Africa (comprehending the six Roman provinces, Tripolis, Byzacena, Africa Proconsularis, Numidia, and the two Mauritanias) is computed by Procopius[17] to be ninety days' journey in length: which, reckoning as he does, that a day's journey was 210 stadia, or twenty-six miles and a quarter, amounts to above 2360 miles: the breadth was in some places 200, and in others 500 miles: which makes it by computation twice as big as Germany or France. Now there were in this compass, in St. Austin's time, about four hundred and sixty-six bishoprics, as appears both from the Collation of Carthage,[18] and the Abstract of St. Austin,[19] and the *notitia* of the African church, made about fifty years after St. Austin's death, and published by Sirmondus.[20] The present dioceses in France, if compared with these, will appear to be as large again, and those of Germany much larger: yet the African bishoprics, as a learned man[21] rightly calculates, might one with another, notwithstanding, be reckoned to contain each of them threescore or fourscore towns and villages. It is certain, at least, that many of them were of a very large extent. St. Austin's diocese of Hippo was above forty miles long: for he himself tells us,[22] that Fussala, a place in his diocese, which he erected into a new bishopric, was forty miles distant from him. Some other churches in his diocese are also mentioned in his epistles,[23] and other writings, which Bishop Stillingfleet[24] has collected together: to which the reader may add other epistles,[25] where he mentions the churches of Subsana, Turres, Ciza, Verbalis, Fundus Strabonianensis, and Gippitanus, as parts of his episcopal care also. In Hippo itself there were several churches, three of which are occasionally mentioned by St. Austin, one called *Ecclesia Pacis*,[26] another, *Basilica Leontii*,[27] and a third, *Ad viginti Martyres*, The Church of the twenty Martyrs,[28] whose memory was famous at Hippo,[29] as being, in all probability, African martyrs, and of that particular church whereof St. Austin was bishop. In the other Hippo, called Hippo Diaretorum for distinction sake, the African canons[30] speak of several churches. And in the Collation of Carthage we often meet with complaints of the catholic bishops, that the Donatists had set up anti-bishops, not only in their cities, but in other places of their dioceses:[31] and the Donatist bishops return the charge, telling the catholics particularly, that at Constantina[32] they had not only set up a bishop in the city, but another in the middle of the diocese: and that at Milevis they had done the same, making one bishop in the place, another at Tunca, a city in the same diocese, and a third at Ceramussa. From which it is easy to conclude, that those dioceses were then so large, as not only to have a country region, but sometimes more cities than one within their district. The like may be inferred from that canon of the African councils, which says,[33] No bishop shall leave his principal cathedral, and reside in any other church of his diocese. That manifestly implies, that their dioceses had other churches in the country, beside the city cathedral in them. And, indeed, instances of this kind would arise without number, to any one that would make a curious search into the history and antiquities of the African church. I shall only add two things more relating to it. 1.

[17] Procop. Vandalic. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 177.

[18] Collat. Carthag. Die 1.

[19] Aug. Brevic. Collat. Die 1. c. 14.

[20] Notit. Afric. ap. Sirmond. Miscellan.

[21] Maurice's Defence of Dioces. Episc. p. 163.

[22] Aug. Ep. 262. ad Cælestin.

[23] Id. Ep. 74, 203, 212, 236. It. de Cura pro Mortuis, c. 12.

[24] Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separat. part 3. n. 9. p. 251.

[25] Aug. Ep. 236, 240.

[26] Aug. Ep. 110.

[27] Ser. 11. de Divers.

[28] Ser. 10. de Divers.

[29] Id. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8.

[30] Cod. Can. Afric. c. 78.

[31] Collat. Carth. Die 1. c. 181. Alypius dixit, Scriptum sit istos omnes in villis vel in fundis esse episcopos ordinatos, non in aliquibus civitatibus.

[32] Collat. Carth. ibid. c. 65. Petilianus dixit, In plebe mea, id est, civitate Constantinensi, adversarium habeo Fortunatum. In medio autem diœcesis meæ nunc institutum habeo, imo ipsi habent nomine Delphinum—etiam in plebe fratris mei Adeodati, id est in civitate Milevitana, ita commissa res est, ut unum ibidem habeat adversarium, alterum in Tuncensi civitate, qui ad hujus plebem antiquitus pertinet.—Tertius vero sit in loco qui dicitur Ceramussa.

[33] Concil. Carth. 5. c. 5. Nemini sit facultas, relicta principali cathedra, ad aliquam ecclesiam in diœcesi constitutam se conferre.

That Carthage is well known to have had a great number of churches belonging to its diocese in the fourth century. Mr. Sirmond,[34] in his Notes upon St. Austin's Sermons, gives us the names of seven of them, which are mentioned in the titles of his sermons, viz. the cathedral church, called *Basilica Major et Restituta*, *Basilica Fausti*, *Basilica Leontiana*, *Basilica Celerinæ*, *Basilica Novarum*, *Basilica Petri*, in the third region, and *Basilica Pauli*, in the sixth region. To which Bishop Stillingfleet[35] adds two churches without the city, one where St. Cyprian suffered martyrdom, and another where his body was buried, at a place called Mappalia, both which are mentioned by Victor Uticensis. Dr. Maurice,[36] who examined a little further, adds still to those within the city, the church called *Florentia*, and *Basilica Gratiani*, and *Theodosiana*, and *Honoriana*, and *Tricillarum*: and, doubtless, there were many others not mentioned, since Victor[37] reckons about five hundred clergy belonging to the church of Carthage. The other thing I would note concerning the African church is, that in Tripolis, one of the six provinces of the Roman Africa, there were but five bishops, which we learn both from the canons of the African councils,[38] and the ancient *notitia* of that church, which names their sees, Leptis Magna, Œea, Tacapa, Sabrata, and Girberis; from three of which there were bishops in the council under Cyprian at Carthage: and the presence of no more was required, because of the paucity of them. But now this was a large tract of ground, as Blondel[39] himself proves out of Ptolemy, who names many other cities, Chuzis, Sumucis, Pisinda, Sydedenis, Azuis, Gerisa, Iscina, Amuncla, Butta, and others. So that whether we compare the whole extent and dimensions of Africa with the number of dioceses contained therein, or consider any particular province or diocese by itself, it plainly appears, that every bishop had a city, and a region or large territory for his diocese; some, two cities or more; and none so small a people, as to deserve the name that some have bestowed upon them, of country parishes or single congregations.

Sect. 6. Of the dioceses of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.

Out of the African provinces let us pass into those of the Egyptian diocese, as it is called in the civil account of the Roman empire, under which are comprehended all the regions of Libya, Pentapolis, and Egypt, from Tripolis to the Red Sea. These countries all together are justly computed by a learned man[40] to be three times as great as England; yet they never had above a hundred bishops in them all. For Alexander and Athanasius, who were very competent judges, reckon scarce so many. Athanasius[41] says, there was ἐγγὺς ἑκατὸν, near a hundred in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; and Alexander[42] uses the same expression in his circular epistle against Arius, saying, That he and the rest of the bishops of Egypt and Libya, being near a hundred met together in council, had condemned Arius and his followers. And after this the *notitias* of the church reckon no more. That which the reader will find at the end of this book, has but ninety-seven, excluding those of Tripoli, which have been spoken of before: and others in Carolus a Sancto Paulo never exceed a hundred and one. So that the number of dioceses seems to have continued near the same without alteration for several ages. Carolus a Sancto Paulo has collected their names out of the ancient writers, and subscriptions of councils, and other monuments of the church, which I shall here subjoin, as I shall for all other countries as we pass on, that such readers as please to compare the names with the maps of ecclesiastical geography, may the better understand the extent of dioceses, and the true ancient state and geography of the church. The Egyptian patriarchate was sometimes divided into three provinces, sometimes into six, sometimes into nine, but the limits of the whole were the same, including Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis: Carolus a Sancto Paulo follows the largest division, and so makes seven provinces in Egypt, reckoning the dioceses in this order.

In Egyptus Prima.

1. Alexandria. 2. Hermopolis Parva. 3. Metelis. 4. Coprithis. 5. Sais. 6. Letus, al. Latopolis. 7. Naucratia. 8. Andromena, or Andropolis. 9. Nicium. 10. Onuphis. 11. Taua. 12. Cleopatris. 13. Mareotis. 14. Schedia and Menelaites. 15. Phthenegus, al. Phthenoti Nomus. 16. Nitria.

In Augustamnica Prima.

1. Pelusium. 2. Heraclea in Sethræte Nomo. 3. Tanis. 4. Rhinocurura. 5. Thmuis. 6. Ostracina. 7. Phacusa. 8. Cassium. 9. Aphnæum, which he thinks Antonine's Itinerary calls Daphnis. 10. Hephæstus. 11. Panæphysus. 12. Gerus. 13. Thennesus. 14. Sela.

In Augustamnica Secunda.

1. Leontopolis. 2. Atribis. 3. Onium, al. Ilium. 4. Babylon. 5. Bubastus. 6. Pharbæthus.

[34] Sirmond. Not. in Ser. 14. a se edit. t. 10. p. 851.

[35] Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, p. 249.

[36] Maurice's Defence of Dioces. Episc. p. 51.

[37] Victor. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 5. Bibl. Patr. t. 7. p. 613.

[38] Concil. Carth. 3. c. 39. In Tripoli, ut asseritur, episcopi sunt quinque tantummodo. Vid. Cod. Can. Afric. c. 49. al. 50.

[39] Blondel. Apol. p. 185. ex Ptolem. lib. 4. c. 3

[40] Maurice's Defence of Dioces. Episc. p. 71.

[41] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 778.

[42] Alex. Ep. Encycl. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 6.

7. Heliopolis. 8. Scenæ Mandrorum. 9. Thou. 10. Antithou.

In Egyptus Secunda.

1. Cabasa. 2. Phragonea. 3. Pachneumonis. 4. Elearchia. 5. Diospolis. 6. Sebennythus. 7. Cynopolis Inferior. 8. Busiris. 9. Paralus. 10. Xoes. 11. Butus.

In Arcadia.

1. Oxyrinchus. 2. Heraclea Superior. 3. Arsinoe, al. Civitas Crocodilorum. 4. Theodosiopolis. 5. Aphroditopolis. 6. Memphis. 7. Clysma. 8. Nilopolis. 9. Parallus. 10. Thamiate, now called Damiata. 11. Cynopolis Superior; which, as Holstenius observes, is in the *notitia* of Hierocles made the metropolis of this province.

In Thebais Prima.

1. Antinoe. 2. Hermopolis Magna. 3. Cusa. 4. Lycopolis. 5. Oasis Magna. 6. Hypsele. 7. Apollinis Civitas Parva. 8. Antæum. 9. Panopolis.

In Thebais Secunda.

1. Ptolemais. 2. Thinis. 3. Coptus. 4. Tentyra. Holstenius corrects it, Teuchira, from the Greek. 5. Maximianopolis. 6. Latopolis. 7. Hermetes, al. Hermonthes. 8. Diospolis Magna, al. Thebais Magna. 9. Therenunthis. 10. Phylæ. 11. Thoi. 12. Ombi. 13. Tathyris. 14. Diospolis Parva.

In Libya Cyrenaica, otherwise called Pentapolis.

1. Ptolemais, where Synesius was bishop. 2. Sozusa. 3. Lemandus. 4. Cyrene. 5. Teuchira. 6. Berenice. 7. Ticelia, al. Pisila. 8. Aptuchi Fanum. 9. Erythra. 10. Barca. 11. Hydrax. 12. Disthis. 13. Palæbisca. 14. Olbia. To which Holstenius adds Boræum.

In Libya Marmarica, al. Libya Secunda.

1. Darnis. 2. Paraetonium. 3. Antipyrgus. 4. Antiphra. 5. Marmarica. 6. Zagula; which Holstenius observes to be sometimes corruptly read Gazula. 7. Zygris.

Beside these, Carolus a S. Paulo reckons seven others in Egypt of uncertain position. Vantena, Gauœa, Flagonita, Cotenopolis, Gazula, Elesma, and Psynchus: but Holstenius rightly observes, that five of these are but corruptions of others named before. Vantena is put for Antinoe; Flagonita for Fragonita; Elesma for Clysma; Gazula for Zagula; and Psynchus for Oxyrinchus. And I observe, that Paralus, and perhaps one or two more, seem to be named twice. So that we cannot reckon the whole number of dioceses much above a hundred in these nine provinces. Now, to make a tolerable estimate of the largeness and extent of these dioceses, we must consider a little the state of these countries, together with the extent of them. And by this means we shall find this observation to be true, (which I am also to make upon Palestine, Asia Minor, and Italy,) that here were some of the largest and some of the smallest dioceses in the world under the same form of episcopal government. In Libya and Pentapolis, the dioceses seem to have been very large; for the whole number in both provinces was but twenty-two: and yet these provinces were of great extent, as appears from what Pliny[43] delivers out of Eratosthenes, that from Alexandria in Egypt to Cyrene in Pentapolis was five hundred and twenty-five miles, the greatest part of which must be divided among these bishoprics; which is some ground to conjecture that they were of the largest size. Beronice was the most western border of Pentapolis, from whence to Arsinoe or Teuchira, the next neighbouring seat, Pliny[44] reckons forty-three miles, and from Arsinoe to Ptolemais twenty-two. And it is certain several others lay at greater distances from each other. But some may fancy, perhaps, they were small, inconsiderable dioceses for all this, because Synesius,[45] speaking of his own city Ptolemais, the metropolis of Pentapolis, says it was but a small city. To obviate this, I will note a few things out of Synesius, concerning the cities and dioceses of this region. That Ptolemais, where Synesius was bishop, had a territory and country churches in its diocese, is evident from Synesius himself, who, writing to his presbyters upon his first consecration, desires them to pray for him, and enjoin the people, both in the city and country churches,[46] both publicly and privately, to pray for him likewise. This is evident proof, that though Ptolemais itself might not be a very large city, yet it had a diocese of some extent, and village churches in the circuit of it. In another place he complains, that all the churches[47] of Ampelitis that were under him, were burned down and destroyed. There were two regions of this name in Pentapolis, one belonging to Cyrene, the other to Ptolemais: and it is probable there were in both of them towns and villages depending respectively upon those mother churches. Indeed Carolus a Sancto Paulo, out of Synesius, speaks of one or two dioceses in this province, which seem to be less. For Hydrax and Palæbisca were but villages, once belonging to the diocese of Erythros, from which they were separated in the time of the emperor Valens, and had a dis-

[43] Plin. lib. 5. c. 6. [44] Ibid. c. 5. [45] Synes. Ep. 58.
[46] Synes. Ep. 11. Τῷ τε ἐν ἄστει δήμῳ, καὶ ὅσοι κατ' ἀγροὺς, ἢ κωμητικὰς ἐκκλησίας αὐλίζονται, &c.
[47] Synes. Catastas. p. 301.

tinct bishop of their own. But there was none before him, nor any after; for it was united by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria,[48] to Erythros again. So that it rather proves the largeness of the dioceses, that they were of such an extent as to admit of others being taken out of them. In another place, Synesius[49] speaks of the Olbiatæ, whom he styles *δῆμος κωμήτης*, a country people, and says they had a bishop. But a learned man observes[50] rightly, that this may signify a people or nation living in many villages, of which sort there were several in the region of Pentapolis and other parts of Africa, where there were but few cities: for, as he shows out of Pomponius Mela and Pliny, these country people generally inhabited in great numbers together, and were under the denomination of little nations, though they dwelt in cottages, or *mapalia*, as they called them in the language of those countries. So that though a bishop's seat was in a village, he might have a large region for his diocese, as we shall find in pursuing the history of other nations. In the neighbouring province of Libya, Zygus was a village, and a bishop's seat: yet, as the same learned person[51] observes out of Ptolemy,[52] it was such a village as had a territory along the sea-side; and the whole sea-coast of Libya was divided between that and two or three other such villages or cities, call them which you please. For there were but seven dioceses in all this Libya, which extended three hundred miles along the sea-shore, so that the bishop's sees were at least fifty miles from each other. And yet perhaps, being a desert country, and inhabited by very barbarous people, the dioceses might be less than many others, if computed by the number of Christians, rather than the extent of ground; as if we compare them with some in Egypt, their next neighbours. In Egypt, the dioceses cannot be reckoned so large as those of Libya and Pentapolis, because here were eighty bishoprics; and yet the extent of Egypt was not more than the other two, but the country was infinitely more populous, and so capable of more bishoprics in a less compass. Dr. Heylin computes the length of it to be only five hundred and sixty-two miles, and the breadth one hundred and sixty: which comes pretty near the computation of Pliny,[53] who reckons it five hundred and eighty-six miles long, and one hundred and seventy broad from Pelusium to Canopus. This divided into eighty dioceses, will allow above thirty miles length and breadth to every diocese; which is a competent space for an episcopal diocese consisting of many towns or parishes, but too large for any single congregation. We may judge of the extent of some of these dioceses by that of Alexandria, which had first a great many churches with presbyters fixed upon them in the city itself, in the time of Alexander and Athanasius, as Epiphanius[54] more than once informs us, naming beside the great church, commonly called Cæsarea, those of Dionysius, Theonas, Pierius, Serapion, Dizyas, Mendidius, Annianus, Abias, and Baucalis, where Arius was presbyter. Then again it had the large region of Mareotes belonging to it. For Athanasius[55] says, there never had been either bishop or *chorepiscopus* in all that region, but only presbyters under the bishop of Alexandria; and that they were fourteen in number, (besides thirteen deacons,) some of which had two villages, and others more, within their respective parishes. Canopus also was once in this diocese, being reckoned one of the suburbs of Alexandria, (as has been noted before,) though a large place, and twelve miles distant from it. Nicopolis also was in this diocese, which Strabo equals[56] to a city. So that there must be particular assemblies in the remoter suburbs of this diocese, which could not possibly meet with the mother-church. We have not so particular an account of any other diocese in Egypt, but from this we may make some estimate of the rest, since it appears that a competent territory of twenty or thirty miles might be allowed to every diocese upon a rational computation. Nor is it any just exception to this, that here were sometimes bishops' seats in villages as well as cities. For many villages were equal to cities, and had also large territories belonging to them. As Strabo particularly notes of Schædia, which was but a village in his time,[57] yet such a one as might compare with a city; and in Athanasius's time it seems to have been advanced into a city, or was at least the head of a *nomus*, or region, called Menelaites: for Athanasius styles Agathodæmon,[58] bishop of Schædia and Menelaites together. So that though we find in the Greek *notitia* of this province several bishoprics denominated from villages, as Vicus Psaneos, and Cotrideos, Rhicomerium, Pariana, and Anassa; yet we are not to imagine the bishops of these places were pastors only of a private village, but that they had each a larger territory, after the example of Schædia, for their jurisdiction. In the diocese of Arsinoe, it is plain, there were country parishes in the middle of the third century: for Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, speaks of them in one of his epistles, where he discourses of Nepos the Millenary, who was bishop of the place. After his death, he says, he went into the region of Arsinoe, and having called together the presbyters and teachers of the country villages,[59]

[48] Synes. Ep. 67. [49] Id. Ep. 76.
[50] Maurice's Defence of Dioc. Episc. p. 60.
[51] Maurice, ibid. p. 61.
[52] Ptolem. lib. 4. [53] Plin. lib. 5. c. 9.
[54] Epiph. Hær. 68. Melet. n. 4. Hæret. 69. Arian. n. 2.
[55] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 802. [56] Strabo, lib. 17.
[57] Strabo, lib. 17. [58] Athan. Ep. ad Antioch. p. 580.
[59] Dionys. Ep. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 24. Συγκαλέσας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἀδελφῶν.

he held a conference with them for three days together about Nepos's opinions, which it seems had infected some of their churches, and drawn them into factions and schisms. The like observation is made by Cassian[60] upon Panæphysus, in the province of Augustamnica Prima, that it had many towns and villages under it, till they were swallowed up with the inundation of the sea and an earthquake. And Carolus a Sancto Paulo rightly observes out of Athanasius,[61] that Phragonea in Ægyptus Secunda had the whole *nomus* of Elearchia for its diocese. And excepting Thennesus, in the province of Augustamnica, which Cassian[62] seems to make an island, without any territory about it, it may be generally affirmed of all the Egyptian cities, that they had their προάστεια, or country towns and villages about them, some more, some less, where, as Dionysius bishop of Alexandria words it,[63] they had their holy assemblies distinct from those of the mother-churches.

Yet, not to put a fallacy upon my readers, I must observe one thing, which will much diminish the largeness of those dioceses in one part of Egypt; that is, that as it was the most populous country in the world in some parts of it, so it was absolutely desert and uninhabited in others. The cities were generally placed pretty near the banks of the Nile, but on both sides, within ten or twenty miles from them, were vast mountains and deserts, where no mortal dwelt, till, as Orosius observes,[64] the monks first took up their abode there, leaving the cities, to inhabit those vast tracts of wildernesses and sands, which for their barrenness and want of water, and multitudes of serpents, had never before seen any thing of human conversation. This account of the Egyptian deserts is confirmed by Josephus,[65] where he speaks of Moses making an incredible expedition with an army through them, to surprise and come unexpectedly upon the Ethiopians. And the Christian writers, who treat of the monastic life, give a more particular description of them. Sulpicius Severus makes the entrance on these deserts in Thebais[66] to be only twelve miles from the river Nile. But the deserts themselves were vastly greater. For Cassian, speaking of the wilderness of Scethis, where Paphnutius was abbot, says, there was one of the monks who had his cell[67] eighteen miles from church. But the desert of Porphyrion, he says, was abundantly larger than this: for a man might travel seven or eight days' journey in it[68] without coming near any house, or town, before he came to the cells of the monks, which had their habitation therein. So that by this account, it is probable almost one half of Egypt was cut off in sands and deserts, which could not be cultivated, and therefore were not inhabited, till the monks, who found out a new way of living, left the cities, to become here and there scattered inhabitants of the wilderness. And by this means the dioceses of Egypt, if we speak properly of the habitable part of them, will be reduced to a much narrower compass, and fifteen miles may perhaps pass for a general measure of their extent in this sense one with another. But as Alexandria and others might be larger, so it is certain Thennesus, and Panæphysus, and others, were much less: which makes good the observation and reflection I at first passed upon them, that here were some of the largest and some of the smallest dioceses in the world, under the same species and form of episcopal government, for any thing that we find to the contrary.

Sect. 7. Of the dioceses of Arabia. And why these more frequently in villages than in other places.

Out of the patriarchate of Alexandria, we should next have gone into that of Jerusalem, but Arabia coming between, we will take a view of it here, though it belonged to the patriarch of Antioch. Carolus a Sancto Paulo calls it by mistake Arabia Petræa, which, as Holstenius observes, was a distinct province under the patriarch of Jerusalem, and commonly known in ancient church records by the name of Palæstina Tertia. But Arabia here is taken only for that part which was under the metropolis of Bostra, and sometimes called Philadelphia in ancient writers. In this province we have accounts of twenty-one ancient dioceses, whereof eighteen are recounted by Car. a S. Paulo. 1. Bostra. 2. Adra. 3. Medaba. 4. Gerasa. 5. Nibe or Nive. 6. Philadelphia, whence in Epiphanius and others the region is called Arabia Philadelphiæ. 7. Esbus. 8. Neapolis. 9. Philippopolis. 10. Constantine. 11. Dionysias. 12. Maximianopolis. 13. Avara. 14. Elana, al. Neela. 15. Zerabena. 16. Erra. 17. Anitha, or, as Holstenius reads it, Eutimia. 18. Parembola. To which Holstenius adds three more, Canotha, Phæno, and Bacatha, mentioned by Epiphanius

[60] Cassian. Collat. 11. c. 3.

[61] Athan. Ep. ad Antiochenos.

[62] Cassian. Collat. 11. c. 1. Thennesi accolæ ita vel mari vel stagnis salsis undique circumluuntur, ut solis, quia terra deest, negociationibus dediti, &c.

[63] Dionys. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11.

[64] Oros. Hist. lib. 7. c. 33. Vastas illas tunc Ægypti solitudines, arenasque diffusas, quas propter sitim ac sterilitatem, periculosamque serpentum abundantiam conversatio humana non nosset; magna habitantium monachorum multitudo compleverat.

[65] Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 2. c. 5.

[66] Sulpic. Dial. 1. c. 7. Ubi prima eremi ingressus sum, duodecim fere a Nilo millibus, &c.

[67] Cassian. Institut. lib. 5. c. 40. Decem et octo millibus longe ab ecclesia commanebat.

[68] Id. Collat. 24. c. 4. Calami et Porphyrionis eremus longioris solitudinis intervallo ab universis urbibus et habitaculis hominum, quam eremus Scythii dividitur: septem siquidem vel octo mansionibus vastissimæ solitudinis deserta penetrantes, vix ad cellularum suarum secreta perveniunt, &c. Vid. Instit. lib. 10. c. 24.

and Eusebius. In after-ages, when the *notitia* was made which is published in the seventh chapter of this book, the number of dioceses was augmented to thirty-four, whereof twelve are called villages. And it appears from Sozomen[69] that this was no new thing in this country; for he takes notice that it was usual in some provinces to consecrate bishops in villages, and he particularly specifies Arabia and Cyprus for it. But then we are not to imagine that these dioceses were confined to a single village, as some have vainly concluded, to favour the hypothesis of congregational episcopacy. For these villages were what the ancients commonly called *metrocomiæ*, mother-villages, which had many other villages depending on them, so that they were the chief villages of a certain district. This is evident from Epiphanius,[70] who, speaking of Bacathus, one of the village bishoprics, styles it *μητροκωμίαν Ἀραβίας*, a mother-village in Arabia, which implies, that there were others depending on it. So that these dioceses might be as large as any other, having not only that village, but whole tracts and regions sometimes depending on them, as may be seen in the foresaid *notitia*, where some of them are called *clima orientalium*, and *clima occidentalium*, denoting not only a particular village, but a little people or nation of such a combination or district, under a mother-village, from which the whole diocese or circuit had its denomination. The Arabians were a people that chose rather to live in villages, and had but few cities in comparison of others; and that seems to be the reason why village bishops were allowed in this country, which otherwise were forbidden by the canons of the church, as has been showed in another place.[71]

Sect. 8. Of the dioceses of Palestine, or the patriarchate of Jerusalem.

Out of Arabia, our next step is into Palestine, or the patriarchate of Jerusalem, which, being taken out of the patriarchate of Antioch, had three provinces assigned for the limits of its jurisdiction, which, in the ancient monuments of the church, are commonly called Palæstina Prima, Secunda, and Tertia, following the civil account of the Roman empire. In these three provinces (comprised within the borders of the land of Canaan and Arabia Petræa) Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons about forty-seven ancient dioceses.

In Palæstina Prima.

1. Hierusalem. 2. Cæsarea. 3. Dora. 4. Antipatris. 5. Diospolis, in Scripture called Lydda. 6. Jamnia. 7. Nicopolis, which is Emmaus. 8. Sozusa. 9. Maiuma. 10. Joppa. 11. Ascalon. 12. Gaza. 13. Raphia. 14. Anthedon. 15. Eleutheropolis, anciently some place about Hebron. 16. Neapolis, or Sichem. 17. Elia. 18. Sebaste, or Samaria. 19. Petra. 20. Jericho. 21. Libias. 22. Azotus. 23. Zabulon. 24. Araclia, al. Heraclea. 25. Baschat. 26. Archelais.

In Palæstina Secunda.

1. Scythopolis. 2. Pella. 3. Caparcotia, or Capernaum. 4. Gadara. 5. Capitolias. 6. Maximianopolis. 7. Tiberias. 8. Mennith. 9. Hippus. 10. Amathus.

In Palæstina Tertia.

1. Petra. 2. Augustopolis. 3. Arindela. 4. Arad. 5. Areopolis. 6. Elusa. 7. Zoara. 8. Sodoma. 9. Phenon. 10. Pharan. 11. Aila. Holstenius, in his corrections upon this catalogue, strikes two out of the number, viz. Baschat, which he reckons to be the same with Bacatha in Arabia Philadelphiæ, and Phenon, which he assigns to the same province. But instead of these two, he has found out three more in Palæstina Prima, viz. Sycamazon, Gerara, and another Lydda, distinct from Diospolis aforementioned. So that the whole number of known dioceses was forty-eight.

Now, if we look upon all these together, and compare them with the forty dioceses in Germany at this day, they will appear very small indeed in comparison of them. For whereas Germany is computed eight hundred and forty miles in length, and seven hundred and forty in breadth; the whole extent of these three provinces will not amount to a square of one hundred and sixty miles. For the length of all Palestine, or the land of Canaan, taking in part of Phœnicia as far as Tyre and Sidon, which yet is excluded from these provinces, is computed by St. Jerom,[72] Cotovicus,[73] Masius,[74] and others, to be but a hundred and sixty miles; and the breadth from Joppa to Jordan not above sixty: to which if we add about sixty more beyond Jordan, for the breadth of Palæstina Tertia, to the borders of Arabia Philadelphiæ and Bostra, we have then the complete dimensions of the three provinces together. By which it appears, that two German dioceses of one hundred miles length, are as large as all those forty-eight dioceses put together. Yet there were some dioceses among them of a competent bigness. Eleutheropolis, a city much spoken of by St. Jerom, not far from the place where Hebron stood, in the borders of Dan and Judah, seems to have had a pretty large territory. For St. Jerom speaks of villages belonging to it at seventeen miles'[75] distance from it, and mentions a great many other villages in the same territory, though he does not so exactly

[69] Sozom. lib. 7. c. 19.
[70] Epiphan. Epitom. Panarii.
[71] Book II. chap. 12. sect. 1.
[72] Hieron. Ep. ad Dardan.
[73] Cotovic. Itinerar. Hierosol. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 327.
[74] Masius, Comment. in Joshuam xii. 24.
[75] Hieron. de Locis Hebra. voce Duma. Duma vicus grandis in finibus Eleutheropoleos, decem et septem ab ea milliaribus distans.

tell us their distance from the city. Sozomen names some others, as Besanduca,[76] where he says Epiphanius was born: and Ceila and Berathsatia,[77] where the bones of the prophets Micah and Habakkuk were found. Near Besanduca Epiphanius built his monastery, and the village had a church in it, where Epiphanius ordained a deacon, as he himself informs us.[78] From all which it is very evident this city had a large territory and considerable diocese, with many country towns and churches belonging to them. And there were several others, especially in Palæstina Secunda and Tertia, equal in extent to the diocese of Eleutheropolis. But a judicious reader will easily conclude from the largeness of these, that some others must needs therefore be very small, since there were so great a number in so short a compass. If we cast our eye upon the sea-coast of Palestine, and reckon Tyre, and Sidon, and Ptolemais, and Sycaminum, and Porphyria into the account, (as being within the ancient bounds of the land of Canaan, though they now belong to the province of Phœnice and the patriarch of Antioch,) we shall find seventeen or eighteen cities in a line of one hundred and sixty miles, and some very near neighbours to one another. Cotovicus[79] reckons it but four miles from Ptolemais to Porphyria; and Sycaminum and Zabulon were not further removed from it. But Ferrarius reckons it twenty or twenty-four; so that the position of the two first is a little doubtful, but the other three may be reckoned within five or six miles of one another. Baudrand observes[80] the like of Dora and Cæsarea the metropolis, that they were but five miles distant from each other. So Ferrarius computes Antipatris ten miles from Cæsarea, and Diospolis ten more from Antipatris. Diospolis is in the Scripture called Lydda, and said to be nigh unto Joppa. Baudrand reckons it but six miles, correcting Ferrarius, who computes it ten. Jamnia was also about ten miles from Joppa, and but twelve from Lydda, as is collected out of Antonine's Itinerary. So that these three cities were not above twelve miles distant from each other. But Gaza, Maiuma, and Anthedon were still nearer neighbours, not above twenty furlongs or three miles from each other, as Sozomen particularly[81] remarks their distance. Maiuma, he tells us, was once only a village belonging to Gaza, to which it was the seaport, seated nearer the sea upon the river Besor: but when Constantine, for its merit in readily embracing Christianity, had granted it the privilege of a city, it presently, according to the ancient rule, became a bishop's seat, and continued ever after so to be, notwithstanding some attempts made against it, of which I have given an account in the foregoing chapter. But though these cities lay so near together, we are not to think they were of the congregational way, or their bishops only parish pastors. While Maiuma was joined to Gaza, the church was doubtless more than a single congregation. For Eusebius, speaking of Silvanus, bishop of Gaza, who suffered martyrdom in the time of the Diocletian persecution, styles him[82] bishop of the churches in and about Gaza. Which implies that his diocese was more than a single congregation. Nay, after Maiuma was taken from it, Gaza had still many other villages and a populous territory belonging to it. Sozomen[83] mentions three villages, one called Thabaca, where Hilarion was born; another Sopharconbra, where Ammonius was born; and a third named Bethelia, which he calls πολυάνθρωπον κώμην Γαζαῖαν, a most populous village under the jurisdiction of Gaza; which was also famous for the heathen pantheon, beside other temples that were in it; whence he conjectures it had the name of Bethelia, which in the Syrian tongue is the same as *domicilium deorum*, or the house of the gods. Now, a village that had several heathen temples in it, had no doubt upon its conversion some Christian churches also, where they had presbyters to celebrate holy offices, though in dependence on the church of Gaza. And for Maiuma, when it became a distinct diocese, its bishop was not a single parish pastor, but he had a clergy under him, and all other things that the episcopal church of Gaza had; as Sozomen[84] particularly notes in the case, saying, Each city had their own bishop and clergy, and their own proper festivals for their martyrs, and commemorations of the bishops and priests that had lived among them, and their proper bounds of the country lying round about them. And that we may not wonder that there should be such villages as these, it will not be amiss to observe what Josephus reports of two villages of Idumea not far from these, Begabri and Caphartophan, where he says[85] Vespasian slew above ten thousand people, took a thousand captives, and forced many others to fly away. He also says[86] in another place, there were many villages in Galilee so populous, that the least of them had above fifteen thousand inhabitants in them. Now, a few such villages as these, united under a *metrocomia*, or mother-village, might quickly arise into numbers enough to become a diocese, and have a bishop and clergy of their own, which it would be absurd to mistake for the pastor of a single congre-

[76] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 32. [77] Ibid. lib. 7. c. 29.
[78] Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hierosol. Ecclesia villæ quæ est juxta monasterium nostrum, &c.
[79] Cotovic. Itiner. lib. 1. c. 20.
[80] Baudrand. Lexic. Geogr. voce Dora.
[81] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 3 et 9.
[82] Euseb. lib. 8. c. 13. Ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Γάζαν ἐκκλησιῶν.
[83] Sozom. lib. 3. c. 14. lib. 5. c. 15. lib. 6. c. 32.
[84] Id. lib. 5. c. 3.
[85] Joseph. de Bello Jud. lib. 5. c. 4.
[86] Idem, de Bell. Jud. lib. 3. c. 2.

gation. And this was evidently the case of the smallest dioceses in this part of Palestine, where, notwithstanding the narrowness of their limits, they were under the same species of episcopal government with other churches.

The inland dioceses of Palestine were generally larger; yet some of them were small. For Emmaus was but sixty furlongs, or seven miles and a half, from Jerusalem, as both the Scripture and travellers inform us:[87] yet when of a village it became a city, being rebuilt by the Romans in the time of Adrian, and by them called Nicopolis, in memory of their victories over Jerusalem, as Sozomen,[88] and Eusesebius,[89] and St. Jerom[90] inform us, it then also advanced itself to an episcopal see, and according to the rule of the church had the city territory for its diocese; under which denomination and quality we find it afterwards in the *notitias* of the church. This perhaps brings the diocese of Jerusalem into narrower bounds one way than is commonly imagined; but still it was of sufficient extent to have many particular churches in it. For the Jewish antiquaries commonly tell us, there were above four hundred synagogues in the city itself. Dr. Lightfoot[91] reckons four hundred and fifty. Others,[92] four hundred and sixty; and some say,[93] there were four hundred and eighty for Jews and strangers there. Optatus says, there were seven in a very small plain upon the top of Mount Sion, where the Jews[94] were used to meet and hear the law of Moses read. And Epiphanius[95] mentions the same, which he says were also left standing after the destruction of Jerusalem to the time of Adrian, and one of them to the time of Constantine. Now, it would be very strange, that a city which had so many synagogues, should not afford above one church, after it was made Christian, and so many thousand converts were in it even in the time of the apostles. But it had also a territory without the city, and churches at some distance from it. For Bethlehem was in the diocese of Jerusalem, six miles from the mother-church; upon which account it had a church and presbyters of its own, but those subject to the bishop of Jerusalem, as St. Jerom[96] informs us, who charges John, bishop of Jerusalem, for an extravagant abuse of his power, in laying his injunctions on his presbyters at Bethlehem, that they should not baptize the catechumens of the monastery, who stood candidates at Easter, upon which they were sent to Diospolis for baptism. St. Jerom mentions the church of Thiria[97] in the same place, where the bishop of Jerusalem ordained presbyters and deacons: and there is no doubt but there were many other such parishes within the precincts of his diocese, acknowledging his jurisdiction. We cannot give so particular an account of all the dioceses of Palestine; but those which some have thought the least, Lydda and Jamnia, appear to have been cities, and to have had their dependences in the neighbouring country round them. So that except Maiuma, which was disfranchised by Julian, there was no village in Palestine that had a bishop of its own; but the villages were all as so many parishes to the neighbouring city in whose territory they lay: which made these diocesan churches still of the same species with the rest, that had a larger extent of jurisdiction. Josephus indeed calls Lydda a village, but he says, it was a village not inferior to a city; and afterward it was made a city, and called Diospolis, when it was a bishop's see: and though its diocese could not extend very far one way, being it was but six miles from Joppa toward the sea; yet other ways it extended further, for St. Jerom[98] speaks of Bethsarissa, a village belonging to it, though it was near fifteen miles' distance from it, in the region called Regio Tamnitica, which seems to have been the territory belonging to this city.

I have been the more particular in describing the dioceses of Palestine, because here Christianity was first planted, and the true model of ancient episcopacy may best be collected from them. They who reckon these bishoprics no larger than country parishes, are strangely mistaken on the one hand; and they who extend their bounds as wide as German dioceses, are no less extravagant on the other. To make the right estimate, the reader must remember that there were never quite fifty bishops in all the three Palestines. In the middle of the sixth century there were but forty-five, who subscribed in the council of Jerusalem, anno 536. And we do not find, upon the nicest inquiry, they ever exceeded forty-eight. So that it were the absurdest thing in the world to suppose, as some have done, that these dioceses were but parish churches, or single congregations. On the other hand, when it is remembered, that the extent of the whole country was not above

[87] Cotovic. Itiner. lib. 2. c. 19.

[88] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 21.

[89] Euseb. Chron. an. 2237.

[90] Hieron. de Locis Hebr. voce Emmaus.

[91] Lightfoot, Horæ Hebr. in Matth. Proœm.

[92] Otho, Lexic. Rabbin. p. 627.

[93] Sigon. de Republic. Hebr. lib. 2. c. 8. Goodwin, Mos. et Aaron. lib. 2. c. 2.

[94] Optat. lib. 3. p. 62. In cujus vertice est non magna planities, in qua fuerant septem synagogæ, ubi Judæorum populus conveniens, legem per Moysem datam discere potuisset.

[95] Epiph. de Mensur. et Ponder.

[96] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. c. 16. Tu potius scindis ecclesiam qui præcepisti Bethleem presbyteris tuis, ne competentibus nostris in pascha baptismum traderent. Vid. Sulpic. Sever. Dial. 1. c. 4. Parochia est episcopi qui Hierosolymam tenet.

[97] Ibid. Theosobium Thiriæ ecclesiæ diaconum facis presbyterum, et contra nos armas.

[98] Hieron. Loc. Hebr. voce Bethsarissa. Est in finibus Diospoleos villa, quindecim ferme ab ea millibus distans contra septentrionem in regione Tamnitica.

a hundred and sixty miles, it is as evident these dioceses could not be of the largest size, and, if compared with some others, scarce be found to have the proportion of one to twenty, which needs no further demonstration.

Sect. 9. A catalogue of the provinces and dioceses under the patriarch of Antioch.

The next patriarchate is that of Antioch, to which Carolus a Sancto Paulo assigns these thirteen provinces: Syria Prima. Syria Secunda. Theodorias. Cilicia Prima. Cilicia Secunda. Isauria. Euphratensis. Osrhoena. Mesopotamia. Phœnicia Prima. Phœnicia Secunda. Arabia, and the isle of Cyprus. One of these, Arabia Philadelphiæ, has been already spoken of; and three others, Isauria and Cilicia Prima and Secunda, lying in Asia Minor, shall be considered in the next chapter, among the provinces of that country. For the rest, I will here give first a particular catalogue of the dioceses in each province, and then make a few remarks upon them and some other Eastern provinces not mentioned by that writer.

In Syria Prima.

1. Antiochia. 2. Seleucia Pieria. 3. Berræa, by some called Aleppo. 4. Chalcis. 5. Onosarta, or rather Anasarta. 6. Gabbus. To which Holstenius adds another, called Paltus, which he thinks wrong placed in Theodorias.

In Syria Secunda.

1. Apamea, upon the river Orontes. 2. Arethusa. 3. Epiphania. 4. Larissa. 5. Mariama, or Mariamne. 6. Raphanæa. 7. Seleucia juxta Belum, al. Seleucobelus. To these also Holstenius transfers another, named Balanea, out of the province of Theodorias, where he thinks it was wrong placed; but he is mistaken.

In Theodorias.

1. Laodicea. 2. Gabala. 3. Paltos. 4. Balanæa.

In Euphratesia, or Comagene.

1. Hieropolis. 2. Cyrus. 3. Samosata. 4. Doliche. 5. Germanicia. 6. Zeugma. 7. Perre, by some corruptly read Perga, and Pella, and Peria, as Holstenius observes. 8. Europus, al. Amphipolis and Thapsacum. 9. Urima. 10. Cæsarea, otherwise called Neocæsarea Euphratensis. 11. Sergiopolis. 12. Sura. 13. Marianopolis, which some place in Syria Secunda.

In Osrhoena, or Mesopotamia Inferior.

1. Edessa. 2. Carræ. 3. Circesium. 4. Nicephorium. 5. Batnæ. 6. Callinicus, al. Leontopolis. 7. Marcopolis. 8. Himeria. 9. Dausara.

In Mesopotamia Superior.

1. Amida, now called Caramit. 2. Nisibis. 3. Rhesina. 4. Martyropolis. 5. Caschara. To these Holstenius adds two more, Cepha, and Mnisus or Miniza.

In Phœnicia Prima.

1. Tyrus. 2. Sidon. 3. Ptolemais, or Acon. 4. Berytus. 5. Byblus. 6. Tripolis. 7. Arca. 8. Orthosias. 9. Botrus. 10. Aradus. 11. Antaradus. 12. Porphyrium. 13. Paneas, or Cæsarea Philippi. 14. Sycaminum, now called Capo Carmelo.

In Phœnicia Libani.

1. Damascus. 2. Laodicea Scabiosa. 3. Abyla. 4. Heliopolis. 5. Jabruda. 6. Palmyra. 7. Emesa. 8. Danaba. 9. Evaria, al. Euroia, al. Justinianopolis. 10. Comoara. 11. Corada. 12. Saracenoram Civitas, which rather belongs to Arabia. Holstenius adds one more, called Arlana.

In Cyprus.

1. Constantia. 2. Citium. 3. Amathus. 4. Curium. 5. Paphos. 6. Arsinoe. 7. Lapithus. 8. Thamassus. 9. Chytrus. 10. Tremithus. 11. Soli. 12. Ledra. 13. Tiberiopolis. Holstenius adds Carteriopolis and Carpasia, where Philo was bishop, who commonly, by a vulgar error, is called Carpathius, as if he had been bishop of Carpathus, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, whereas he was bishop of this Carpasia, in the isle of Cyprus, as Holstenius and Dr. Cave have both observed.

Sect. 10. Observations on the dioceses of Cyprus.

Now, to make some few remarks upon these dioceses distinctly, I observe, that by the same reason that Carolus a Sancto Paulo places Cyprus under the patriarch of Antioch, he might have brought Assyria, Persia, Babylonia, Adiabene, India, and the nation of the Homerites in Arabia Felix, under Antioch also. For there were bishops in all these places, as I shall show, but independent of any patriarch except their own metropolitans. And so Cyprus was declared to be by the council of Ephesus; whence it was always reckoned an *autocephalus*, or independent province, as has been more fully proved in another place.[99] All I have further to observe of it here, is in reference to those fifteen dioceses that we have found there, that they were large ones, if compared with those of Palestine: for Cyprus is computed by Ferrarius 170 miles long, and by others 200; which is more than Palestine. Baudrand reckons it 500 miles in compass; which, without inquiring any further into the particular distance of places, or largeness of the cities or vil-

[99] Book II. chap. 18. sect. 2.

lages, is sufficient to show, that those dioceses were none of the least size, though short of some that we shall meet with in the continent, as we take a view of the other provinces.

Sect. 11. Of the dioceses of Syria Prima and Secunda.

That which lay next to Cyprus was Syria, which anciently comprehended all the country betwixt the Mediterranean and Euphrates; but the Romans divided it into six provinces, Syria Prima and Secunda, Phœnicia Prima and Secunda, Theodorias, and Euphratensis, otherwise called Hagiopolis and Comagene. The six provinces together are computed by geographers to be between three and four hundred miles in length, and two hundred broad from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates. And the whole number of dioceses in all the provinces was about fifty-six, that is, but eight more than we found in Palestine. By which the reader may easily make a general estimate of the largeness of these in comparison of the other in Palestine, by considering the dimensions of each country, and comparing them together. But I will speak a little more particularly of a few dioceses in these provinces. Syria Prima had anciently but six dioceses, and in the later *notitias* we find only five. The metropolis was Antioch, one of the largest cities in the world. Chrysostom, who may be supposed to be a competent judge of its greatness, speaks sometimes of ten or twenty myriads,[100] that is, a hundred or two hundred thousand people in it. And he makes this a part of his panegyric upon Ignatius, that whereas it is a difficult matter sometimes to govern a hundred or fifty men; yet such was his wisdom and virtue, that St. Peter doubted not to commit to his care a city, which had two hundred thousand people in it. The territory without the city was answerable to its greatness within: for one way it reached two days' journey, or fifty miles, to the territory of Cyrus, where Theodoret was bishop: for Strabo says,[101] these two territories joined one to another. There were many great villages like cities in this compass; as Daphne, in the suburbs of Antioch; Gindarus, in the borders of the diocese toward Cyrus: in Strabo's time it was a city[102] belonging to Cyrus, or Cyrrestica. But I must note, that there seem to have been two places of that name, the one a city, the other a village. For Strabo speaks of a Gindarus in the Regio Cyrrestica, which he calls a city: and we find one Petrus Gindarensis subscribing among the bishops of Syria in the council of Nice; who was also among the bishops of the council of Antioch which condemned Athanasius, as Holstenius[103] and Schelstrate have observed out of the subscriptions of these councils. Whence we may conclude, that Gindarus mentioned by Strabo, was probably the same city whereof this Peter was bishop, and that there was another Gindarus, a village, in the time of Theodoret, belonging to Antioch, where Asterius the monk lived, of whom Theodoret[104] speaks in his Religious History; where he also mentions other villages[105] near mount Amanus in the territory of Antioch; which must be at a great distance from Antioch; for Mount Amanus was the northern limit of Syria. Berræa and Chalcis were large cities, twenty miles from one another. In the same province lay Selecia Pieria, sixteen miles from Antioch down the river Orontes, and five miles from sea; which was compass enough to make a large diocese, though much inferior to the former.

In Syria Secunda there were anciently seven bishoprics, and we find the same number in the later *notitias* of the church. Of these Apamea was the metropolis, a city which Theodoret[106] makes to be seventy-five miles from Antioch: and that it had a large territory and many villages, we learn from Strabo[107] and other ancient writers. Larissa in this province is computed by Ferrarius to be fourteen miles from Apamea; Arethusa, sixteen from Epiphania; Epiphania, eighteen from Larissa. So that at least twenty miles will be allotted to every diocese in the province.

Sect. 12. Of the dioceses of Phœnicia Prima and Secunda.

In Phœnicia Prima some few cities, as I have observed before in speaking of Palestine, lay very near together, as Sycaminum and Porphyrium, whose dioceses could not be very large upon that account. But Tyre and Sidon and Berytus were both large cities and at a greater distance. For Tyre was twenty-five miles distant from Sidon on the one side, and as much or more from Ptolemais on the other side. Cotovicus[108] reckons it but twenty, but Ferrarius says it was two and thirty. And the city itself was very large, if we take Strabo's account, for he says,[109] it filled an island that was nineteen miles in compass. Pliny[110] agrees as to the bigness of the island, but makes the city only two and twenty furlongs. Sidon was also a large city, and not within twenty-five miles of any other. Baudrand makes it twenty-five from Tyre, and thirty-five from Berytus. Berytus was famous for the study of the civil law, and reckoned among the great and flourishing cities of the East, and it had no nearer neighbours than Sidon on the south, and Byblus on the north, which Ferrarius sets at thirty-four miles' distance from it. The dioceses in the other Phœnicia, toward Mount Libanus, were greater than the former.

[100] Chrys. Hom. 86. in Matth. It. Hom. 42. in Ignat. t. 1. p. 567.
[101] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 751. [102] Id. ibid.
[103] Holsten. Annotat. Geograph. p. 206. Schelstrat. de Concil. Antioch. p. 93.
[104] Theod. Hist. Relig. Vit. Julian. p. 777.
[105] Ibid. Vit. Simeon. c. 6. p. 808.
[106] Theod. Ep. 113.
[107] Strabo, lib. 16. [108] Cotovic. Itinerar. lib. 1. c. 20.
[109] Strabo, lib. 16. [110] Plin. lib. 5. c. 19.

For here were some larger cities and at a greater distance from one another. Among these was the great city Damascus, once the metropolis of the province, the largeness of which may be collected from what Josephus relates,[111] how that the Damascenes slew there ten thousand Jews in one day. Emissa, the new metropolis, is accounted also a large city by Ammianus Marcellinus,[112] who equals it to Tyre and Sidon and Berytus. And for their territories, we must judge of them by their distance from other places. Laodicea and Arethusa were the nearest neighbours to Emissa, and Ferrarius makes them sixteen miles distant from it. And we do not find Damascus pent up in narrower bounds: for it was surrounded with Abyla, and Jabruda, and Cæsarea Philippi, the last of which Ferrarius reckons twenty-six miles from it. Abyla was the head of a region, thence called Abylene, which gave the denomination of a tetrarch to Lysanias, as St. Luke informs us: whence we may collect there was a considerable territory belonging to it. Here was also the great city Palmyra, the head of another region, thence called Palmyrene, of which it is reasonable to make the same conclusion; though I have nothing more particular to remark of the extent of these regions, save that Abyla is reckoned thirty-two miles from Heliopolis, another noted city in this province, and one of its nearest neighbours, as Ferrarius out of Antonine's Itinerary computes their distance. *Vid. Ferrar. voce Heliopolis.*

Sect. 13. Of Theodorias.

In the province of Theodorias, between Syria Prima and Phœnicia on the sea-coast, there were but three dioceses, Laodicea the metropolis, Balanea, and Gabala; and the same are mentioned in Goar's *notitia* and others. Now, the distance of these places may be seen in Antonine's Itinerary. Balanea was twenty-four miles from Antaradus in Phœnicia; Gabala, twenty-seven miles from Balanea, which Ferrarius calls twenty-four, according to modern accounts; and Laodicea the metropolis was eighteen from Balanea. And their territories extended further other ways.

Sect. 14. Of Euphratesia, or Comagene.

In the province of Euphratesia, or Comagene, there were anciently thirteen dioceses, and but one more in later *notitias*. Here were several large cities, as Hierapolis the metropolis of the province, and Samosata on the Euphrates, which both Josephus[113] and Ammianus Marcellinus[114] describe as a great and magnificent city. But the largest diocese for extent of territory in these parts was that of Cyrus, where Theodoret was bishop, who gives a most particular account of it. He says in one place,[115] it was forty miles in length and forty in breadth; and that there were above six myriads, or threescore thousand ζύγα or *juga* of land in it. Now a *jugum* of land was not a single acre, as some learned men mistake; but as much land as a yoke of oxen could plough in a year; and the Roman taxes were raised by such proportions of land, whence the ordinary tax upon land was styled *jugatio* in the civil law, as I have had occasion to note[116] in another place. So that threescore thousand *juga*, according to this account, will make a far greater diocese, than if we should understand it of single acres only. And that we may not think this was barren and unoccupied land, Theodoret in another place specifies what number of churches and parishes he had in his diocese, which he says[117] were eight hundred: some of which were overrun with the heresies of Marcion, Arius, and Eunomius, when he came to the diocese; but he converted above ten thousand of one sect only, viz. Marcionites,[118] to the catholic faith, and of others some thousands more. All which arguments agree to make it one of the largest dioceses of the East, as Blondel[119] ingenuously confesses it to be, though some others would fain insinuate the whole story to be a fiction, when yet all circumstances concur to give it the clearest evidences of truth. They who would see objections answered, may consult Bishop Stillingfleet[120] or Dr. Maurice,[121] who have particularly considered the exceptions that have been raised against it. As to the other cities of this province, Doliche, Germanicia, Nicopolis, Zeugma, Cæsarea, &c., some of them were but small cities, as Doliche, which Theodoret speaks of[122] with the diminutive title of πολίχνη σμικρά, a very small city: but they might have large dioceses, as Cyrus had, which itself was neither a great city nor very well inhabited, but had a diocese larger than many other cities which were ten times the bigness of it.

Sect. 15. Of Osrhoena, and Mesopotamia.

In the Roman provinces beyond the Euphrates (which some call by the general name of Mesopotamia, because it lay between the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates; but the Romans divided it into two provinces, Osrhoena on the banks of Euphrates, and Mesopotamia toward the Tigris) there are so few dioceses to be found in ancient records, that to me it seems probable that our accounts are very imperfect: for the whole number in both provinces is but sixteen; whereas in the later *notitias* there are sixteen in Osrhoena alone, and in the other province thirty-five more; which makes it probable that ancient accounts are here defective. Other-

[111] Joseph. de Bell. lib. 2. c. 25. [112] Ammian. lib. 14. c. 8.
[113] Joseph. de Bell. lib. 7. c. 27. [114] Ammian. lib. 14. c. 8.
[115] Theodor. Ep. 42 et 47. [116] See Book V. c. 3. sect. 3.
[117] Theod. Ep. 113. ad Leon. Ἐν ὀκτακοσίαις ἐκκλησίαις ἔλαχον ποιμαίνειν. τοσαύτας γὰρ ὁ Κύῤῥος παροικίας ἔχει.
[118] Id. Ep. 145. p. 1026. Πλείους ἢ μυρίους, &c.
[119] Blondel. Apol. p. 185.
[120] Stillingfl. of Separat. p. 258.
[121] Maurice's Defence of Dioc. Episc. p. 396.
[122] Theod. lib. 5. c. 4.

wise we must say, that these dioceses were extremely large. For Baudrand makes the country four hundred and twenty miles long, and two hundred and seventy broad. Which divided into sixteen dioceses would make them all of great extent. But the country seems not to have been all converted, for the Roman cities were only such as lay by the banks of the rivers, and chiefly upon the Euphrates. I shall therefore make no other estimate of them, than by the certain light we have of them in ancient history. From which it is clear, that some of them were at least such episcopal dioceses as were in all other parts of the world, that is, cities with country regions and village churches. This is evident from what Epiphanius observes of Chascara, one of the cities of Mesopotamia, that beside the bishop's see it had village churches, and presbyters incumbent on them, in the third century. For speaking[123] of Manes the heretic, the first founder of the Manichees, he says, When he had been baffled at a public disputation by Archelaus, bishop of Chascara, and had like to have been stoned by the people, he fled to Diodoris, a village belonging to Chascara, where one Tryphon was presbyter, whom he challenged to a new disputation. And if the lesser cities had such kind of dioceses, we may readily conclude the same of Nisibis the metropolis, which was so large a city as to be able to defend itself sometimes against all the power of the Persian empire; being, as Sozomen observes of it,[124] in a manner all Christian in the time of the emperor Julian. Edessa, the metropolis of the other province of Osrhoena, was also a very large city, and the royal seat of Agbarus, who lived in our Saviour's time, and by whose means it is generally thought to be converted very early to Christianity; and so it might perhaps from the very first have several churches in it. However, in after ages we are sure it had: for Sozomen, speaking of the persecution under Valens the Arian emperor, says, He took away all the churches within the city, among which[125] that of St. Thomas was one, so that the people were forced to assemble in gardens without the city for Divine service.

Sect. 16. Of Armenia Persica.

Beside these provinces mentioned by Carolus a Sancto Paulo, there were some other countries out of the bounds of the Roman empire, which had the same form of episcopal government; upon which therefore it will not be amiss to make a few strictures, whilst we are speaking of the Eastern provinces. That which we now call Armenia Magna, was anciently called Armenia Persica, because it belonged not to the Roman, but to the Persian empire. Here were also bishops in the time of Theodoret, as appears from some of his epistles. For writing to one Eulalius a bishop, he styles him,[126] for distinction sake, τῆς Περσικῆς Ἀρμενίας, bishop of the Persian Armenia. And another epistle[127] is directed to one Eusebius, a bishop of the same region. By which it is plain there were bishops in that country in Theodoret's time; but how many we cannot learn from him or any other ancient writer. Otho Frisingensis,[128] and Baronius,[129] and some other modern writers, talk much of the catholic of Armenia that sent to submit himself to the pope in the twelfth century, having a thousand bishops under him. But, as Mr. Brerewood[130] rightly observes, if the whole story be not a fiction, Otho must needs mistake obedience for communion: for the catholic of Armenia might have a great number of the Jacobite bishops in his communion, but there could not be so many in Armenia under his jurisdiction. For the modern *notitia* mentions but nineteen bishops in this Armenia, as the reader will find in the seventh chapter of this book. And it is not probable they should multiply from twenty to a thousand in an age or two. However, this story has no relation to the state of the church in the primitive ages, about which the present inquiry is only concerned.

Sect. 17. Of Assyria, or Adiabene, and Chaldæa.

We have some further account of the churches in other parts also of the Persian dominions, beyond the river Tigris, in Adiabene, which is a region of Assyria, and in Babylonia or Chaldæa, in which we find two large cities, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, under one bishop. These were the royal seats of the Persian kings, and but three miles from each other, as Pliny[131] and Ferrarius after him compute, though others place them at a greater distance. Seleucia is by some said to be the same as Mosul, the present seat of the patriarch of the Nestorians. But anciently they were both but one diocese, as we learn from Sozomen,[132] who styles Simeon archbishop of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, under Sapores king of Persia, who lived in the time of Constantine. There were other bishops also in these parts at the same time, some of which suffered martyrdom together with Simeon, as the same author informs us.[133] He also mentions one Acepsimas, a bishop in the region of Adiabene, and twenty-three more, whose names are there recorded, as suffering martyrdom about the same time[134] in several parts of the Persian empire. And what sort of dioceses they had, we may conjecture from what Sozomen[135] says

[123] Epiph. Hær. 66. Manichæ. n. 11.
[124] Sozom. lib. 5. c. 3.
[125] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 18.
[126] Theodor. Ep. 77. ad Eulal.
[127] Theod. Ep. 78.
[128] Otto Frising. lib. 7. c. 32.
[129] Baron. an. 1195.
[130] Brerewood, Inquir. c. 24.
[131] Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.
[132] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 9.
[133] Ibid. c. 10.
[134] Ibid. c. 13.
[135] Ibid. c. 13.

of one of them, named Bichor, that he suffered martyrdom together with Maureandus his *chorepiscopus*, and two hundred and fifty more of the clergy that were under him. Such a number of clergy, and a *chorepiscopus* among them, seem to bespeak a pretty large diocese; and if the rest were answerable to this, we may conclude the bishops were all of the same species as we have seen in all the Eastern nations.

Sect. 18. Of the Immireni in Persia, and Homeritæ in Arabia Felix.

Theodorus Lector[136] speaks of another nation converted to Christianity in the time of Anastasius the emperor, whom he names Immireni, and says, they were subjects of the Persian empire, and dwelt in the most southern parts of their dominions. Whether they had above one bishop is not certain; for only one is mentioned as set over them upon their conversion. And it might be with them, as it was with some other barbarous people, Goths, Saracens, &c., that one bishop served the whole nation. Valesius confounds this people with the Homeritæ, whom Bochart and others more truly place in Arabia Felix toward the South Sea. Baronius[137] supposes the Homerites first converted to the Christian faith about the year 354, at the same time that the Indians or Ethiopians were converted in the reign of Constantius. But we have no account then of what bishops were settled among them: but in the beginning of the sixth age, we find the Christian religion in a flourishing condition there, till one Dunaan, an apostate Jew, having gotten the kingdom, raised a great persecution against the church, especially at Nargan, where one Arethas was a petty king, subject, as many other small *reguli* were, to the kingdom of the Homerites, whom he barbarously destroyed with all his people. But this cloud quickly blowing over by the assistance of Justin the Roman emperor, and Elesban king of Ethiopia, who conquered Dunaan,[138] the government fell again into the hands of a Christian king, in whose time Gregentius, archbishop of Tephra, the royal city, is said to have had that famous disputation with Herbanus the Jew, the result of which was the conversion of an incredible number of Jews in that region. Here I chiefly observe, that Gregentius is styled archbishop of Tephra, which implies, that he had suffragan bishops under him: and in the relation of his death at the end[139] of the dispute, it is added, that both bishops, priests, and deacons were gathered together to attend his funeral. By which it appears, that the state of that church, so far as we have any account of it, was conformable to other churches.

Sect. 19. Of bishops among the Saracens in Arabia.

We have some few intimations also given us of churches planted anciently among the Saracens in Arabia, which were never under the Roman empire. Hilarion is said by some[140] to have begun the conversion of this nation, but it was not completed till Mauvia, queen of the Saracens, made it a condition of her making peace with the Romans in the time of Valentinian, that they should send her one Moses, a famous monk, to be the bishop of her nation; which was accordingly done, and so he became the first bishop of that region of the Saracens, as Ruffin,[141] and Socrates,[142] and the other historians inform us. Sozomen also adds, that one Zocomos, another *regulus* or petty prince of another region of the Saracens, being converted by a monk, brought over all his subjects to the Christian faith. Theodorus Lector[143] likewise mentions another of these Saracen princes, named Alamundarus, who embraced the faith in the reign of the emperor Anastasius, anno 513. And Cyril of Scythopolis, who wrote the Lives of Euthymius and Sabas, takes notice also of a plantation of Saracens under the Roman government in Palestine,[144] over whom one Peter, a converted Saracen, who had before been their captain, was made the first bishop by Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, about the middle of the fifth century. Now, we are to observe, that as these Saracens were thus divided into little nations, (after the manner of the Arabians,) and had each their *regulus*, or petty prince; so they seem each to have had their proper bishop, one to a nation, and no more. And therefore in councils we find them usually subscribing themselves rather by the title of their nation, *Episcopus Gentis Saracenorum*, than any other way. Which I take to be an indication, not that all the Saracens in the world had but one bishop, but that every petty nation had a bishop of its own, though it is hard to distinguish sometimes which family or tribe of them is meant by that general title. In the second council of Ephesus,[145] one Auxilaus is styled *Episcopus Saracenorum Fœderatorum*, among the bishops of Palestine, whence it is easy to conclude, there is meant the same Saracens that Cyril speaks of, who were confederate with the Romans, or under the Roman government. But in other places we are left to guess what Saracens may be meant, since they were divided into several petty nations, and more than one nation of them, as we have seen, were converted to the Christian faith.

Sect. 20. Bishops of the Axumites, or Indians beyond Egypt.

There is one Eastern country more, famous for its conversion by Ædesius and Frumentius, in the time of Atha-

136 Theodor. Lect. lib. 2. p. 567.
137 Baron. an. 354. n. 14.
138 Acta Martyr. Homeritar. ap. Baron. an. 522 et 523.
139 Gregent. Disput. cum Herban. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 1. p. 272.
140 Baron. an. 372. p. 344.
141 Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 6.
142 Socrat. lib. 4. c. 36. Theodor. lib. 4. c. 23. Sozom. lib. 6. c. 38.
143 Theodor. Lector. lib. 2.
144 Cyril. Vit. Euthym. ap. Baron. an. 420. p. 481.
145 Conc. Ephes. 2. in Act. 1. Conc. Chalcedon. t. 4. p. 118.

nasius, but yet learned men are not agreed where to place it. The ancient historians, Ruffin,[146] Socrates,[147] and the rest that relate the story, commonly call it India Ulterior, the Inner India: whence Carolus a Sancto Paulo,[148] and Baronius,[149] and many others take it for granted, that they mean India within Ganges, the other part without Ganges having been converted before (as they think) by the apostle St. Bartholomew. But Holstenius[150] and Valesius[151] correct this mistake, and Bishop Pearson[152] has more fully proved that the India they speak of was no part of the East Indies, but India beyond Egypt, which was part of Ethiopia, whereof Axumis was the metropolis. This lay not far from the mouth of the Red Sea, over against the country of the Homerites in Arabia, whence Constantius, in one of his laws,[153] joins these two nations together. From which, and many other authorities, Bishop Pearson unanswerably proves, that this India can be understood of no other but the Ethiopic India, whereof Axumis was the metropolis. This the ancients called India as well as the other: for Virgil says, the Nile flowed from the Blackamore Indians;[154] and Procopius Gazensis styles the Red Sea, the Indian Sea, because it bordered upon this India beyond Egypt. Now, in this country Frumentius was the first bishop that we read of, being ordained bishop of Axumis by Athanasius and a synod of Egyptian bishops, and sent thither to convert the country and settle churches among them: which therefore, we need not doubt, were of the same species with those in Egypt and the rest of the world. For Axumis was not the only place that had a bishop. For Palladius mentions one Moses,[155] bishop of Adulis, which was another city of Ethiopia. And in his Life of St. Chrysostom,[156] he also speaks of one of his own name, Palladius, bishop of the Blemyes, which were a people of Ethiopia, adjoining to Egypt, as Strabo, and Pliny, and other geographers inform us. Bishop Pearson gives some other proofs, out of Cedrenus and the Arabic canons of the Nicene council, and their ancient liturgies, that they had bishops in that country ever since this their first conversion. But nothing more particular occurring concerning their dioceses, for want of better light we can give no further account of them. And for the same reason I must omit several other Eastern nations, as the Parthians, and Indians about Ganges, which were converted by St. Thomas the apostle; and the Iberians and other nations lying upon the Caspian Sea, which Ruffin[157] says were converted first by a captive woman in the time of Constantine. Ancient history affords us but slender accounts of the original of these churches, and less of the constitution and settlement of them. So that, taking our leave of these far-distant regions, we will come next to a part of the world which is better known, which is the patriarchate of Constantinople, under which were anciently comprehended all the provinces of Thrace and Asia Minor, except Isauria and Cilicia, which always belonged to the patriarch of Antioch. I shall first speak of Asia Minor, and then proceed to the European provinces, taking each country as they lie in their natural order.

CHAPTER III.

A CONTINUATION OF THIS ACCOUNT IN THE PROVINCES OF ASIA MINOR.

Sect. 1. Of the extent of Asia Minor and the number of dioceses contained therein.

To understand the state of diocesan churches in Asia Minor, it will be proper, before we descend to particulars, to examine the extent of the country in gross, and see how many dioceses are to be found in the whole: for by this we may make an estimate of them in general, allowing each diocese its proportion upon an equal distribution of the country into so many parts as there were dioceses in it. Not that they were really so equally divided; (for in summing up the particulars we shall find here were some of the largest and some of the smallest dioceses in the world;) but we may conceive them as equal, in order to make a division of the whole country at once among them. Now, Dr. Heylin in his Geography[1] reckons the length of Asia Minor from the Hellespont to the river Euphrates to be 630 miles; and the breadth from Sinus Issicus in Cilicia to Trabezond in Pontus to be 210 miles. The ancient geographers, Strabo[2] and Pliny,[3] make it almost 200 miles more in length. But then their accounts are taken from some ancient *periplus* or sea voyage, which never proceeds in a direct line, but takes in the bendings and windings of the sea, which may easily stretch 600 to 800 miles: so that the accounts may be the same, when allowance is

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146 Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 9.
147 Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19.
148 Carol. a S. Paulo. Geogr. Sacr. p. 268.
149 Baron. Not. in Martyrol. Die 27. Octob.
150 Holsten. Not. in Carol. a S. Paulo. Geogr. p. 171.
151 Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. 1. c. 19.
152 Pearson, Vind. Ignat. par. 2. c. 11. p. 332.
153 Nullus ad gentem Auxumitarum et Homeritas ire præceptus, ultra annui temporis spatia debet Alexandriæ de cætero commorari.
154 Virgil. Georg. 4. ver. 291. Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.
155 Pallad. de Gentibus Indiæ.
156 Pallad. Vit. Chrysost. c. 20.
157 Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 10.
1 Heylin, Cosmogr. lib. 3. p. 3.
2 Strabo, lib. 12. p. 547 et 548.
3 Plin. lib. 6. c. 2

made for the excesses of one way of measuring above the other. As to the breadth, Pliny's account is rather less: for he makes it but bare 200 miles[4] from Sinus Issicus to the Euxine Sea. But then he says, this was the narrowest part of it, where the two seas almost made it a peninsula. And it is certain in other parts it was much broader. For Strabo[5] reckons the breadth of Cappadocia only from Pontus to Mount Taurus 1800 stadia, which is above 200 miles: and yet Casaubon[6] supposes, that by Pontus he does not mean the Pontus Euxinus, but the province of Pontus, which was to be added to the breadth of Asia on one side of Cappadocia, as Cilicia was on the other. So that we can hardly suppose the breadth of Asia, taking one part with another, to be less than 300 miles. Now, this was divided by the Romans into two large civil dioceses, the Asiatic and Pontic, each of which had ten or eleven provinces in them, and every province several cities and episcopal dioceses, beside those of Isauria and Cilicia, which are reckoned to the Oriental diocese, and were under the patriarch of Antioch. Christopherson, in his translation of Theodoret, makes a strange mistake concerning these bishoprics. For whereas Theodoret says, that Asia, or the Asiatic diocese, was ὑπὸ ἕνδεκα ἀρχόντων, under eleven civil prefects,[7] he translates it, *undecim antistites*, as if there had been but eleven bishops in all the Asiatic diocese; and only as many in the Pontic diocese, because Theodoret says, it had ἰσαρίθμους ἡγουμένους, the same number of governors: whereas Theodoret is not speaking of ecclesiastical governors, but civil governors of provinces; whereof there was the number Theodoret speaks of in each of those dioceses: but bishoprics were abundantly more numerous; for some single provinces had above forty, and in the whole number they were, according to Carolus a Sancto Paulo's reckoning, three hundred and eighty-eight, viz. in Asia forty-two, Hellespont nineteen, Phrygia Pacatiana Prima twenty-nine, Pacatiana Altera five, Phrygia Salutaris twenty, Lydia twenty-four, Caria twenty-five, Lycia twenty-eight, Pamphylia Prima twelve, Pamphylia Secunda twenty-four, Pisidia nineteen, Lycaonia nineteen, Cappadocia Prima six, Cappadocia Secunda six, Cappadocia Tertia five, Armenia Prima five, Armenia Secunda ten, Galatia Prima seven, Galatia Secunda four, Pontus Polemoniacus six, Elenopontus six, Paphlagonia five, Honorias five, Bithynia Prima fourteen, Bithynia Secunda four, Cilicia Prima seven, Cilicia Secunda nine, Isauria twenty-three. In the latter *notitia*, which the reader will find at the end of this book, the number is a little increased to four hundred and three. For though some provinces decreased, yet others increased in their numbers, so that in the eighth century we find fifteen dioceses more than were in former ages, which is no great alteration in such a multitude, considering what great additions have been made in some other countries in comparison of this. Now then, supposing 400 dioceses to have been in a country 600 miles in length and 300 in breadth, let us examine how much upon an equal distribution will fall to every diocese. And it appears upon an exact computation, that supposing there had been 450 dioceses, there would have been 20 miles to each diocese; and consequently, there being not so many by 50, every diocese must have so much the more upon an equal distribution. But then it must be owned, that the distribution was generally unequal in this country; for the bishoprics of the Pontic provinces were for the most part very large, and those of the Asiatic provinces consequently the smaller upon that account, and abundantly more numerous: so that here the reader may view the largest and smallest dioceses in the world together, and yet the same species of episcopacy maintained in all without distinction.

Sect. 2. Of Cappadocia and Armenia Minor.

To begin with the Pontic provinces: Cappadocia was a very large country, and had but few bishoprics. Strabo[8] reckons it 3000 stadia in length, that is, 375 miles: but then he takes it in a larger sense than we do now, as including all from the provinces of Lycaonia and Phrygia to the Euphrates; which takes in Armenia Minor as well as Cappadocia: for anciently they were all one kingdom, though afterwards divided into five provinces, three Cappadocias, and Armenia Prima and Secunda. But now in all these five provinces there were not thirty dioceses at first, and some of those were new erected in the fourth century, as Sasima, where Gregory Nazianzen was made bishop, which before belonged either to Cæsarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia Prima, from which it was 100 miles distant; or to Tyana, the metropolis of Cappadocia Secunda, from which it lay 32 miles,[9] as Ferrarius computes. This shows that these dioceses were of great extent: but we have still more certain evidence of the thing; for Gregory Nazianzen[10] says, that St. Basil, who was bishop of Cæsarea, had fifty *chorepiscopi* under him; and Basil himself often speaks of his *chorepiscopi*,[11] and country presbyters and deacons under them:[12] which argues his diocese to be of great extent, though we cannot precisely fix the limits of it. And the paucity of dioceses in this province argues the same. For by Carolus a Sancto Paulo's account, beside Cæsarea, the metropolis of the first Cappa-

[4] Plin. lib. 6. c. 2.
[5] Strabo, lib. 12. p. 539.
[6] Casaub. in loc.
[7] Theod. lib. 5. c. 28.
[8] Strabo, lib. 12. p. 539.
[9] Ferrar. Lexic. Geograph. voce Sasima.
[10] Naz. Carm. de Vita Sua.
[11] Basil, Ep. 181.
[12] Ibid. Ep. 412.

docia, there were but five bishoprics more in that province, Nyssa, where Gregory Nyssen was bishop, Thermæ Regiæ, Camuliana or Justinianopolis Nova, Ciscissa, and Theodosiopolis, at the time of the sixth general council; which are the same that are mentioned in the later *notitias*, only Methodiopolis is put for Theodosiopolis Armeniæ, to which province the council of Chalcedon ascribes it. So that there were really never above five dioceses in this province, and two of those, Camuliana and Ciscissa, erected after the council of Chalcedon. For in the synodical epistle of this province to the emperor Leo at the end of that council, there are but two bishops subscribe beside the metropolitan of Cæsarea, viz. the bishops of Nyssa and Thermæ. Sozomen[13] speaks of one Prapidius, governor of St. Basil's hospital, (called Basilias from its founder,) who was likewise a bishop that had several villages under his jurisdiction. But whether his diocese was in this Cappadocia is uncertain.

The second Cappadocia, which was made by a division of the province in the time of St. Basil, had, according to Carolus a Sancto Paulo's account, six dioceses, Tyana the metropolis, Sasima, Justinianopolis, Asuna, Faustinopolis, and Cybistra. But as Holstenius[14] has observed, two of these are mistaken. For there never was any such city as Asuna, which is only a corruption in the Latin editions of the councils for Sasima; it being in the Greek, ἐπίσκοπος Σασίμων, bishop of Sasima. And Justinianopolis was only another name for Mocissus, which Justinian having advanced to be a metropolis in the third Cappadocia, styled it by his own name, Justinianople. So that there were really no more than four dioceses in this province, and one of them, Sasima, but of late erection. This was also but an obscure village, στένον κωμύδριον, Nazianzen[15] himself calls it. So that the three ancient dioceses must be of very large extent, though we have no further account of them, save that Pasa, a village twelve miles distant from Tyana, is said to be in that diocese[16] by one Euphrantas in the fifth general council, and Sasima was originally part of the same diocese, though thirty-two miles distant from the cathedral. Which sufficiently demonstrates the largeness of dioceses in this province.

The third Cappadocia had never above five bishoprics, Mocissus, Nazianzum, Colonia, Parnassus, and Doara. Of these Mocissus was the metropolis, which owed its honour to Justinian, who dignified it with the title of a metropolis, and, as Procopius[17] informs us, gave it his own name, Justinianople; by which title Peter, bishop of the place, subscribes himself[18] in the council under Mennas. Doara was but a village, as Holstenius[19] observes out of St. Basil, who styles it[20] κώμην Δώαρα. And Nazianzus was but a small city, as Gregory Nazianzen himself[21] styles it: but they must have large dioceses, else the other three must be so much the larger for it. For geographers place them at a considerable distance from one another. Nazianzus had its *chorepiscopi*, sometimes mentioned in Gregory Nazianzen's epistles,[22] which is an argument that it had a large country region.

In Armenia Prima, Carolus a Sancto Paulo could find but five bishoprics, Sebastea the metropolis, Sebastopolis, Nicopolis, Satala, and Berisse. And the later *notitias* add but one more, Colonia, which is also reckoned to Cappadocia Tertia, unless there were two of the same name in those provinces. In the Second Armenia he augments the number to ten, Melitene the metropolis, Arca, Comana, Arabissus, Cucusus, Ariarathia, Amasa, Zelona, Sophene, Diospontum. But Holstenius, in his animadversions upon the place,[23] observes, that four of these are to be struck out of the account: for Amasa, or Amasia, belonged to Hellenopontus; and Zelona was no other than Zela in the same province; Sophene belonged to Armenia Major; and Diospontum was not the name of a bishopric, but only an old name for the province of Hellenopontus. And his conjecture is confirmed by the later *notitias*, which name the six first of these dioceses, but none of those four, under the title of Armenia Minor. So that in all these five provinces, upon an exact computation, there were not above twenty-four dioceses in the whole: some of them, therefore, must be very large in a country of three hundred miles extent.

Sect. 3. Of Pontus Polemoniacus.

The next province to these upon the Euxine Sea, was Pontus Polemoniacus, so called from Polemonium, a chief city in the province; beside which and Neocæsarea the metropolis, there were but three other bishoprics, Trapezus, Cerasus, and Comana: all which lay at a great distance from one another. Polemonium, Cerasus, and Trapezus, lay in a line on the sea-coast: and by Pliny's reckoning,[24] Polemonium and Trapezus were one hundred and fifty-five miles distant from each other, and Cerasus lay in the middle between them. Neocæsarea was a hundred miles within land, and Comana sixty from

[13] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 34.
[14] Holsten. Annot. Geograph. p. 157.
[15] Naz. Carm. de Vita Sua.
[16] Conc. Gener. 5. Collat. 5. Conc. t. 5. p. 478.
[17] Procop. de Ædific. Justin. lib. 5. p. 48.
[18] Concil. sub Menna. Act. 2.
[19] Holsten. Annot. Geograph. p. 159.
[20] Basil. Ep. 10.
[21] Naz. Orat. 19. de Laud. Patris, t. 1. p. 310.
[22] Naz. Ep. 88.
[23] Holsten. Annot. Geograph. p. 161. Id. Annot. in Ortelium, p. 172, observes out of Antonine's Itinerary, that Sebastea and Sebastopolis were thirty-six miles distant from each other.
[24] Plin. lib. 6. c. 4.

it. Justinian[25] mentions these five cities in one of his Novels, and says, there were no more in the province. For Pitius and Sebastopolis were not cities, he says, but only castles: and, as Holstenius[26] observes, they were not properly of this province, but lay in Solo Barbarico, and were only appendages to this province, because they could not constitute a province of themselves. So that though Carolus a Sancto Paulo make Pitius a sixth bishopric of this province, yet the later *notitias* leave it out of the number, and only retain the five first mentioned. Which shows, that for eight hundred years there never was any alteration made in this province, nor more episcopal dioceses erected than there were imperial cities, though they lay at so great a distance from one another.

Sect. 4. Of Helenopontus.

The next province to this on the sea-coast, was Helenopontus, which had only six bishoprics at the time of the council of Chalcedon, Amasea the metropolis, Amisus, Sinope, Iborea, Zela, and Andrapa, as appears from the synodical epistle of the bishops of this province[27] to the emperor Leo; and there was but one more added in after ages. Of these Amisus and Sinope lay upon the sea-coast, at a great distance from one another. For Pliny says, Amisus lay in the way between Polemonium and Sinope, one hundred and twenty miles from Polemonium,[28] and one hundred and thirty from Sinope.[29] Which comes pretty near the account of Strabo, who reckons it nine hundred stadia, or one hundred and twelve miles, from Amisus[30] to Sinope. He also speaks of Armena, a village of Sinope,[31] fifty stadia from it. And of Amasea, the place of his nativity, he gives a more particular account, telling us, that it had a very large territory one way, which for the number of villages in it was called χιλιόκωμον πεδίον,[32] the country of a thousand villages. This was an inland city, reckoned by some a hundred miles from the sea. Zela was as far from Amasea. So that without all doubt these were dioceses of the largest size, since the cities lay so remote from one another.

Sect. 5. Of Paphlagonia and Galatia.

Next to Helenopontus on the sea-coast lay the province of Paphlagonia, in which Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons five bishoprics, Gangra the metropolis, Sora, Junopolis, Pompeiopolis, and Amastris. To which Holstenius has added Dadibra, whose bishop Polychronius subscribed in the council of Chalcedon,[33] by Peter the metropolitan of Gangra. In the following ages the number decreased; for there is no mention of Pompeiopolis or Amastris in the later *notitias* of the church. Among these Gangra is noted by St. Basil[34] as a place that had several churches and altars in it. Amastris was a large city, which grew out of four others adjoining to it, Sesamus, Cytorus, Cromna, and Teius, as Ferrarius observes, who[35] makes it to be sixty-eight miles from Heraclea in the next province of Honorias. And all the rest seem to have been at as great distances from each other.

On the south of Paphlagonia lay Galatia, an inland country, having Cappadocia on the east, and Phrygia on the west. This by the Romans was divided into two provinces, Galatia Prima, and Secunda, or Salutaris. In the first there were seven bishoprics, Ancyra the metropolis, Tabia, Heliopolis, or Juliopolis, Aspona, Cinna, Berinopolis, and Anastasiopolis. The last of which seems to be erected in the latter end of the seventh century only: for there is no mention of it till the sixth general council of Constantinople, anno 681. The Greek *notitias* add but one more, Mizzi, retaining all the other old names; which shows, that little alteration was made in this province for the space of eight ages in the church. The other Galatia had originally but four dioceses, Pissinus, Orcistus, Petenessus, and Trochmada, or Trochmi: but the number was doubled in after ages, as appears from the *notitia* at the end of this book, which adds, Eudoxias, Mericium, and Therma, or Germocolonia, and Justinianopolis, otherwise called Spalea. Now, Galatia was a large country, and the dioceses (even when these four last mentioned were added) were still of great extent. For Baudrand[36] observes that Pessinus was fifty miles from Ancyra, and thirty from Therma, by which we may guess at the distance of other places. Carolus a Sancto Paulo places Cinna pretty near Ancyra; but Baudrand removes it to the southern borders of Galatia, nearer Synada in Phrygia.[37] And Ferrarius computes Aspona to be sixty-four miles from Ancyra eastward. Berinopolis and Juliopolis seem to have been almost as much to the west. Which leaves room for the territory of Ancyra to be sufficiently large, though I find no particular account given of it, nor of some other places in these two provinces of Galatia.

Sect. 6. Of Honorias.

Next to Paphlagonia, on the sea-coast, lay the province of Honorias, or Pontus Honorii, so called by Theodosius the emperor in honour of his son Honorius. This was divided from Bithynia by the river Sangarius, and from Paphlagonia by the river Parthenius. Here were anciently five bishoprics, and the later *notitias* have but six, Claudiopolis, Heraclea, Prusias, Tium, Cratea, Adrianopolis, which last is not to be

25 Justin. Novel. 28. in Præfat.
26 Holsten. Annot. Geograph. p. 164.
27 Append. Concil. Chalced. cap. 53. Conc. t. 4. p. 963.
28 Plin. lib. 6. c. 4.
29 Ibid. c. 2.
30 Strabo, lib. 12. p. 547.
31 Ibid. p. 545.
32 Ibid. p. 561.
33 Concil. Chalced. Act. 6.
34 Basil. Ep. 73.
35 Ferrar. voce Amastris.
36 Baudrand. Lexic. voce Pessinus.
37 Baudrand. voce Cinna.

met with in the subscriptions of any ancient council. Of these, Tium and Heraclea lay upon the Euxine Sea, thirty-eight miles distant from each other, as Pliny[38] informs us. Claudiopolis was at as great distance from them in the middle of the province; Baudrand[39] says it was above thirty miles from Heraclea. So that we may judge of Cratia, otherwise called Flaviopolis, and of Prusias, by what we have discovered of the former. All these cities are sometimes reckoned to Bithynia, because Honorias was anciently part of Bithynia, till Theodosius made a distinct province of it.

Sect. 7. Of Bithynia Prima and Secunda.

But after the separation was made, Bithynia was again divided into two provinces. In the first of which Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons fourteen dioceses. 1. Nicomedia, the metropolis. 2. Chalcedon. 3. Prusa ad Olympum. 4. Prænetum. 5. Helenopolis. 6. Basilinopolis. 7. Apollonias. 8. Hadriana. 9. Cæsarea, al. Smyrdiana. 10. Arista. 11. Patavium. 12. Dablis. 13. Neocæsarea. 14. Cius. In the other Bithynia only four. 1. Nicæa, where the famous council of Nice was held, the metropolis of this province. 2. Apamea. 3. Linoe. 4. Gordus. And the later *notitia* of Leo Sapiens makes but one more in both provinces, though some new names of places are inserted. Among these I observe the city of Nice had a large diocese: for several regions belonging to it are mentioned in the council of Chalcedon, in a famous dispute between the two metropolitans of Nicodemia and Nice, both laying claim to the diocese of Basilinopolis, as one of their suffragans. Anastasius, bishop of Nice, pleaded, that Basilinopolis[40] was once but a region belonging to Nice, as Tacteus and Doris then were, till Julian, or some other emperor, made it a city, setting up a *curia* or civil magistracy therein, upon which it became also a bishop's see, according to the known rule and practice of the church. So that the diocese of Nice was once so large, as to have another diocese taken out of it, and yet there remained several regions belonging to it. The like may be collected from its distance from other places. Pliny[41] says, it was twenty-five miles from Prusa, and Ferrarius reckons forty-four miles from Nicodemia, but sets Helenopolis, or Drepanum, in the middle way between them.[42] Basilinopolis, by mistake, is set by Carolus a Sancto Paulo at a greater distance from it, between Nicodemia and Chalcedon; but it must be nearer, having been once a part of its diocese, as was observed before. For other places, I find little account of them in particular, save only that Strabo makes it three hundred furlongs, or thirty-seven miles, from Nicodemia to the mouth of the river Sangarius, whereabout Cius stood; and Ferrarius computes sixty from Nicodemia to Chalcedon, in all which tract there were but these three dioceses, and one more, called Prænetum; so that if we had a particular account of Nicodemia and Chalcedon, we might perhaps find them to have had dioceses of as great extent as any other. But Apamea and Prusias, Baudrand[43] says, were but nine miles distant from one another. For these lay in the southern parts of Bithynia, and were some of the last in the Pontic civil diocese toward the Asiatic diocese, where, as I observed before, the cities were more numerous and thicker set together, and, consequently, the episcopal dioceses were generally less than in the other provinces, as will appear by taking a distinct view of them in order as they lay.

Sect. 8. Provinces in the Asiatic diocese. Hellespontus.

In the Asiatic diocese, the first province next adjoining to Bithynia was Hellespontus, so called from the straits of the sea named Hellespont, which was its western border. It was anciently part of Mysia and Phrygia Minor, bordering on Phrygia Major eastward, and Asia to the south. In this province Carolus a Sancto Paulo has observed nineteen dioceses in the ancient councils. 1. Cyzicus, the metropolis. 2. Germa. 3. Pœmanium. 4. Occa. 5. Bares. 6. Adrianotheræ. 7. Lampsacus. 8. Abydus. 9. Dardanum. 10. Ilium. 11. Troas. 12. Melitopolis. 13. Adriana. 14. Scepsis. 15. Pionia. 16. Præconesus. 17. Ceramus. 18. Parium. 19. Thermæ Regiæ. But the last of them Holstenius thinks is mistaken for Germa, by a corrupt reading of the ancient subscriptions. The *notitia* of Leo Sapiens has but thirteen of these, so that five of them were sunk and united to others in the eighth century. The greatest distance, that I can find, of any of these cities, was not above twenty miles from one another. Which was the distance between Cyzicus and Parium, and Lampsacus and Abydus. But then, Dardanum was but seventy furlongs, or eight miles, from Abydus; Ilium but thirteen miles from Dardanum; Troas but twenty-seven miles from Abydus, though Pionia, Ilium, Bares, and Dardanum lay between them. So Præconnesus was but a very small island, and Pœmanium a castle once belonging to the territory of Cyzicus, as Ferrarius has noted out of Strabo, Stephanus, and other ancient writers.

Sect. 9. Asia Lydiana, or Proconsularis.

The two next provinces I join together, because we sometimes find them under the common name of Asia Lydiana, or Proconsularis, under which title Bishop Usher has a most accurate dissertation[44]

[38] Plin. lib. 6. c. 1.

[39] Baudrand. voce Claudiopolis.

[40] Conc. Chalced. Act. 13. ap. Crab. p. 918. Sicut Tacteus et Doris regiones sunt sub Nicæa, sic fuit ante hoc Basilinopolis sub Nicæa, &c.

[41] Plin. lib. 5. c. 32.

[42] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Nicæa, et Drepanum.

[43] Baudrand. Lexic. voce Apamea.

[44] Usser. Disquisitio Geographica de Asia Lydiana sive Proconsulari.

upon them, where he distinguishes the several acceptations of the name Asia, either for the greater Asia, or Asia Minor, or Asia *proprie dicta;* which was the Romans' first conquests in Asia, containing the provinces of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia; or lastly, for Asia Lydiana or Proconsularis, which was those two provinces which in Constantine's division are called distinctly Asia and Lydia, as we here now take them. In this sense we may call the former, Asia *maxime proprie dicta*, which is bounded on the north by the province of Hellespontus, on the east by Phrygia and Lydia, on the south by the river Mæander, which separates it from Caria, and on the west by the Ægean Sea. In it Carolus a Sancto Paulo has found forty-two ancient dioceses. 1. Ephesus, the metropolis. 2. Hypæpa. 3. Trallis. 4. Magnesia ad Mæandrum. 5. Elæa. 6. Adramyttium. 7. Assus. 8. Gargara. 9. Mastaura. 10. Brullena, al. Priulla. 11. Pitane. 12. Myrrina. 13. Aureliopolis. 14. Nyssa. 15. Metropolis. 16. Valentinianopolis. 17. Aninetum. 18. Pergamus. 19. Anæa. 20. Priene. 21. Arcadiopolis. 22. Nova Aula. 23. Ægea. 24. Andera. 25. Sion. 26. Fanum Jovis. 27. Colophon. 28. Lebedus. 29. Teos. 30. Erytræ. 31. Antandrus. 32. Pepere or Perpere. 33. Cuma or Cyme. 34. Aulium, al. Aulii Come vel Vicus. 35. Naulochus. 36. Palæopolis. 37. Phocæa. 38. Bargaza, al. Baretta. 39. Thymbria. 40. Clazomenæ. 41. Magnesia. 42. Smyrna. To these Holstenius adds four more, Evaza, Areopolis, Temnus, and Argiza. And thirty-eight of these are the same that are mentioned in the *notitia* of Leo Sapiens, in the seventh chapter of this book. Now, this was but a very small province for so many dioceses, if we examine either the whole extent of it, or some particular dioceses therein. The extent of it in length was from Assus near Troas, to the river Mæander, or the cities Bargasa and Sion. Which was anciently the country of Ionia, Æolis, and part of Mysia, about two hundred miles in length upon the Ægean Sea. But the breadth was nothing answerable to its length, being not above fifty miles, taking one part with another. As to particular distances of places, I find some of them thus noted by Ferrarius and Baudrand. Assus in the most northern border was fifteen miles from Gargara, and thirty from Antandrus; but Anæa and Andera lay between, or near unto them. From Antandrus to Adramyttium is also reckoned thirty miles, but then Tremenothyra in Phrygia, and Nova Aula in this province, come between them. On the same shore we find Naulochus and Pitane, and then Elea, Myrina, and Cyme, whereof Myrina was but seven or eight miles from Elea, and Cyme the same distance, sixty furlongs, from Myrina. Between Pergamus and Cyme is reckoned twenty-six miles, but the fore-mentioned cities Myrina and Elea, with Aminetum and Hierocæsarea, lay between them. On the south of Cyme lay Phocæa, ten miles from the mouth of the river Hermus, and about the same distance from Cyme. From Phocæa to Smyrna is computed twenty-five miles, and from Smyrna to Colophon, twenty miles, but Lebedus lay in the middle way between them. Colophon and Metropolis upon the Caystrus were each of them twenty miles from Ephesus, and Ephesus seems not to have had any nearer neighbour, unless it was Priene, towards the river Mæander, from whence we may conclude, that Ephesus was the largest diocese in all this province. And by these few hints we may judge of the general extent of them.

In the other province of Lydia, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons twenty-six dioceses. 1. Sardis, the metropolis. 2. Philadelphia. 3. Tripolis. 4. Thyatira. 5. Septe. 6. Gordus. 7. Trallis. 8. Silandus. 9. Mæonia. 10. Fanum Apollinis. 11. Mostena. 12. Apollonia. 13. Attalia. 14. Bana. 15. Balandus. 16. Hierocæsarea. 17. Acrassus. 18. Daldus. 19. Stratonicia. 20. Satala. 21. Gabala. 22. Heraclea. 23. Areopolis. 24. Hellene. 25. Sena, al. Setta. 26. Civitas Standitana. To which Holstenius adds three more, Mastaura, Cerasa, and Orcanis, or Hircani, which Tristan and Carolus a Sancto Paulo both mistake for a city some where among the Hircanians, but Holstenius shows it belonged to Asia Minor and this province of Lydia. I will not stand to examine the particular bounds and extent of dioceses throughout this province; it being sufficient to observe in general, that both it and Asia put together were not larger than the provinces of Pontus Polemoniacus and Helenopontus; and yet there were not above ten or eleven dioceses in those two provinces, whereas we have discovered in these above seventy-five, which is almost the disproportion of eight to one, and fully makes out the observation I at first made of Asia Minor, that it had some of the greatest and some of the smallest dioceses, quietly enjoying the same form of government together.

Sect. 10. Of Caria.

The next province on the south of Asia and Lydia, is Caria, bounded on the east with Lycia, and on the south and west with the Ægean Sea, having the rivers Mæander and Calbis for its inland bounds. Here Carolus a Sancto Paulo has found twenty-five dioceses. 1. Aphrodisias, the metropolis. 2. Stauropolis. 3. Cybira. 4. Heraclea Salbaci. 5. Apollonias. 6. Heraclea Latmi. 7. Tabæ. 8. Antiochia ad Mæandrum. 9. Neapolis. 10. Orthosias. 11. Harpasa. 12. Alabanda. 13. Stratonice. 14. Alinda. 15. Amyzon. 16. Jassus. 17. Bargyla. 18. Halicarnassus. 19. Larima, al. Halarima. 20. Cnidus. 21. Myndus. 22. Ceramus. 23. Anastasiopolis. 24. Erisa. 25. Miletus. The *notitia* of Leo Sapiens increases the number to thirty-one.

Miletus was the place whither St. Paul called the elders of Ephesus, which was about forty miles distant from it. But several dioceses lay between them, as Heraclea, near Mount Lathmus, which Ferrarius computes but twelve miles from Miletus; so also Briullium, Sion, and Arpasa in the same coast toward Ephesus. On the south of Miletus the other way, we have Jassus, fifteen miles from it, and Tabæ, placed between them. From Jassus to Halicarnassus is computed fifty-five miles, but Bargillia and Myndus stand between them. From Halicarnassus to Gnidus is thirty miles, but Ceramus is an intervening diocese. And so the reader may find all the dioceses of this province scarce exceeding the compass of ten or fifteen miles throughout. But this was territory sufficient to make them exceed single congregations, and we need not question but it was true of them all, what Sozomen (lib. 5. c. 20.) particularly observes of Miletus, that in the time of Julian it had several Christian oratories in its neighbourhood. For he says, Julian sent orders to the governor of Caria, That whereas there were several oratories or churches built in honour of the martyrs near the temple of Didymæum, (so the temple of Apollo was called, that stood before Miletus,) he should, if they were covered and had communion tables in them, burn them with fire; or, if they were half decayed of themselves, he should take care utterly to demolish and destroy them. There were, it seems, churches then in the suburbs or country region of Miletus, which Julian, remembering what had lately happened to the temple of Apollo at Daphne in the suburbs of Antioch, was so careful to have destroyed, because they were an annoyance to his god.

Sect. 11. Of Lycia.

The next province to Caria on the sea-coast is Lycia, where Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons twenty-eight dioceses. 1. Myra, the metropolis. 2. Mastaura. 3. Telmessus. 4. Limyra. 5. Araxa. 6. Podalæa. 7. Sidyma, al. Diduma. 8. Olympus. 9. Zenopolis. 10. Tlos. 11. Corydalla. 12. Caunus, al. Acaleia. 13. Acarassus. 14. Xanthus. 15. Marciana. 16. Choma. 17. Phellus. 18. Antiphellus. 19. Phaselis. 20. Aucanda. 21. Eudoxias. 22. Patara. 23. Nysa, vel Nesus. 24. Balbura. 25. Œneanda. 26. Bubon, al. Bunum. 27. Calinda. 28. Rhodia. The *notitia* of Leo Sapiens has most of the same names, and eight more, for it makes the whole nnmber of dioceses thirty-six. But the lesser number in so small a province is sufficient to show the narrow extent of its dioceses in comparison of those of the Pontic provinces. For this province was not above eighty or a hundred miles square, and the cities therefore, one may easily conclude, lay pretty close together. Phellus is reckoned but six miles from Antiphellus one way, and ten from Myra, the metropolis, another way. Antiphellus was nine from Patara, and Telmessus and Patara scarce so much from Xanthus; for Baudrand reckons but seventy furlongs. By which it is easy to make an estimate of the remaining cities of this province, which lay about equal distances from one another.

Sect. 12. Of Pamphylia Prima and Secunda.

The next province on the same shore is Pamphylia, divided by the Romans into two, called Pamphylia Prima and Secunda. In the second of them, which bordered upon Lycia, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons twenty-six dioceses. 1. Perga, the metropolis. 2. Termessus. 3. Eudoxias. 4. Maximianopolis. 5. Palæopolis. 6. Pentenessus. 7. Diciozanabrus, al. Zenopolis. 8. Ariassus. 9. Pugla. 10. Adriana. 11. Attalia. 12. Magidis. 13. Olbia. 14. Corbasa. 15. Lysinia. 16. Cordylus. 17. Lagania. 18. Panemoticus. 19. Geone. 20. Commachum. 21. Silvium. 22. Pisinda, al. Sinda vel Isinda. 23. Talbonda. 24. Unzela. 25. Gilsata. 26. Pella. To which Holstenius adds five more, Colobrassus, Coracesium, Senna, Primopolis, and Seleucia. But three of these are by Carolus a Sancto Paulo set in the other Pamphylia, with nine more, in this order: 1. Sida, the metropolis. 2. Aspendus. 3. Etene. 4. Erymne. 5. Cassus. 6. Semneam, which is the same with Senna before mentioned. 7. Carallus. 8. Coracesium, mentioned before. 9. Sysdra. 10. Lyrbæ. 11. Colibrassus. 12. Selga. To which Holstenius adds Cotana, which makes the whole number in these two provinces forty-one. And the number is some evidence that they were comparatively but small. Sometimes, as Holstenius has observed, two of them were united together. For in the council of Constantinople, under Flavian, one Sabinianus subscribes himself bishop of Eudocias, Termessus, and Jobia.[45] Which we find in the first session of the council of Chalcedon. And in the time of Leo Sapiens some more of them were united together; for his *notitia* has but thirty-six dioceses in both the provinces. Yet any of them single were of a competent extent to confute the notion of those who make episcopal dioceses only parish churches.

Sect. 13. Of Lycaonia.

On the north of Pamphylia, more within land, lay the province of Lycaonia, where we find nineteen dioceses. 1. Iconium, the metropolis. 2. Lystra. 3. Derbe: all mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. 4. Onosada, al. Usada. 5. Amblada. 6. Honomada. 7. Laranda. 8. Baratta. 9. Hyda. 10. Sabatra. 11. Canna. 12. Berinopolis. 13. Ilistra. 14. Perte. 15. Arana, al. Baratta. 16. Isaura. 17. Misthium. 18. Corna. 19. Pappa. To which Holste-

[45] Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. t. 4. p. 230.

nius adds another, called Hydmautus, or Gadamautus, in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon. But the *notitia* of Leo Sapiens has but fifteen.

Sect. 14. Of Pisidia. In the next province of Pisidia, Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds twenty dioceses. 1. Antiochia, the metropolis. 2. Sagalassus. 3. Sozopolis. 4. Apamea. 5. Tityassus. 6. Baris. 7. Adrianopolis. 8. Limenopolis. 9. Laodicea Combusta. 10. Seleucia. 11. Adada. 12. Mallus. 13. Siniandus. 14. Metropolis. 15. Paralaus. 16. Bindeum. 17. Philomelium, which some place in Phrygia. 18. Prostama. 19. Gortena. 20. Theodosiopolis. The *notitia* of Leo Sapiens augments the number to twenty-three. I stand not to make any particular remarks upon these dioceses, because any reader that knows these two provinces, will easily imagine they are not to be compared with the other dioceses in the northern parts of Pontus.

Sect. 15. Of Phrygia Pacatiana and Salutaris. The last provinces in the Asiatic diocese, are those which the old Greeks and Romans called by one common name, Phrygia Major, but the Roman emperors divided it at first into two, and then into three provinces, one called Phrygia Salutaris, from the medicinal waters found there, another Phrygia Pacatiana, or, as some books read it corruptly, Capatiana, and a third, Pacatiana Secunda. In Phrygia Salutaris, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons up twenty dioceses. 1. Synnada, the metropolis. 2. Dorylæum. 3. Polybotus. 4. Nacolia. 5. Midaium. 6. Hipsus. 7. Prymnesia. 8. Myrum, or rather Merum. 9. Eucarpia. 10. Lysias. 11. Augustopolis. 12. Brysum. 13. Otrum. 14. Stectorium. 15. Cinnaborium. 16. Amadassa. 17. Cotyaium. 18. Præpenissus. 19. Docimæum. 20. Amorium.

In Phrygia Pacatiana Prima he recounts twenty-nine. 1. Laodicea, the metropolis. 2. Tiberiopolis. 3. Azana. 4. Itoana, or Bitoana. 5. Ancyra Ferrea, which Holstenius observes to be sometimes attributed to the province of Lydia adjoining. 6. Cidissus. 7. Egara, which Holstenius corrects into Aliana. 8. Pelte. 9. Apira. 10. Cadi. 11. Tranopolis vel Trajanopolis. 12. Sebasta. 13. Eumenia. 14. Temenothyræ. 15. Aliona. 16. Trapezopolis. 17. Silbium. 18. Ilusa. 19. Nea. 20. Chæretapa. 21. Colossa, now called Chone. 22. Sinaus. 23. Philippopolis. 24. Themisonium. 25. Sanis. 26. Acmonia. 27. Theodosiopolis. 28. Bleandrus. 29. Atanassus. Holstenius strikes out one of the number, for Nea is but a corruption of the Greek for Sanæa or Sanans, as he shows, but he finds out another, called Dioclia, to supply its room.

In Pacatiana Secunda there were but five dioceses, being by much the least of all the provinces. 1. Hierapolis, the metropolis. 2. Dionysiopolis. 3. Anastasiopolis. 4. Mosynus. 5. Attudi. But this province being of later erection, these dioceses are more commonly attributed to Phrygia Pacatiana without any distinction. Now, I observe of Phrygia in general, that some of its dioceses bordering upon Galatia were, like those of Galatia and the other Pontic provinces, of a larger extent than the rest about Hierapolis and Laodicea, which two metropolitical sees were not at a very great distance from one another. Ferrarius in one place says, but six miles; but it seems to be a typographical error, for in another place he makes Colossæ[46] to be between Hierapolis and Laodicea, upon the confluence of the rivers Lycus and Mæander, at twenty miles' distance from them both. So that there must be a mistake one way or other. Pliny is very exact in describing the situation of Laodicea,[47] for he says, it stood upon the Lycus, and had its walls washed also with the Asopus and the Caprus: but yet he does not tell us how far the confluence of these rivers was from the confluence of the Lycus with the Mæander, where Colossæ stood. But it may be concluded, it was at no great distance from it, since all authors agree, that Laodicea stood near the Mæander; and these three cities, Colossæ, Hierapolis, and Laodicea, which St. Paul joins together, are said by Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others, to be very near each other. They who have opportunity to consult Antonine's Itinerary, which at present I have not, may perhaps find them more exactly described, and limited with more certain bounds than I can pretend to assign them. If the first opinion of Ferrarius be true, and agreeable to Antonine, that they lay but six miles asunder; then it will readily be concluded, that the dioceses in this part of Phrygia were comparatively very small, since by Carolus a Sancto Paulo's description, Itoana, Trapezopolis, Attudi, Mosynus, and Antioch upon the Mæander in Caria, seem not to have been at much greater distances from one another.

Sect. 16. Of Isauria and Cilicia. Beside these several provinces of the Asiatic and Pontic dioceses in Asia Minor, there were also three provinces in it which were reckoned to the eastern diocese and the patriarchate of Antioch, viz. Isauria, Cilicia Prima, and Cilicia Secunda, which must be spoken of in this place. Isauria was anciently reckoned only a part of Cilicia, but from the time of Constantine, both in the civil and ecclesiastical account, it was esteemed a distinct province. Carolus a Sancto Paulo mentions twenty-two dioceses. 1. Seleucia, the metropolis. 2. Celenderis. 3. Anemurium. 4. Lamus. 5. Antiochia ad Tragum.

[46] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Colossæ.

[47] Plin. lib. 5. c. 29. Celeberrima urbs Laodicea imposita est Lyco flumini, latera alluentibus Asopo et Capro.

6. Selinus, al. Trajanopolis. 7. Jotape. 8. Diocæsarea. 9. Philadelphia. 10. Domitiopolis. 11. Titopolis. 12. Hierapolis. 13. Nephelis. 14. Dalisandus. 15. Claudiopolis, al. Isaura. 16. Germanicopolis. 17. Sbide, al. Isis. 18. Cestrus. 19. Olbus. 20. Lybias. 21. Hermopolis. 22. Irenopolis. To which Holstenius adds two more, Charadra and Lauzada, which is sometimes written corruptly, Vasada and Nauzada.

In Cilicia Prima there were eight dioceses. 1. Tarsus, the metropolis. 2. Pompeiopolis. 3. Sebaste. 4. Coricus. 5. Adana. 6. Mallus. 7. Zephyrium. And, 8. Augusta, added by Holstenius, who shows it to be a distinct place from Sebaste.

In the other Cilicia there are reckoned nine. 1. Anazarbus, the metropolis. 2. Mopsuestia. 3. Ægæ. 4. Epiphania. 5. Irenopolis. 6. Flaviopolis. 7. Castabala. 8. Alexandria, now called Scanderon. 9. Rossus, in the confines of Syria. The greatest part of these were large dioceses, like those of Syria, as any one that computes the distance between Epiphania, Alexandria, Rossus, &c. will easily imagine.

Sect. 17. Of Lazica, or Colchis.

Some reckon Lazica, which was anciently called Colchis, an appendix to Asia Minor, and therefore I mention it in this place. It is all the country on the Euxine Sea from Trabezond in Pontus to Phasis, which Strabo reckons near 200 miles. The modern *notitias* speak but of five dioceses, but that of Leo Sapiens in Leunclavius has fifteen. It was first made a Roman province in the time of Justinian, who mentions the cities[48] that were in it, Petra and Justiniana; with four castles, Pitius, Sebastopolis, Archæopolis and Rhodopolis, which had anciently been in the hands of the Romans; and four other castles, Scandias, Sarapenes, Murisios, and Lusieros, which he had lately taken out of the hands of the Persians. Of these one is as ancient as the council of Nice: for Stratophilus, bishop of Ptyusium, or Pitius, subscribes there among the bishops of Pontus Polemoniacus, to which province it was then annexed, as lying in Solo Barbarico, and not constituting any other province. In the sixth general council there is mention of Petra and Phasis, the metropolis. And that is all the account we have of them in the ancient councils.

Sect. 18. Of the isle of Lesbos and the Cyclades.

Another appendix to Asia Minor are the lesser islands of the Ægean Sea, which constituted a province by themselves. Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons four dioceses in Lesbos itself, Mytelene, Methymna, Tenedos, and Poroselene. But Poroselene and Tenedos were distinct islands by themselves, which sometimes had bishops of their own, and sometimes were united to Lesbos. In the council of Sardica, Dioscorus subscribes himself bishop of the isle of Tenedos alone: but in the second council of Ephesus, and in the council of Chalcedon, Florentius subscribes himself bishop of Lesbos and Tenedos together. Now as we must say, that Tenedos was but a small diocese by itself; for it was but 10 miles in compass, as Ferrarius computes; so when Lesbos was joined with it, it was a large one. For Pliny says, Lesbos alone had nine famous towns, and Strabo makes it 1100 stadia, or 140 miles in compass.

The other islands, called Cyclades, were divided into eleven distinct dioceses. 1. Rhodus, the metropolis. 2. Samos. 3. Chios. 4. Coos. 5. Naxus. 6. Paros. 7. Thera. 8. Delos. 9. Tenus. 10. Melos. 11. Carpathus. Now the largest of these, Rhodes, Samos, and Chios, were about 100 or 120 miles in compass, as Pliny informs us.[49] But the lesser sort of them, Tenos and Thera, were not above 14 or 15 miles long, or 40 in compass. So that among these we find dioceses of different extent, as in the rest of Asia, but all agreeing in the same species of episcopal government; and some of them, as Lesbos, having their *chorepiscopi*, but none so small as to be confined to a single congregation.

And so we have gone over all the provinces of the East under the civil government of the *præfectus-prætorio Orientis*, except the six provinces of the Thracian diocese, which because they are European provinces, we will consider them as such among the provinces of Europe, and give them the first place in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

A CONTINUATION OF THE FORMER ACCOUNT IN THE EUROPEAN PROVINCES.

Sect. 1. Of the six provinces of Thrace. And first of Scythia.

IN pursuance of the former inquiry, we are led out of Asia Minor into the provinces of Europe, where the six provinces of the Thracian diocese, Europa, Thracia, Hæmimontis, Rhodope, Mœsia Secunda, and Scythia, first offer themselves to consideration. This was all the country from Macedonia and the river Strymon to the Danube, which is now Romania and Bulgaria. A country extending from Constantinople to Sardica above 300 miles one way, and from the Ægean Sea to the Danube almost as much the other. In all these provinces the dioceses were very large. For in Scythia, the most northern province, there was but one bishopric, though there were many cities. For the bishop of Tomi was the

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[48] Justin. Novel. 28.

[49] Plin. lib. 5. c. 31.

sole bishop of this whole region, as is noted by Sozomen,[1] and Theodoret,[2] and other ancient writers, by whom he is sometimes called the bishop of Tomi, and sometimes the bishop of Scythia, as being the only superintendent of all the churches in that Scythia, which was made a province of the Roman empire.

Sect. 2. Of Europa. The province of Europa had also large dioceses. For several cities were under one bishop. We find in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus[3] a petition offered to that council by the bishops of this province, wherein they pray, That an immemorial custom of their country might be continued, whereby the bishop of Heraclea had also Panium in his diocese, the bishop of Bizya had Arcadiopolis, the bishop of Cœle had Callipolis, the bishop of Subsadia had Aphrodisias: to which petition the council agreed, and ordered, that no innovation should be made in the matter. Nor was there any alteration in the time of the council of Chalcedon: for there we find one Lucian[4] styled bishop of Bizya and Arcadiopolis still. But in the council of Constantinople under Mennas[5] we meet with some alterations; for there Panium had a distinct bishop from Heraclea, and Callipolis from Cœle. And in the *notitia* of Leo Sapiens in Leunclavius, Bizya and Arcadiapolis are not only distinct bishoprics, but both of them advanced to the honour of *autocephali*, or titular metropolitans in the church. In this province stood also Byzantium, once subject to Heraclea, the metropolis, till it was rebuilt, and advanced to be the royal city by Constantine, after which it grew so great and populous, as to equal old Rome. Sozomen says,[6] Constantine adorned it with many noble oratories; and it appears from one of Justinian's Novels,[7] that in his time four of these churches had no less than five hundred clergy of all sorts belonging to them. The Novatians themselves, as Socrates observes,[8] had three churches within the city: and in the suburbs, or region belonging to the city, the catholics had many parishes and churches at a considerable distance, as Hebdomum, Sycæ, Marianæ, Hieron, Elæa, Therapea, and Hestiæ, otherwise called Michaelium, which Sozomen says[9] was thirty-five furlongs from the city by water, and seventy by land. I think it needless to be more particular in the description of this diocese, since these are sufficient indications of the largeness of it. I shall only add concerning this province of Europa, that though Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons thirteen dioceses in it, Heraclea, Panium, Cælos, Callipolis, Cyla, Aphrodisias, Theodosiopolis, Chersonesus, Drusipara, Lysimachia, Bizya, Selymbria, and Arcadiopolis; yet really there were but nine: for Cælos and Cyla, as Holstenius has observed,[10] were two names for the same city, and Callipolis was joined in the same diocese with it; in like manner as Panium was annexed to Heraclea, and Arcadiopolis to Bizya. So that these were anciently dioceses of great extent.

Sect. 3. Of Thracia. In the province of Thracia properly so called there were but four dioceses, Philippopolis, Diocletianopolis, Nicopolis, and Diospolis. And the modern *notitias*, that of Leunclavius only excepted, have but three: for Nicopolis is not mentioned in them.

Sect. 4. Of Hæmimontis. In the province of Hæmimontis there were anciently six dioceses, Adrianopolis, Mesembria, Sozopolis, Plutinopolis, Develtus, and Anchialus. The latter *notitias* reckon but the four first, and Zoida instead of the two last, which are omitted, as being sunk or united into one.

Sect. 5. Of Rhodope. In the province of Rhodope Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds six dioceses, Trajanopolis, Maximianopolis, Abdera, Maronia, Ænus, and Cypsela. To which Holstenius adds, Topirus, which the other by mistake places in Macedonia. But these were so far from increasing in later ages, that they sunk into three, Trajanopole, Anastasiopole, and Perus, which are all that the modern *notitias* mention.

Sect. 6. Of Mœsia Secunda. In Mœsia Inferior, or Secunda, the last of the six Thracian provinces, which is now much the same with Bulgaria, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons nine dioceses, Marcianopolis, Nicopolis, Novæ, Abritum, Durostorum, Dionysiopolis, Odessus, Apiaria, Comæa; to which Holstenius adds another, called Trista, or Prista, by Socrates, and Nicephorus Calistus σεξαντάπριϛα. But whether increased or diminished, we know not, for there is no account of them in the *notitias* of later ages. I make no further remark upon these dioceses, save that they were generally large ones, as any one that will cast his eye upon a map, or examine particular distances of cities, will easily be convinced. And we may make the same general observation upon most of the dioceses of the European provinces in Macedonia, Dacia, and Illyricum, till we come as far as Italy. For which reason, it will be sufficient to give the reader only a catalogue of the names of dioceses in every province of those regions, according to the order and distribution of them in the church, following the model of the civil government, which divided these countries into three great dioceses, and seventeen or eighteen provinces, under

[1] Sozom. lib. 6. c. 21. lib. 7. c. 19.
[2] Theodor. lib. 4. c. 35.
[3] Concil. Ephes. par. 2. Act. 7.
[4] Concil. Chalced. Act. 16. t. 4. p. 800.
[5] Concil. sub Men. Act. 3 et 4.
[6] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 3.
[7] Justin. Novel. 3.
[8] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 38.
[9] Sozom. lib. 2. c. 3.
[10] Holsten. Annot. Geograph. p. 131.

the general name of Illyricum Orientale and Occidentale.

Sect. 7. Provinces in the civil diocese of Macedonia. Episcopal dioceses in Macedonia Prima and Secunda.

The first of these are the provinces of Greece, which by the Romans are all comprehended under one common name, of the civil dioceses of Macedonia, which with the diocese of Dacia was anciently the district of the *præfectus-prætorio* Illirici Orientalis. In the diocese of Macedonia were anciently six provinces, or according to Hierocles's account, seven: Macedonia Prima and Secunda, Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova, Thessalia, Achaia, and the isle of Crete. Carolus a Sancto Paulo confounds the two Macedonias together, and reckons seventeen dioceses in both. 1. Thessalonica, the metropolis of the first Macedonia. 2. Philippi, the metropolis of the second. 3. Stobi, the old metropolis of the second province. 4. Berrhœa. 5. Dium. 6. Particopolis. 7. Doberus. 8. Cassandria. 9. Neapolis. 10. Heraclea Pelagoniæ. 11. Torone. 12. Lete. 13. Topiris. 14. Serre. 15. Heraclea Strymonis. 16. Isle of Thassus. 17. Hephæstia in the isle of Lemnos. To which Holstenius[11] adds Primula and Zapara, but rejects Topiris, as belonging to Rhodope, a province in the Thracian diocese, and observes of Serre, that it was but another name for Philippi.

Sect. 8. Of Thessalia.

The next province upon the Ægean Sea is Thessalia, where Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds but eight dioceses: Larissa the metropolis, Demetrias, Echinus, Cypera, Metropolis, Lamia, Triccæ, and Thebæ Pthioticæ. But Holstenius[12] adds three more, Dicæsarea, Gomphi, and Scarphia, the last of which Carolus a Sancto Paulo confounds with Echinus. The *notitia* in Leunclavius calls this province Hellas Secunda, and names eleven dioceses in it, four of which retain their old names, by which it is reasonable to conjecture, that Hellas Secunda and Thessalia were but two names for the same province; and the number of dioceses agreeing exactly in both accounts, we may conclude there never were above eleven dioceses in all this province.

Sect. 9. Of Achaia, Peloponnesus, and Eubœa.

The next province to Thessaly is Achaia, which was a very large province, including not only what the ancients called Attica and Achaia, but also all Peloponnesus, and the isle of Eubœa. Here Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds twenty-six dioceses, four of which were in the isle of Eubœa. 1. Chalcis, now called Negroponte. 2. Oreum. 3. Porthmus. 4. Caristus. Nine in Peloponnesus. 1. Corinthus, the metropolis of the whole province. 2. Argos. 3. Tegea. 4. Megalopolis. 5. Lacedæmon. 6. Messena. 7. Corone. 8. Petræ. 9. Helice. Thirteen in the other part of Achaia. 1. Athenæ. 2. Megara. 3. Thespiæ. 4. Naupactus. 5. Secorus. 6. Elatea. 7. Opus. 8. Strategis. 9. Thebæ. 10. Platea. 11. Tanagra. 12. Marathon. 13. Carsia, al. Corissia. Holstenius adds another Corone, or Coronia, in Bœotia, beside the Corone that was in Peloponnesus. The *notitia* of Leo Sapiens, in Leunclavius and the seventh chapter of this Book, makes three provinces of this, calling them Hellas Prima, and Peloponnesus Prima and Secunda, and the number of dioceses is pretty near the same, by which we may guess no great alteration was made in them for several ages. The largeness of these dioceses may easily be concluded from the greatness of many of the cities and their large territories, which the reader may find already demonstrated by Dr. Maurice, in his discourse of Diocesan Episcopacy, p. 380, concerning Thebes, Athens, Lacedæmon, Megalopolis, and other cities of this province in particular.

Sect. 10. Of Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova.

The next region is Epirus, separated from Achaia by the river Achelous. This was anciently one kingdom, but the Romans divided it into two provinces, Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova. In the former Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons ten dioceses. 1. Nicopolis, the metropolis. 2. Anchiasmus. 3. Phœnicia. 4. Dodone. 5. Adrianopolis. 6. Buthrotum. 7. Euria. 8. Photica. 9. Isle of Cephalenia. 10. Isle of Corcyra. In the new Epirus, only eight. 1. Dyrrachium, or Doracium, the metropolis. 2. Scampes. 3. Apollonia. 4. Aulon. 5. Amantia. 6. Lychnidus. 7. Bullidum, or Bulis. 8. Prina, or Prisna. To which Holstenius adds Listra, or Helistra, but with some doubting, whether it do not rather belong to Lycaonia. These were very large dioceses, above forty or fifty miles long; notwithstanding which, two of them were sometimes united together: for in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, as Holstenius has observed, one Felix is called[13] bishop of Bulis and Apollonia together. In the Greek *notitia* of Leo Sapiens, old Epirus goes by the name of Ætolia, and has the same number of ten dioceses only, though not the same names. The other Epirus has sixteen, but then the province of Prævalitana is joined to it, and most of its dioceses taken in to make up the number. Whence I conclude, that the dioceses in these provinces have been of great extent in all ages; the isle of Corcyra itself being reckoned by some geographers forty-five miles long, and by Pliny[14] no less than ninety-seven.

Sect. 11. Of the isle of Crete.

In the isle of Crete, which was the last of the Macedonian provinces, Carolus a Sancto Paulo names eleven dioceses. 1. Gortyna, the metropolis. 2. Gnossus. 3. Hierapetra. 4. Lappa. 5. Subrita. 6. Eleuthera. 7. Cherronesus. 8. Cydonia. 9. Cysamus. 10. Ci-

[11] Holsten. Annot. Geograph. p. 114. [12] Ibid. p. 115.

[13] Conc. Ephes. Act. 1. [14] Plin. lib. 4. c. 12.

tium. 11. Cantanum. The *notitia* of Leo Sapiens in Leunclavius makes them twelve, but Hierapetra is there by mistake of some transcriber divided into two, which being corrected reduces them to the same number. Whence I conclude, this was pretty near the standing number for several ages. Now, Crete is reckoned by Ferrarius and others out of Pliny and Strabo, two hundred and seventy or three hundred miles long, and fifty broad. Which makes these twelve dioceses equal to the rest of the Macedonian provinces, all which appear visibly to be dioceses of great extent, without descending any further to give a more particular account of them.

Sect. 12. Of the five provinces in the diocese of Dacia. Of Prævalitana.

The other civil diocese of Illyricum Orientale went by the common name of Dacia, consisting of five provinces,* Prævalitana, Mœsia Superior, Dacia Mediterranea, Dacia Ripensis, and Dardania. Prævalitana lies on the north of Epirus to the Adriatic Sea, being part of that country which is now called Albania. Carolus a Sancto Paulo names but two dioceses in it, Scodra, the old metropolis of the province, and Achrida, which was anciently called Prævalis, but afterwards Justinian honoured it with his own name, Justiniana Prima, and advanced it to patriarchal dignity, assigning it all the five provinces[15] of the Dacian diocese, and the two Pannonias in the diocese of Illyricum Occidentale, for the limits of its jurisdiction. Besides these two bishoprics, Holstenius has found out two more in this province, Rhizinium and Lissus, now called Alessio, on the Adriatic Sea; Carolus a Sancto Paulo also by mistake places Scodra in the province of Dalmatia, making Justiniana Prima a metropolitan see, without any suffragans under it.

Sect. 13. Of Mœsia Superior.

On the north of Prævalitana to the Danube lay Mœsia Superior, between Pannonia on the west and Dacia on the east. Carolus a Sancto Paulo confounds the episcopal dioceses of this province and the Dacias together, making Sardica the metropolis of them all, and calling them from that by the common name of Provincia Sardicensis; and, beside Sardica, he finds but three more dioceses in the three provinces, Remessiana, Aquæ, and Castrum Martis. But Holstenius is a little more accurate, and treats distinctly of them. He assigns to Mœsia Superior, Castrum Martis, and another called Margus, seated on the confluence of the river Margus and the Danube.

Sect. 14. Of Dacia Mediterranea, and Dacia Ripensis.

To Dacia Mediterranea he assigns Sardica, the metropolis, and Romatiana and Naissus, which he and Pagi make to be the birth-place of Constantine the Great. In the other Dacia, called Ripensis, from its running along the banks of the Danube between Mœsia Prima and Secunda, he places Aquæ, which is mentioned in the council of Sardica, in St. Hilary's Fragments, and Iscus, or Iscopolis, another city, whose bishop subscribed out of the same province in the foresaid council. In his Annotations also upon Ortelius,[16] he observes two other episcopal cities in this province, one called Martis by Hierocles, or Stramartis by Procopius, and another called Budine, now Bodine, in Bulgaria, upon the Danube: but perhaps these are both modern sees, for he cites no other authority but that of the *notitias* for them, and Stramartis seems to be a corruption of Castra Martis.

Sect. 15. Of Dardania and Gothia.

On the south of Dacia, between it and Macedonia, was the province of Dardania, divided from Macedonia by Mount Scardus, and from Thracia by part of Mount Hœmus. It is now part of Servia, and was anciently a part of Mœsia, as Dacia also was, till the Daci, passing over the Danube, got themselves planted in the middle of Mœsia, which, from that time, was called Dacia Nova, as the other beyond the Danube was called Dacia Antiqua, and Gothia. In this province of Dardania, Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds four dioceses. 1. Scupi, the metropolis. 2. Ulpianum, otherwise called Justiniana Secunda. 3. Diocletiana, which, at the time of the council of Sardica, was reckoned a city of Macedonia. 4. Nessyna, or Nessus. Holstenius adds another, called Pautalia, which Hierocles, in his *notitia*, reckons among the cities of Dacia Mediterranea, and Stephanus and Ptolemy among the cities of Thracia, as lying in the confines of those provinces. Besides these five provinces of the Dacian diocese, on the south side of the Danube, there was another on the north side out of the bounds of the Roman empire, called Dacia Antiqua, and Gothia, from the time that the Goths seated themselves in it. Epiphanius speaks of one Silvanus, bishop of Gothia beyond Scythia, taking Scythia for the Roman Scythia on this side the Danube, whereof Tomi was the metropolis. Whence Holstenius rightly concludes, that Gothia was that region which is now called Transylvania, or Wallachia. But what episcopal sees they had, or whether they had in all this region any more than one bishop, as the Scythians, and Saracens, and some other such barbarous nations, is uncertain. Carolus a Sancto Paulo thinks Zarmizegethusa was the seat of their bishop, because Ptolemy makes it the royal seat and metropolis of the kingdom. And this he supposes to be the same with Gothia, mentioned in the *notitia* of Leo Sapiens, among the *autocephali*, or such bishops as had no suffragans under them. But these being matters involved in obscurity, I leave them to further inquiry.

15 Justin. Novel. 131. c. 3.

16 Holsten. Annot. in Ortel. p. 116.

Sect. 16. Of the six provinces in the diocese of Illyricum Occidentale. Of Dalmatia.

Out of Illyricum Orientale we pass next into the civil diocese of Illyricum Occidentale, which was under the government of the *præfectus-prætorio* of Italy. In this diocese were six provinces, Dalmatia, Savia, Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Noricum Mediterraneum, and Noricum Ripense. In Dalmatia Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons four episcopal dioceses. 1. Salona, the metropolis. 2. Jadera, now called Zara. 3. Epidaurus, now Ragusa. 4. Scodra, or Scutari. But Scodra is wrong placed in Dalmatia, for, as has been noted before, it was rather the metropolis of Prævalitana. But Holstenius adds two more in the room of it, Doclea and Senia, now called Segna, a city upon the Liburnian shore.

Sect. 17. Of Savia.

The next province to this was Savia, which seems to be so named from the river Savus running through the middle of it. It is sometimes called Pannonia Sava, being part of Pannonia on the Savia, and sometimes Pannonia Sirmiensis and Cibaliensis, from the cities Sirmium and Cibalis, which lay in this part of it. But here we consider it as a distinct province from Pannonia, from which it was separated by the river Dravus, and is what we now call Slavonia, and part of Bosnia and Servia. In this province were six episcopal dioceses. 1. Sirmium, the metropolis, near the confluence of the Savus and the Danube. 2. Singidunum. 3. Mursa, now called Essek. 4. Cibalis. 5. Noviodunum. 6. Siscia.

Sect. 18. Of Pannonia Superior and Inferior.

Between the river Dravus and the Danube lay the two Pannonias, Superior and Inferior, which are now the southern part of Hungary. In the former of these Carolus a Sancto Paulo out of Lazius speaks of four dioceses: Vindobona or Vienna, Sabaria, Scarabantia, and Celia. To which Holstenius adds Petavia, now called Petow, which the other confounds with Patavia, or Batavia Castra, in Noricum, now called Passaw in Bavaria. Victorinus Martyr was bishop of this city, though Baronius and many others commonly style him Pictaviensem, as if he had been bishop of Poictiers in France; whereas he was bishop of this city in Pannonia Prima, called Petavia, or Petow, as is observed by Spondanus, and Pagi, and Du Pin, in their critical remarks upon the Life of that ancient writer. In the lower Pannonia there were but three dioceses, Curta, Carpis, and Stridonium, the birth-place of St. Jerom.

Sect. 19. Of Noricum Mediterraneum and Ripense.

More westward from Pannonia was the province of Noricum, confined on the north with the Danube, and on the south and west with Venetia and Rhætia, two Italic provinces. This the Romans divided into two, Noricum Mediterraneum and Ripense, in both which Lazius mentions but four dioceses, Laureacum, now called Lork, Juvavia or Saltsburg, Ovilabis, and Solva. Carolus a Sancto Paulo by mistake adds a fifth, Petavio, Petow; but that, as was said before, belongs to another province. And the rest were not erected till the sixth century, when that part of Germany was first converted, which is now Carniola and Carinthia, with part of Bavaria, Stiria, Tirol, and Austria. By which it is easy to judge of what vast extent those dioceses anciently were, as they are now at this day; two of them, as I observed, being as large as ten or twenty in some other parts of the world, particularly in Palestine and Asia Minor, which have been already considered; and the observation will be more fully verified by taking a particular view of Italy, whose episcopal dioceses come now in order in the next place to be considered.

CHAPTER V.

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE DIOCESES OF ITALY.

Sect. 1. Of the extent of the diocese of the bishop of Rome.

ITALY, in the sense we are now to speak of it, as it was taken for the whole jurisdiction of the *præfectus urbis et vicarius Italiæ* under the Roman emperors, was of somewhat larger extent than now it is: for not only the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica were taken into the account, but also Rhætia Secunda, which is that part of Germany that lies from the Alps to the Danube. In this extent it was divided into two large civil dioceses, containing seventeen provinces of the Roman empire, as has been showed before;[1] and in these provinces there were about three hundred episcopal dioceses, the names of which are still remaining, but the places themselves many of them demolished or sunk into villages, and other new bishoprics set up in their room. I shall not concern myself with the number or extent of the modern dioceses, but only those that were ancient, and erected within the first six hundred years; of which I am to make the same observation in general, as I have done upon those of Palestine and Asia Minor, that here were some of the largest and some of the smallest dioceses, for extent of ground, of any in the world, and yet the same species of episcopacy retained in all without any variety or distinction. The dioceses of the suburbicary provinces that lay next to Rome were generally small, in comparison of those that lay further to the north and west in the Italic provinces. For about Rome the country was extremely popu-

[1] See chap. 1. sect. 5. of this Book.

lous, and cities much thicker spread, which occasioned so many more episcopal sees to be erected in those provinces above the other. This will plainly appear by taking a view of each particular province, and comparing the dioceses one with another: of which we shall be able to give a more exact account, because so much pains has been taken by learned men in all ages, especially Cluver and Holstenius, Ferrarius and Baudrand, in the last age, to describe minutely and exactly the several places of this country, and their distance from Rome and one another. To begin with Rome itself: this was a very large diocese in one respect, and very small in another. In respect of the city itself, and the number of people that were therein, it might be called one of the greatest dioceses in the world. For Pliny[2] speaks of it as the most populous city in the universe, in the time of Vespasian, when it was but thirteen miles about. But Lipsius,[3] in his book de Magnitudine Romana, and Mr. Mede,[4] and some others think, that is meant only of the city within the walls; for otherwise it was but forty-two miles in compass when St. John wrote his Revelation, in the time of Domitian. And afterward it received considerable additions; for in the days of Aurelian, the historian[5] speaks of it as no less than fifty miles in circumference. And before this time the Christians made a considerable figure in it: for Cornelius, who lived in the middle of the third century, speaks of forty-six presbyters,[6] beside deacons, sub-deacons, and other inferior clergy, belonging to the church in his time. And within half an age more we find an account of above forty churches in it. For so many Optatus[7] says there were, when Victor Garbiensis, the Donatist bishop, was sent from Africa to be the anti-bishop there: though there were forty churches and more in the city, yet he could not obtain one of them, to make his handful of sectaries look like a Christian congregation. This, as Baronius and Valesius have rightly observed, was spoken by Optatus not of his own times, but of the time when Victor Garbiensis came to Rome, which was in the beginning of the Diocletian persecution. Whence it may be rationally inferred, that if there were above forty churches in Rome before the last persecution, there would be abundance more in the following ages, when the whole city was become Christian. But as by the vast increase of this city the diocese was very large within, so for the same reason it became very small without. For that which was at first the territory of Rome, seems afterward to have been swallowed up in the city itself by the prodigious increase of it. Insomuch that some have thought, that in the time of Innocent I. the diocese of Rome had no country parishes belonging to it, but that they were all within the city; because in his epistle to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium,[8] he seems to make this difference between other dioceses and that of Rome, that in the Roman diocese the custom was to send the sacrament from the mother-church to the presbyters officiating in other churches, because all their churches lay within the city; but this was not proper to be done in other places, which had country parishes,[9] because the sacraments were not to be carried to places at too great a distance. But however this was, (for learned men are not exactly agreed upon it, and I conceive it to be a mistake,) this is certain, that the diocese of Rome could not extend very far any way into the country region; because it was bounded on all sides with neighbouring cities, which lay close round it. On the north it had Fidenæ, a bishop's see in those times, though, as Cluver[10] and Ferrarius[11] show out of Dionysius Halicarnasseus, it lay but forty stadia, or five miles, distant from it. On the east it was bounded with the diocese of Gabii, which some by mistake place seventy miles from Rome, but Holstenius[12] and Cluver, who are more accurate, tell us, it lay in the middle way between Rome and Præneste, about twelve or thirteen miles from each. In the same coast lay Tusculum, but twelve miles from Rome. A little inclining to the south lay the diocese of Subaugusta, close by Rome. Here Helena, the mother of Constantine, was buried, whence it was called Subaugusta Helena. Holstenius[13] says, the remains of it are still visible at the place called Turris Pignatara. It was so near Rome, that the writers which speak of Helena's interment, commonly say she was buried at Rome in the church of St. Marcelline in Via Lavicana; which is to be understood of St. Marcelline's church in Subaugusta, which lay in the way betwixt Rome and Lavici, whence the way was called Via Lavicana. If we look to the south of Rome down the river Tiber toward the sea, there we find three dioceses in three cities, none of them above three miles from each other, nor above sixteen miles from Rome. These were Ostia, Portus Augusti, and Sylva Candida. The first and second of which lay within two miles of each other, Ostia on the east side, and Portus on

[2] Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

[3] Lipsius de Magnitud. Roman. l. 3. c. 2. p. 111.

[4] Mede, Commentat. Apocalypt. p. 488.

[5] Vopisc. Vit. Aurel. p. 645.

[6] Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43.

[7] Optat. lib. 2. p. 49. Non enim grex aut populus appellandi fuerant pauci, qui inter quadraginta et quod excurrit basilicas, locum ubi colligerent non habebant.

[8] Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 5. De fermento autem quod die Dominico per titulos mittimus superflue nos consulere voluisti, cum omnes ecclesiæ nostræ intra civitatem sunt constitutæ, &c.

[9] Ibid. Quod per parochias fieri debere non puto, quia non longe portanda sunt sacramenta.

[10] Cluver. Ital. lib. 2. p. 654.

[11] Ferrar. Lexic. Geogr. voce Fidenæ.

[12] Holsten. Annot. in Ortel. p. 85. Cluver. Ital. p. 955.

[13] Holsten. Annot. Geogr. in Car. a Sancto Paulo, p. 11.

the west side of the river Tiber; and Sylva Candida a little more west from Portus. The site and distance of Ostia and Portus from Rome we have exactly delivered both from ancient and modern geographers. In Antonine's Itinerary it is called eighteen; but Holstenius[14] observes that the ancient miles were shorter than the modern, and therefore both he, and Ferrarius, and others, reckon these places precisely but sixteen miles from Rome. Now these being sea-ports, had probably the chief extent of their dioceses toward Rome, which takes off from the largeness of the former. On the west it was bounded with the diocese of Lorium, which lay in Tuscia in the Via Aurelia betwixt Rome and Turres, which Holstenius says,[15] was but twelve miles from Rome, and ten from Turres. And many other dioceses lay in the same circle about Rome, not at much further distance. For Nepe in Tuscia was but twenty miles from Rome, and Sutrium but four from Nepe. Nomentum, among the Sabines in Valeria, was but twelve miles from Rome, and Tibur in the same tract about sixteen. Lavici in Campania, or Latium, was but fifteen, and Tres Tabernæ, according to some accounts, but twenty-one, and Velitræ so near that, that Gregory the Great united them together. But we shall see more of this in specifying the dioceses of each particular province, and assigning the bounds of such as were most remarkable for their nearness one to another.

Sect. 2. Of Tuscia and Umbria.

I shall begin with those provinces which are properly called Roman, in contradistinction to the rest of the Italic dioceses; and in each of these assign both the names and number of the ancient episcopal dioceses, that the reader who is curious in this matter, may exercise his geographical knowledge in a more particular search into the state of them. The first of these in order is Tuscia and Umbria, which the civil and ecclesiastical account always joins together as one province, though they had distinct bounds upon other occasions. Tuscia was the same that was anciently called Etruria, bounded with the Tiber on the east, and the river Macra on the west, the Apennine hills on the north, and the Tuscan Sea on the south; and includes now St. Peter's patrimony in the eastern part, and the dukedom of Florence, or Tuscany, in the west. In this province Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds thirty-five ancient dioceses. 1. Portus Augusti, now called Porto. 2. Sylva Candida, now Sancta Ruffina. 3. Nepe, vulgo Nepi. 4. Aqua Viva, al. Carpenatum Urbs. 5. Phalaris, now Citta Castellana. 6. Ferentium, Ferento. 7. Polymartium, Bomarso. 8. Hortanum, Horti. 9. Blera, now Bieda. 10. Sutrium. 11. Tarquina. 12. Salpis. But Holstenius thinks this is mistaken for Sæpinum, in the province of Samnium. 13. Tuscania, Tuscanello. 14. Balneum Regis, Bagnarea. 15. Perusia, now Perugia. 16. Urbs Vetus, Orvieto. 17. Clusium, Chiusa. 18. Cortona. 19. Aretium, Arezzo. 20. Volsinium, Bolsena. 21. Centumcellæ, now Civita Vecchia. 22. Gravisca, now Montalto. 23. Cornetum. 24. Forum Claudii, now Oriolo. 25. Pisa. 26. Lucca. 27. Luna. 28. Sena. 29. Florentia. 30. Fesulæ, now Fiezoli. 31. Suana. 32. Manturanum. 33. Rusella, Rosella. 34. Populonia, Porto Baratto. 35. Volaterræ. To which Holstenius adds Volscæ, or Civitas Bulcentina, Castrum Valentini, and Lorium. Now some of these, as has been already observed, were very near neighbours to Rome, and they were yet nearer to one another. Nepi was but four miles from Sutrium, as Ferrarius computes,[16] and so they were afterward united together, as the same author informs us. Portus Augusti was bounded on one side with Ostia, which was but two miles from it, as Ferrarius[17] and Cluver inform us; and on the other side with Sylva Candida, which Carolus a Sancto Paulo places about the same distance from it. Faleria, or Phalaris, is reckoned by Cluver[18] about five or six miles from Nepe, and four miles from Hortanum by Ferrarius,[19] who says, Hortanum lay upon the Tiber, opposite to the Ocriculi in Umbria, and not above four miles to the west of it. Holstenius[20] shows out of the Jerusalem Itinerary, that Aqua Viva was but twelve miles from Ocriculi, and Phaleria lay between them. Polymartium was but five miles west from Hortanum, as Ferrarius computes,[21] and Ferentium about the same distance from Polymartium; which two last were united into one, before the council of Rome under Martin, anno 649, as Carolus a Sancto Paulo collects from the subscriptions of that council. Blera was but nine miles from Forum Claudii, as Holstenius[22] shows from the old Itineraries; and Forum Claudii not above five from Sutrium, according to Cluver's reckoning. Lorium was but twelve miles from Rome in the way to Civita Vecchia, as has been showed before. Tarquina is reckoned by Ferrarius[23] about five miles from Cornetum, and about the same distance from Gravisca, by Cluver's Tables. Which is the more probable, because Holstenius observes,[24] that these three dioceses were at last united into one. Centumcellæ, or Civita Vecchia,

[14] Holsten. Annot. in Cluver. Ital. p. 79. Others reckon but twelve modern miles. So Lipsius out of Appian.
[15] Holsten. in Cluver. Ital. p. 43.
[16] Ferrar. Lexic. Geogr. voce Nepe et Sutrium.
[17] Ibid. voce Ostia et Portus.
[18] Cluver. Ital. lib. 2. p. 537.
[19] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Hortanum.
[20] Holsten. Annot. in Cluver. p. 80.
[21] Ferrar, voce Polymartium.
[22] Holsten. in Cluver. p. 47.
[23] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Tarquinia.
[24] Holsten. Annot. in Carol. a Sancto Paulo, p. 8.

lay upon the sea, twelve miles from Gravisca, as appears from the Jerusalem Itinerary in Holstenius.[25] Tuscania and Volsinium, and Urbs Vetus, now called Orvieto, and Balneum Regis, had much about the same distances from one another. And all these lay within that little compass of land, which is now called St. Peter's patrimony, hemmed in on the east and north with the river Tiber, on the west with the river Marta, and on the south with the Tuscan Sea. A country that is not much above fifty miles square, as Cluver rightly describes it. For from Rome to Centumcellæ, or Civita Vecchia, which lies but ten miles from the river Marta, which now divides St. Peter's patrimony from Castro Ducato, Cluver and Holstenius,[26] out of Antonine's Itinerary, in the direct course of the Via Aurelia, reckon but forty-seven miles, which do not exceed forty miles according to the present estimation. So that there being in this compass twenty bishoprics, including Rome in the number, if we will suppose all the dioceses to be equal, each diocese will be about ten or twelve miles square, which confirms the account that has been given of the distance of the several cities from each other. And hence it appears, that as in some parts of the kingdom of Naples, dioceses have been multiplied above what they were in former ages, so in this and other parts of the pope's dominions, they have as strangely decreased. For now there are not near half the number, there being sometimes two, or three, or four united into one. For Ferrarius informs us, that Viterbo was raised, anno 1074, out of the ruins of three old ones, Ferentum, Tuscania, and Polymartium. So Citta Castellana arose from the decay of Faleria and Hortanum. Sutrium was united to Nepe; Tarquina and Gravisca to Cornetum; not to mention any more of this kind, which concern not the present inquiry. As to those dioceses which lay in the western part of Tuscia, now called the dukedom of Tuscany, they were much larger in proportion than the former, for excepting Fesulæ, which lay but three miles[27] from Florence, all the other dioceses were of greater extent. Of which I need only give this evidence, that this part of Tuscia is reckoned[28] above two hundred miles in length, and near a hundred in breadth, excluding the pope's dominions. Which being divided among fifteen or sixteen dioceses, will afford a large territory to every one: so that it is needless to look further for a particular account of them.

But if we return back again into Umbria, nearer Rome, there we shall find dioceses of the same size, and as thick as in the patrimony of St. Peter. For it was but a little tract of ground, bounded with the rivers Nar and Tiber, and the Apennine hills, and only a part of the old Umbria, which reached beyond the Apennine to the Adriatic sea. In the present Umbria, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons eighteen bishoprics. 1. Ocriculum. 2. Narnia. 3. Tuder, now Todi. 4. Mevania, now Bevagna. 5. Tifernum Tiberinum, now Citta di Castello. 6. Interamnia, now Terni. 7. Ameria, Amelia. 8. Trebia, Trebi. 9. Spoletum, Spoleto. 10. Fulginum, Fulgino. 11. Camerinum. 12. Hispellum. 13. Assisium. 14. Forum Novum, now Vescovio. 15. Forum Flaminii, now For-flammo. 16. Vettonium, Bittona. 17. Nuceria, Nocera. 18. Eugubium, Gubbio. To which Holstenius adds Tadinum[29] and Martula. Now five of these, Fulginum, Hispellum, Assisium, Forum Flaminii, and Mevania, lay so close together, that none of them was above ten miles' distance from any of the other. Fulginum had on the north towards Nuceria, Forum Flaminii to bound it, which Ferrarius[30] says, was but three miles removed from it. Hispellum was but the same distance in the way to Assisium. Trebia on the east was but six miles from Fulginum, and nine from Spoletum, as Ferrarius also informs us,[31] who says also it was but fifteen miles from Fulginum to Spoletum; so that Trebia must lie exactly in the way betwixt them. On the south, Fulginum was bounded again with Mevania, which was but six miles from it.[32] On the west lay Assisium, famous in modern stories for the birth of St. Francis, the father of the Franciscans; and this, Ferrarius says, was but ten miles[33] from Fulginum, and about twelve from Perusia in Tuscia. If we look a little more northward, from Forum Flaminii to Nuceria is computed nine miles[34] by Ferrarius. From Nuceria to Tadinum (the remains of which, Holstenius[35] says, are yet to be seen in the Via Flaminia, near Gualdo, on the top of the Apennine) is computed no more than eight miles by Holstenius[36] and Baudrand. And from Tadinum to Eugubium must be about thirteen. But here the dioceses began to enlarge toward the western parts of this province, as was observed before of Tuscia. For westward of Eugubium, there was no city betwixt it and Tifernum Tiberinum, which was twenty miles from it. Nor had Tifernum Tiberinum any nearer neighbours than Aretium, which is reckoned eighteen, and Callium twenty-two, and Perusia twenty-four

[25] Holsten. in Cluver. p. 80.
[26] Ibid. p. 78. Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. 2. p. 405, reckons it 280 stadia, or 35 miles.
[27] Cluver. Ital. lib. 2. p. 452.
[28] Ferrar. Lexic. Geogr. voce Tuscia.
[29] Holsten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 9, et in Cluver. p. 98.
[30] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Forum Flaminii.
[31] Ibid. voce Trebia, et Fulginum, et Hispellum
[32] Ibid. voce Mevania.
[33] Baudrand. voce Fulginum et Perusia.
[34] Ferrar. voce Nuceria.
[35] Holsten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 9.
[36] Holsten. Annot. in Ital. Cluver. p. 86.

miles from it, as Baudrand and Ferrarius[37] have computed. But then if we look towards Rome again, and descend from the Apennine to the southern parts of this province toward the rivers Nar and Tiber, we there first meet with Martula on the river Nar, which Holstenius[38] assures us was but six miles to the east of Spoleto. Down the same river lay Interamnia, about the same distance from Martula. And below that was Narnia, which Cluver,[39] from the Jerusalem Itinerary, reckons to be nine miles from Interamnia; but Holstenius, who was at the pains to measure it, says[40] it was but five miles and two-thirds from the gate of the one city to the gate of the other. A little to the west of Narnia lay Ameria, which Ferrarius[41] says was not quite six miles from it. And to the south of Narnia, more down the river Nar toward Rome, there was Ocriculum, which the Jerusalem Itinerary in Cluver[42] makes to be twelve miles from Narnia; but Ferrarius, by the modern account, reckons but eight, and four from Hortanum in Umbria, as has been noted before in speaking of Hortanum. In the middle of this province, upon the confluence of the rivers Tinia and Asius, between Mevania and Perusia, lay Vettonium, which Ferrarius[43] accounts six miles from Mevania, and eight from Perusia in Tuscia. So that all the dioceses of this province, except two or three, were very small, and one with another not to be reckoned above eight or ten miles in length, since there was scarce so much distance from one city to another. And upon this account, as the cities decayed, several of these dioceses were united together in after ages. For Tadinum is joined to Nuceria, as Holstenius[44] informs us. Hispellum and Forum Flaminii are swallowed up in Fulgino. So Mevania, and Trebia, and Martula are sunk and united to other dioceses, and in all this province, that I can learn, there is not one new see erected.

Sect. 3. Of the province of Valeria.

Out of Umbria our next step toward the east is into the province of Valeria, so called, Holstenius thinks, from the Via Valeria, which ran directly through it. It was bounded on the north with the Apennine, on the west with the river Nar, which divided it from Umbria, on the south with the Tiber and the Anio, which divided it from Latium, or that which is now called Campagna di Roma. On the east it bordered upon Samnium, from which it was divided by a line drawn from the river Aternus to the head of Anio. It was anciently the country of the Sabines and Marsi, and part of Old Latium, and is now called Sabina in that part which runs toward Rome, the rest being now part of the dukedom of Spoleto and Abrusso. In this province Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons eleven dioceses. 1. Fidenæ, now called Castel Jubileo. 2. Nomentum, now Lamentana. 3. Tibur, Tivoli. 4. Nursia, Norza. 5. Marsi, al. Marruvium, and Valeria. 6. Præneste, now Palestrina. 7. Furconium, Forconio. 8. Amiternum, now S. Vittorino. 9. Reate, Rieti. 10. Cures, Curese. 11. Lista. But Holstenius[45] observes, that the last of these is mistaken for Lissum, or Alessio, as it is now called, in Prævalitana on the other side of the Adriatic Sea; and Præneste belongs to Latium: instead of which he substitutes two others, Pitinum and Forum Novum, or Sabinum, now Vescovio, once a chief city among the Sabines. Now, of these, Fidenæ was but five miles from the gates of Rome, as has been noted before. Nomentum was about eight from Fidenæ, and twelve from Rome, as Baudrand[46] shows out of Sanson and Brietius; though others place it beyond Tibur ten miles, and twenty-six from Rome. Tibur itself was but sixteen miles[47] from Rome, and twelve from Præneste. But it was a pretty large diocese for all that. For Holstenius[48] observes, that Sublaqueum was a dependant on it, till it became a monastery exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction; and Ferrarius[49] says, that abbey had fourteen villages belonging to it. Præneste was thirteen miles from Gabii, and fourteen from Anagnia, and not so much from Nomentum. Cures, now called St. Anthimo, was only ten miles from Reate, according to Ferrarius,[50] and probably something nearer to Nomentum, because Carolus a Sancto Paulo[51] observes out of an epistle of Gregory[52] the Great, that it was united in his time to Nomentum. Some confound Cures with Sabinum, or Forum Novum; but Holstenius[53] shows, that Sabinum was a distinct city, and stood in the place which is now called Vescovio, where the ruins of the cathedral church are still remaining: which Baudrand says[54] was but three miles from Reate, and eleven from Interamnia; but the site of this place may be passed over as a little uncertain. The ruins of Amiternum are still to be seen, Cluver says,[55] near where Aquila now stands. Ferrarius[56] thinks it was only five miles from it. Pitinum was but two miles from

[37] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Tifernum.
[38] Holsten. Annot. in Ital. Cluver. p. 98.
[39] Cluver. Ital. p. 526.
[40] Holsten. Annot. in Cluver. p. 95. Sunt a Narniensi porta ad portam Interamnii cannæ Romanæ 3760, quæ sunt 5 mil. pass. $\frac{2}{3}$.
[41] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Ameria.
[42] Cluver. Ital. p. 526.
[43] Ferrar. Lexic. voce Vettonium.
[44] Holsten. in Ital. Cluver. p. 86.
[45] Holsten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 16.
[46] Baudr. voce Nomentum.
[47] Ferrar. voce Tibur.
[48] Holsten. in Ital. Cluver. p. 147.
[49] Ferrar. voce Sublaqueum.
[50] Ibid. voce Cures.
[51] Carol. a S. Paulo, Geogr. Sacra. p. 58.
[52] Greg. lib. 2. Ep. 20.
[53] Holsten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 9.
[54] Baudr. voce Cures.
[55] Cluver. Ital. lib. 2. p. 686.
[56] Ferrar. voce Amiternum.

Aquila, and consequently, as Holstenius observes,[57] must be near Amiternum. Furconium was another see in that neighbourhood, but eight miles from Aquila, as Ferrarius[58] acquaints us. So that these three dioceses lay in a small compass, and are now swallowed up in the new diocese of Aquila, which arose out of the ruins of them all united together. The largest of these dioceses in this tract, were Reate, Nursia, and Marruvium or Marsi. For from Reate to Nursia, Baudrand[59] calls it thirteen miles, Ferrarius, twenty: to Aquila twenty-five miles, and as much to Narnia. But Interamnia and Furconium were something nearer to Reate. Marruvium or Marsi, on the lake Fucinus, was at a considerable distance from Furconium and Sulmo, which cities lay the nearest to it. But the exact distance is not so certain, because it is not agreed on which side the lake Fucinus Marruvium was.

Sect. 4. Of Picenum Suburbicarium.

Out of Valeria and Umbria cross the Apennine we come into the province of Picenum Suburbicarium, so called to distinguish it from Picenum Annonarium, which belonged to the Italic diocese. This lay betwixt the Apennine on the south and the Adriatic Sea on the north, and was divided from Picenum Annonarium by the river Æsis on the west, and from Samnium by the river Aternus, now called Pescara, on the east; and it is now the provinces of Marca di Ancona and Abrusso Ultra. In this province Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons fourteen dioceses. 1. Pinna, now Penna. 2. Interamnia, now Teramo. 3. Asculum, Ascoli. 4. Firmum, Fermo. 5. Tolentinum, Tolentino. 6. Septempeda, now S. Severino. 7. Matelica. 8. Cingulum, Cingulo. 9. Auximum, Osmo. 10. Potentia. 11. Numana, now Humana. 12. Ancona. 13. Hadria, Adri. 14. Aternum, now Pescara. To which Holstenius[60] adds five more; Truentum, Aufinia, Faleronia, Urbs Salvia, now called Urbisaglia, and Pausola, or Pausulæ, as Ferrarius calls it, which now goes by the name of Monte del Olmo. The most eastern city of this province was Aternum, on the mouth of the river Aternus or Pescara, which (as Ferrarius[61] and Baudrand compute) was but eight miles from Teate, and eleven from Ortona, two cities in the province of Samnium, and not above eleven from Adria, and twelve from Pinna. Pinna was the same distance from Teate and Adria. Interamnia is reckoned by Ferrarius twenty miles from Asculum; but Baudrand says only thirteen. In the western parts of the province, Matelica is computed but nine miles from Septempeda; and Septempeda six from Tolentinum, and ten from Camerinum, and twelve from Cingulum; Cingulum is reckoned but eight from Æsium in Picenum Annonarium, and twelve from Auximum; Auximum twelve from Æsium, and the same from Ancona; Ancona twelve from Numana; Numana twelve from Potentia; the remains of which last, Holstenius says,[62] are still to be seen, not far from Portus Ricanaticus and Laureto. Urbs Salvia, according to Ferrarius's account, was but ten miles from Tolentinum, and by Baudrand's but six. Firmum, Truentum, and Asculum lay at a greater distance; for Ferrarius reckons them near twenty miles from each other: but then he says, that Pausulæ was in Comitatu Firmano, and therefore not far from Firmum; and if Faleronia and Aufinia (whose situation is uncertain) lay in those parts also, they might bring the dioceses of Asculum and Truentum to the same pitch with the rest of the province. So that few dioceses in this province could be much above ten miles in extent, and the largest not above twenty, as appears from Ferrarius and other geographers' computation.

Sect. 5. Of Latium and Campania.

From the Adriatic Sea we must again cross the Apennine to take a view of Latium and Campania, the ancient glory of Italy, along the Tuscan Sea eastward to the river Silarus from the Tiber and the gates of Rome. This in the civil and ecclesiastical account is reckoned but one province; but since Latium is commonly distinguished from Campania, I will speak first of the dioceses that were in that, as being the nearest neighbours to Rome. This country was anciently bounded with the rivers Tiber, Anio, and Liris, which last divided it from Campania properly so called. It now contains Campagna di Roma, and part of Lavoro in the realm of Naples. It had anciently twenty-three dioceses, as Carolus a Sancto Paulo and Holstenius have computed. 1. Subaugusta. 2. Ostia. 3. Gabii. 4. Albanum. 5. Alba. 6. Antium. 7. Tres Tabernæ. 8. Velitræ. 9. Tusculum. 10. Lavici. 11. Præneste. 12. Signia. 13. Anagnia. 14. Ferentinum. 15. Aletrium. 16. Verulæ. 17. Tarracina. 18. Fundi. 19. Formiæ. 20. Aquinum. 21. Cassinum. 22. Atina. 23. Sora. Of these, as has been observed before, Subaugusta lay close by Rome; Ostia sixteen miles from Rome and two from Porto; Gabii thirteen from Rome and as many from Præneste. Tusculum, which some mistake for Tusculanum, where Cicero wrote his Tusculan Questions, was a city now called Frescati, and Ferrarius says but twelve miles from Rome. Signia, now called Segni, lay between Tusculum and Anagnia, six miles from each, nine from Præneste, and thirty from Rome, as Baudrand informs[63] us from Holstenius. The same author says,[64] Ferentinum

57 Holsten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 16. Pitinum non longe fuit ab Amiterno, duobus mil. pass. ab Aquila.

58 Ferrar. voce Furconium.

59 Ferrar. et Baudrand. voce Nursia, et Reate.

60 Holsten. Annot. Geogr. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 14.

61 Ferrar. Lexic. Geogr. voce Aternum.

62 Holsten. ibid.

63 Lexic. Geogr. voce Signia.

64 Ibid. voce Ferentinum.

was but five miles from Anagnia and four from Aletrium; and Ferrarius[65] places Verulæ between Anagnia and Sora, nine or ten miles from each. Lavici is reckoned by Holstenius[66] but fifteen miles from Rome, and yet the diocese of Subaugusta came between them: for it was in the Via Lavicana, the direct way that leads from Rome to Lavici. Albanum and Alba are by some authors confounded together, but Holstenius[67] reckons them distinct cities, and Ferrarius says[68] the one was fourteen, and the other sixteen miles from Rome. But perhaps the one might only arise out of the ruins of the other, for they were not above two miles from each other. Velitræ was but four miles from Alba, and twenty from Rome; Antium on the Tuscan shore fourteen from Velitræ and twenty from Ostia, as the same Ferrarius[69] informs us. Between Antium and Velitræ lay Tres Tabernæ, the place whither the Christians came to meet St. Paul from Rome. Carolus a Sancto Paulo thinks it is the same which is now called Cisterna, but Holstenius says[70] it was at some distance from it in the Via Appia, so near Velitræ that Gregory the Great united these two dioceses together. Ferrarius says[71] it was but five miles from Velitræ, and twenty-six (or, as Baudrand computes, twenty-one) from Rome, five from Aricia, and twenty-two from Appii Forum, the other place whither the brethren came to meet St. Paul. Indeed neither Aricia nor Appii Forum are mentioned as episcopal sees by any ancient writer: but Ferrarius[72] seems to make them both so; for he says Aricia was a famous city and a Roman colony, which, by the common rule of the church, had thereby a title to an episcopal see: nor is it any objection against it that it was but sixteen miles from Rome, and four or five from Alba, Tres Tabernæ, and Velitræ; for we have seen already that many cities in this tract were at no greater distance from one another. Of Appii Forum he speaks more positively, and says it was anciently an episcopal see,[73] though from what authority he tells us not: but there is some reason to believe it, because it was a city at a good distance from any other. For Tarracina on the east was near twelve miles from it, and Tres Tabernæ westward above twenty; so that either Tres Tabernæ and Tarracina must have dioceses of more than ordinary extent in these parts, or else Appii Forum must come between them. But I let this pass, because in matters of doubtful nature, where we are destitute of ancient authorities, nothing can certainly be determined. I go on therefore with those that are more certain. From Tarracina to Fundi the modern accounts[74] reckon but ten miles, though the Jerusalem Itinerary[75] calls it thirteen, and Antonine's Itinerary sixteen. From Fundi to Formiæ the same Itineraries reckon twelve and thirteen, which Ferrarius, from the modern geographers, esteems but ten; cautioning his reader here[76] against a great error in Strabo, who makes it four hundred stadia, that is, fifty miles, from Tarracina to Formiæ, when indeed it was not half the distance. If we look a little upward from the sea to the north-eastern part of Latium, there we find Aquinum and Cassinum but five miles from one another, and Atina the same distance from Cassinum, and Sora twelve miles from Atina, twelve from Ferentinum, sixteen from Cassinum, and sixty from Rome. So that in the compass of seventy old Italian miles, which are not quite sixty of the modern, there were betwixt twenty and thirty bishoprics, answerable to the number of cities in Latium, in the most flourishing times of the Roman empire.

From Latium we must pass into Campania, where we first meet with Minturnæ, now called Scaffa del Garigliano, not far from the mouth of the river Liris, which Ferrarius[77] computes nine miles from Formiæ, and as many from Sinuessa. A little above these lay Teanum, now called Tiano, eight miles from Suessa, twelve from Capua; and Calenum was the same distance from Capua, and but six from Suessa, and six from Sinuessa, as Ferrarius[78] reckons. Carolus a Sancto Paulo takes Calenum for Cagli, and others for Cales; but Holstenius[79] shows it to be the same with Carinola, which is now a bishop's seat, and, as Baudrand computes, but four miles from Suessa, and as many from the Tuscan shore. Next beyond these lay Vulturnum, now called Castel di Bitorno, at the mouth of the river Vulturnus, eight miles from Sinuessa, and nine from Linternum, and ten from Capua. Five miles beyond Linternum, on the same shore, was Cumæ, and three miles below that Misenum, from whence to Puteoli was but three miles likewise, and from Puteoli to Naples six, according to Ferrarius's computation. About eighteen miles beyond Naples was Stabiæ, and six from that Surrentum, on the same shore, beyond which was Amalphia and Salernum, the last of which is reckoned by Ferrarius but twenty-four miles from Naples. On the north and east of Naples lay Nola, which could not be above twelve miles from it: for Holstenius observes,[80] that Octavianum, the village where Octavius Augustus died, under Mount Vesuvius, was in the way between them, five miles from Naples, and seven from Nola. Between Nola and Capua lay Acerræ, six miles from Nola, and eight

[65] Lexic. Geogr. voce Verulæ.
[66] Holsten. Annot. in Ital. Cluver. p. 194.
[67] Holsten. ibid. p. 183. [68] Ferrar. voce Alba longa.
[69] Ferrar. voce Velitræ, et Antium.
[70] Holsten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 9.
[71] Ferrar. voce Tres Tabernæ. [72] Ibid. voce Aricia.
[73] Ferrar. voce Forum Appii. [74] Ibid. voce Fundi
[75] Ap. Holsten. Annot. in Ital. Cluver. p. 218.
[76] Ferrar. voce Formiæ. [77] Ibid. voce Minturnæ.
[78] Ibid. voce Teanum, et Calenum.
[79] Holsten. Annot. in Cluver. Ital. p. 258.
[80] Holsten. Annot. in Ortel. p. 133.

from Naples, and ten from Capua: for from Nola to Capua was but twenty old Italian miles, as we learn from Paulinus, bishop of Nola,[81] who could not be mistaken. Naples and Capua were but sixteen miles asunder, and yet Atella, now called S. Arpino, or S. Elpidio, lay between them, which, Ferrarius[82] says, was eight miles from each. Calatia was but the same distance to the north of Capua; Venafrum but ten miles from Cassinum; Abellinum was the largest diocese in all Campania, sixteen miles from Beneventum, and as much from Nola, Salernum, and Frequentum, in the province of Samnium, to which, Baudrand[83] says, it was afterward united. If now we put all these Italian dioceses hitherto enumerated together, they amount to above one hundred and ten, whereof twenty were in that little part of Tuscia, which is now called St. Peter's patrimony, twenty in Umbria, eleven in Valeria, nineteen in Picenum Suburbicarium, and forty-three in Latium and Campania. And yet all this country put together was not, in the longest part of it, above two hundred miles on the Tuscan shore: for from the river Marta, on which lay Tarquina and Gravisca, to Rome is reckoned fifty modern miles; from Rome to Naples one hundred and twenty-five; and from Naples to Salernum, the utmost diocese in Campania, but twenty-four, according to the computations of Ferrarius. On the Adriatic shore it was only the length of Picenum Suburbicarium between the rivers Æsis and Aternus, which was not above one hundred and twenty miles. The breadth of it in the widest part of it, from Ancona on the Adriatic Sea to Ostia on the Tuscan Sea, was but one hundred and sixty-four miles, and in the narrower parts, from the mouth of the river Aternus to the mouth of the Liris, not above one hundred and twenty miles. Which the curious may divide among one hundred and ten dioceses, and then examine whether they exceed the proportions which I have before assigned them.

Sect. 6. Of Samnium.

I will not stand so nicely to examine the rest of the Italian dioceses, but only recount the number in each province, and make a few remarks upon the largest, as I have hitherto done upon the smallest; that the reader may pursue this inquiry further at his own pleasure, and see that the greatness or smallness of a diocese anciently bred no division or disturbance in the catholic church. The next province then in order to be spoken of is Samnium, which lay on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, between Picenum Suburbicarium on the west, from which it was divided by the river Aternus, or Pescara, and Apulia on the east, from which it was separated by the river Frenta. In this province Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons but ten dioceses. 1. Beneventum. 2. Sæpinum. 3. Sulmo. 4. Bovianum, now called Boiano. 5. Theatea, now Chieti. 6. Ortona. 7. Frequentum, Fricenti. 8. Alipha. 9. Samnium. 10. Corfinium, or Valva. To which Holstenius adds Istonium and Æclanum, but Baudrand thinks Æclanum was the same with Frequentum. However it was, Holstenius observes,[84] that it had the name of Decimum Quintum, because it was fifteen miles from Beneventum. Corfinium and Sulmo were nearer to one another, and were afterward united together. Ortona, Theatea, Sæpinum, Bovianum, and Istonium, were some ten, some twelve miles from one another. So that these dioceses were neither so little as those about Rome, nor so large as those of the western provinces in the Italic diocese.

Sect. 7. Of Apulia and Calabria.

Next to Samnium lay Apulia, and beyond that Calabria, in the utmost corner of Italy to the Adriatic Sea. These two regions made but one province in the civil and ecclesiastical account, and therefore I join them together. In Apulia Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons twelve dioceses. 1. Ignatia, now called Ignazzo. 2. Barium, Barri. 3. Tranum, Trani. 4. Cupersanum, Conversano. 5. Canusium, Canosa. 6. Sipontum, Siponto. 7. Arpi, now Sarpi. 8. Melphia, Melfi. 9. Venusia, Venosa. 10. Acherontia, Acerenza. 11. Vigiliæ, Biseglæ. 12. Cannæ. To which the diligence of Holstenius has added five more. 13. Bivinum, Bovino. 14. Herdona, Ardona. 15. Rubisium, Ruvo. 16. Salapia, Salpe. 17. Æcæ, or Æquana, since called Troja. In Calabria Carolus a Sancto Paulo found but seven dioceses, but Holstenius makes them ten. 1. Brundisium, Brindisi. 2. Aletium, Lecci. 3. Hydruntum, Otranto. 4. Callipolis, Gallipoli. 5. Tarentum, Taranto. 6. Uria, Oira. 7. Lypia, or Luspiæ. 8. Neritum, Nardo. 9. Uxentum, Ugento. 10. Alexanum, before called Leuce, now Alessano.

Sect. 8. Of Lucania and Brutia.

Next to these, toward the lower sea, lay the regions of Lucania and Brutia, which are reckoned together likewise as one province. In Lucania Carolus a Sancto Paulo could find but five bishoprics, but Holstenius augments them to eight. 1. Potentia, Potenza. 2. Buxentum, which Carolus a Sancto Paulo takes to be Pisciota, but Holstenius and others Polycastro. 3. Pæstum, Pesto. 4. Acropolis, Agropoli. 5. Blanda, which some take for Belvedere, but Holstenius calls it Porto di Sapri. 6. Grumentum, Agrimonte. 7. Velia. 8. Cocilianum, the bishop of which is sometimes styled also Marcillianensis, as Holstenius[85] observes, from Marcillianum, a seat or suburbs belonging to the diocese of Cocilianum. In Brutia Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons up sixteen dioceses. 1. Rhe-

[81] Paulin. ad Cyther. Carm. 13. p. 492.
[82] Ferrar. voce Atella. [83] Baudrand. voce Abellinum.
[84] Holsten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 18.
[85] Ibid.. Not. in Ital. Cluver. p. 299.

gium, now Rezo. 2. Taurianum, Seminara. 3. Vibo Valentia, now called Bivona. Out of these two dioceses, Holstenius[86] observes, that Roger earl of Calabria raised the new diocese of Mileto, anno 1087. 4. Tropæa. 5. Nicotera, Nicodro. 6. Temesa, now S. Marco. 7. Thurium, Terra Nova, al. Buffalora. 8. Cerillus, Cerilla. 9. Consentia, Cosenza. 10. Crotona. 11. Scyllatium, Squillaci. 12. Locri, Gieraci. 13. Muranum, Morano. 14. Portus Orestis, Porto Ravaglioso. 15. Carina, united to Rhegium by Gregory the Great. 16. Bova. To these Holstenius adds two more, Paternum and Turres; the first of which sees, he says,[87] was translated to Umbriatico, and the other united to Taurianum. So that the new diocese of Mileto, which was made out of Taurianum and Vibo, must be at least three old dioceses united into one. Whence we may conclude, that though some of the dioceses in this part of Italy are less than they were anciently, yet others are larger by being united: and the same observation may be made upon Campania, where the dioceses are now more numerous than in any other part of Italy; though some of them are now so small, as not to extend beyond the walls of their cities, yet others are larger than formerly for the reason mentioned, because they were made up of two or three old dioceses put together, as has been noted in its proper place.

Sect. 9. Of the isles of Sicily, Melita, and Lipara.

To these seven provinces which lay in Italy, we must add the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, with the lesser islands that lay about them, which make up the ten provinces of the Roman diocese, or city prefecture. In Sicily Carolus a Sancto Paulo counts thirteen dioceses. 1. Syracusæ. 2. Tindarium, Tindaro. 3. Leontini, Lentini. 4. Lilybæum, now called Marsala. 5. Tauromenium, Taormina. 6. Messana. 7. Thermæ. 8. Catana. 9. Trocala. 10. Agrigentum, Grigenti. 11. Panormus, Palermo. 12. Alæsa, now Caronia. 13. Camarina, Camarana. To which are added the two islands of Lipara, and Melita or Malta, which had each their bishop in the time of Gregory the Great. The later *notitias* speak of seven more in Sicily, and Baudrand takes notice of others, which he says were old episcopal sees, as Charinum, Drepanum, Gela Nova, Myle, now called Melazzo, and Trojanopolis, or Troyna; but where he found those names he does not inform us. However, these must be large dioceses; for this was the greatest island in all the Mediterranean Sea: Baudrand says, Cluver was at the pains to measure it, and his account is,[88] that it is six hundred miles in compass. Which being divided between thirteen or eighteen bishoprics, will easily prove them to be large dioceses, without standing to examine the distances of particular places. The isle of Malta, Ferrarius[89] says, was twenty miles long, and eleven broad; but Baudrand makes it twenty-five one way, and fifteen another: by either of which accounts, it was larger than some four or five Italian dioceses. Lipara, the chief of the seven Vulcanian or Æolian islands, was not so large; for it was but eighteen miles in compass: but here was a city, and several appendant villages, which, with the lesser islands, were enough to make a considerable diocese, larger than many of those about Rome.

Sect. 10. Of Sardinia and Corsica.

Sardinia is sometimes reckoned to the African diocese, and sometimes to the Roman. In the *notitia* of the African church published by Sirmondus, there are said to be five dioceses, and Carolus a Sancto Paulo speaks but of six. 1. Caralis. 2. Sulchi. 3. Tegula. 4. Turris Libisonis, now called Porto di Torre. 5. Forum Trajani. 6. Phausania, now Terra Nova. For Sanafer he makes to be a little uncertain. Baudrand[90] says they were once augmented to eighteen, but now they are again reduced to seven. However, the country appears to be large enough for eighteen: for Ferrarius[91] reckons it two hundred miles long, and one hundred and seventy broad: Baudrand brings it into a little narrower bounds, making it only one hundred and seventy miles in length, and eighty in breadth, and four hundred and fifty in circumference: which will make five or six large dioceses, and eighteen much greater than those which lay in the neighbourhood of Rome.

In Corsica Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds four ancient dioceses; Holstenius, five. 1. Aleria. 2. Urcinium, al. Adiacium. 3. Nebium. 4. Tamita. 5. Mariana. Now this island, by the lowest computation of Baudrand, was one hundred and six miles in length, and fifty in breadth, which will allow forty miles to every diocese. So that these may be reckoned the largest dioceses of all the ten provinces which belonged to the prefecture of Rome.

Sect. 11. Of Picenum Annonarium, and Flaminia.

We are now to return into Italy again, and to take a short view of the seven provinces, which made up that which is properly called the Italic diocese in contradistinction to that of Rome. The first of these which lay nearest to Rome, was Picenum Annonarium, divided from Picenum Suburbicarium by the river Æsis. Carolus a Sancto Paulo by mistake makes it a province of the Roman diocese, but in the old *notitia* of the empire, it is joined with Flaminia, and both together make but one province of the Italic diocese. In this Picenum there were anciently but nine dioceses. 1. Æsis, now called

[86] Holsten. Annot. in Ital. Cluver. p. 300.

[87] Id. ibid. p. 294 et 306. [88] Baud. Lex. Geog. voce Sicilia.

[89] Ferrar. voce Melita. [90] Baudrand. voce Sardinia.

[91] Ferrar. voce Sardinia.

Giesi. 2. Senogallia, Sinigaglia. 3. Fanum Fortunæ, now Fano. 4. Pisaurum, Pesaro. 5. Ariminum, Rimini. 6. Urbinum. 7. Tifernum Metaurense, so called to distinguish it from the other Tifernum upon the Tiber, from which it was sixteen miles' distance. It is now called St. Angelo in Vado, and is only a part of another diocese called Urbanea, from its founder Pope Urban VIII. 8. Forum Sempronii, Fossembruno. 9. Callium, Cagli. In Flaminia, which lay westward of Picenum, between the Rubicon and the Padus, or Po, Carolus a Sancto Paulo names eleven dioceses. 1. Ravenna. 2. Sarsina. 3. Cæsena. 4. Forum Popilii. 5. Ficoclæ, now called Cervia. 6. Forum Livii, Forli. 7. Faventia, Faenza. 8. Forum Cornelii, now Imola. 9. Vicohabentia, Vicovenza. 10. Hadria, Adri. 11. Comacula, Comacchio. Of all which dioceses I shall stand to make no other observation but this, that they were larger than those about Rome, and less than many others in the western provinces, which lay at a greater distance from it. Ferraria was as yet no diocese of itself, but first made one by Pope Vitalian in the latter end of the seventh century, as Ferrarius[92] informs us.

Sect. 12. Of Æmylia. The second of these seven provinces was Æmylia, divided on the east from Flaminia by the river Idex, on the north from Liguria by the Po, on the west from Alpes Cottiæ by the river Trebia, and on the south from Tuscia by the Apennine. Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons here but six dioceses. 1. Bononia, Bologna. 2. Mutina, Modena. 3. Brixellum, Bressello. 4. Regium Lepidi, Reggio. 5. Parma. 6. Placentia, Piacenza. These were all very large dioceses. For Bononia, the most eastern in situation, is reckoned twenty miles from Mutina, and as much from Forum Cornelii in Flaminia, twenty-eight from Ferraria, which was in the next diocese northward, and on the south it had no nearer neighbour than Fesulæ beyond the Apennine, within three miles of Florence. Mutina was fifteen miles from Regium Lepidi, and Regium as much from Parma, and Parma thirty-five from Placentia, according to Ferrarius's computation. Brixellum on the Po was but eight miles from Parma, but on other sides it might have a larger diocese. For Ferrarius says, it was twenty-four miles from Regium Lepidi, and thirty from Cremona. So that these six dioceses were larger than twenty of those about Rome.

Sect. 13. Of Alpes Cottiæ. Out of Æmylia we pass over the river Trebia into one of the Alpine provinces, called Alpes Cottiæ, which was divided also from Liguria by the Po, from which it extended to the Tuscan Sea, including part of Piedmont and Montferrat, and the whole republic of Genua, and part of the duchy of Milan on this side the Po. In this province Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds ten dioceses. 1. Augusta Taurinorum, Turin. 2. Asta, Asti. 3. Dertona, Tortona. 4. Alba Pompeia, Alba. 5. Aquæ Statiellæ, Acqui. 6. Albingaunum, Albenga. 7. Vigintimilium, Vintimiglia. 8. Bobium, Bobio. 9. Genua. 10. Savona. To which Holstenius[93] adds Nicæa, Nizza. These were large dioceses, for Bobium had no nearer neighbour than Placentia, which Ferrarius reckons twenty-five miles from it,[94] and Genua and Dertona thirty-five. Savona was twenty-six miles from Genua, according to the most accurate computation of Holstenius.[95] Ferrarius[96] says, it lay in the middle way between Genua and Albingaunum, at thirty miles' distance. Aquæ Statiellæ was also twenty-two miles from Savona, as Baudrand computes; but not so far from Asta and Alba Pompeia; for Alba was but eight miles to the north of Aquæ, and Asta twelve more beyond that: but east and west these dioceses might extend very wide; for Turin, the nearest neighbour westward, was twenty miles from Asta and twenty-eight from Alba, and Dertona as much to the east, according to Ferrarius's computation. Vigintimilium was twenty miles from Nicæa, and Albingaunum forty from Vigintimilium, and Savona between twenty and thirty from Albingaunum. The whole province was one hundred and fifty miles in length, and half as much in breadth, which made those eleven dioceses equal to fifty of those about Rome and Naples.

Sect. 14. Of Liguria. Out of this province, passing over the Po, we come into Liguria, the province whereof Milan was the metropolis; though the reader must note, that the last-mentioned province in the Roman historians is more commonly called Liguria, and this Insubria; but we now speak of them as they stood divided under the Christian emperors. This was a large province, including all that lay between the fountain of the Addua and the Po, and the Alps and the Athesis, which divided it from Venetia. Yet here were but ten dioceses to be discovered by Carolus a Sancto Paulo, and the inquisitive diligence of Holstenius after him. 1. Mediolanum, Milan. 2. Eporedia, Jurea. 3. Vercellæ, Vercelli. 4. Novaria. 5. Ticinum, Pavia. 6. Laus Pompeia, Lodi. 7. Cremona. 8. Brixia, Brescia. 9. Bergomum, Bergamo. 10. Comum, Como. Of these Milan was reckoned the largest city in Italy next after Rome. Ferrarius says, it is now computed to have three hundred thousand people in it; but that is much short of its ancient greatness: for Procopius says,[97] In Justinian's time, when it was taken by the Goths,

92 Ferrar. voce Ferraria.
93 Holsten. Annot. in Cluver. Ital. p. 4.
94 Ferrar. voce Bobium.
95 Holsten. Annot. in Cluver. Ital. p. 9.
96 Ferrar. voce Savona.
97 Procop. de Bell. Gothic. lib. 2. c. 21. p. 439.

there were three hundred thousand men put to the sword. When St. Ambrose was bishop there, it had several Christian churches, some of which are named by him in his epistles, as the Basilica Portiana[98] without the walls, and the Basilica Major or Nova within the city, the Basilica Faustæ,[99] and Basilica Ambrosiana: and when it was all become Christian, we must suppose a great many churches more under one bishop; for it never had two except in the times of the Arian persecution. Without the walls it might also have a large diocese: for no other city among those forementioned was within less than twenty miles of it; and there were some thirty, and some forty miles removed from one another, only Novaria and Vercellæ were but ten miles asunder, being nearer neighbours than any other in this province. Cremona was eighteen miles from Placentia, thirty from Brixia, forty from Ticinum, and, if Ferrarius compute right, no less from Mantua; and yet the territories of Cremona and Mantua joined together, as we may guess from that complaint of Virgil, *Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ*, that Mantua was a little too near to Cremona, because when Augustus sent his colony of veterans to settle at Cremona, and the territory of Cremona proved too little for them, he ordered fifteen miles to be taken from the territory of Mantua, to make up the deficiency of the former. Whence it is easy to infer, that the dioceses of this province were exceeding large, since the cities were so far removed from one another.

Sect. 15. Of Rhœtia Prima and Secunda.

In the two next provinces, Rhœtia Prima and Secunda, the dioceses were yet larger: for in the former, which lay next to Liguria in the middle of the Alps, and is now the country of the Grisons, Carolus a Sancto Paulo could find but one diocese, which was Curia, now called Coire; and in the other, but three. 1. Augusta Vindelicorum, Ausburg. 2. Quintanæ, or Colonia Augusta Quintanorum, now Kyntzen, in Bavaria on the Danube. 3. Ratispona, or Regium, and Castra Regina, now Regenspurg, or Ratisbone: to which Holstenius adds, Augusta Prætoria, now called Aosta, which is reckoned to Piedmont; and Brixino, now Brixen, in the county of Tirol: for, as I observed before, all that part of Germany which reaches from the Alps to the Danube, was anciently called Rhœtia, and reckoned among the provinces of Italy, and the dioceses therein were so large, that these five or six were equal for extent of ground, though not for number of people, to thirty or forty of those near Rome.

Sect. 16. Of Venetia and Histria.

The last of these seven Italic provinces, was Venetia and Histria, which were always joined together as one province. Venetia was divided from Rhœtia and Liguria by the river Athesis, from Æmylia and Flaminia by the Po, and from Noricum Mediterraneum by a line drawn from the fountain of the river Athesis to the rise of the Savus, where Istria was joined to it, lying between the Sinus Tergestinus on the west, and Sinus Flanaticus on the east, which is the utmost bounds of the north-east part of Italy. In Histria Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons but five dioceses. 1. Forum Julii, now Friuli. 2. Tergestum, Trieste. 3. Parennium, Parenzo. 4. Pola. 5. Æmonia, which he takes to be the same that is now called Citta Nova, but Holstenius says it is Lubiana, or Labach, on the Save. In Venetia he recounts eighteen dioceses. 1. Aquileia. 2. Patavium, Padua. 3. Torcellum. 4. Altinum, Altino. 5. Acelum, Asolo. 6. Tarvisium, Treviso. 7. Marianum. 8. Verona. 9. Gradus, Grado. 10. Nova. 11. Caprulla, Cahorla. 12. Ceneta, Ceneda. 13. Tridentum, Trent. 14. Feltria, Feltri. 15. Bellunum, Belluno. 16. Sabiona, Siben. 17. Opitergium, Oderzo. 18. Celina, Celine. Some of these were very large dioceses: Trent was above thirty miles from Verona; and Sabiona, and Forum Julii, and Æmonia, and Tergestum Parentium, and Pola were no less from one another. The rest were ten or twenty miles removed from any other neighbouring city; only Altinum and Torcellum, Ferrarius[100] says, were but five miles apart, but he questions whether they were both bishops' sees at the same time, and thinks rather that Torcellum came only in the room of Altinum, when that was destroyed by Attila toward the middle of the fifth century. However, the greatest part of these dioceses were, one way or other, of large extent, as most of the northern dioceses in Italy were in comparison of those which lay round about Rome. And now, I think, the observation made in the beginning of this chapter has been fully verified, that in Italy there were anciently some of the smallest and some of the largest dioceses in the world; and yet the same species of episcopacy preserved in them all: the bishop of Eugubium, as St. Jerom words it, being *ejusdem meriti*, and *ejusdem sacerdotii*, of the same merit, and equal as to his priesthood with the bishop of Rome. A larger or smaller diocese made no division in the unity of the catholic church.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE DIOCESES IN FRANCE, SPAIN, AND THE BRITISH ISLES.

Sect. 1. Of the ancient bounds and divisions

I have now gone through all parts of the Christian world, except France,

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[98] Ambros. Ep. 33. ad Marcel. Sororem.

[99] Id. Ep. 85. ad Soror.

[100] Ferrar. voce Altinum.

of Gallia into seventeen provinces. Spain, and Britain, which made up three civil dioceses, and twenty-nine or thirty provinces of the Roman empire: but I shall not need to be so nice and particular in inquiring into the bounds and extent of episcopal dioceses in these countries, because their number being but small in proportion to the largeness of the countries, it will easily appear to any man, that the dioceses were large, as they continue to be at this day, though some alterations have been made in their bounds since the original settlement of them. France, as it now stands, is but a part of old Gallia, which included also some of the Belgic, Helvetic, and German provinces. It was at first divided by Augustus into four parts, Narbonensis, Aquitanica, Lugdunensis, and Belgica. Afterwards, about the time of Adrian, or Antoninus, as De Marca thinks, these four were made fourteen: Narbonensis was divided into four, Narbonensis, Viennensis, Alpes Maritimæ, and Alpes Graiæ, or Penninæ; Aquitanica was made three, two Aquitains and Novempopulania; Lugdunensis likewise three, Lugdunensis Prima and Secunda, and Maxima Sequanorum; and Belgica was turned into four, Belgica Prima and Secunda, and Germania Prima and Secunda. Last of all, about the time of the emperor Gratian, three more provinces were made out of these. For Lugdunensis Tertia, otherwise called Turonia, was taken out of Lugdunensis Secunda, and Lugdunensis Quarta, or Senonia, out of Lugdunensis Prima, and the new province of Narbonensis Secunda out of the province of Vienna. And about this time, or a little after, Viennensis Secunda, otherwise called Arelatensis, was made a province also. Some think also that Gallia had once the name of Septem Provinciæ, The Seven Provinces, because it was divided into so many: but De Marca[1] proves this to be a vulgar error; for it never was divided into seven provinces, but sometimes we meet with the distinction of Gallia and the five provinces, and Gallia and the seven provinces; and in the *notitia* of the empire, the word seven provinces is once put for seventeen, which occasioned the mistake. Now the five provinces were either nothing but so many parts of the old Gallia Narbonensis, viz. Narbonensis Prima and Secunda, Viennensis, Alpes Maritimæ, and Alpes Graiæ, as Berterius, and De Marca, and Quesnellus account them; or else the four first of those mentioned with the province of Novempopulania or Aquitania Prima, instead of Alpes Graiæ, which Mr. Pagi[2] shows to be the more probable opinion. So that when the council of Valence, anno 374, inscribe their synodical epistle, *Episcopis per Gallias et quinque provincias*, these five provinces are to be understood. As also in Philastrius,[3] where he speaks of the Priscillianists, the remains of the Manichees, sculking in Spain and the five provinces. The like distinction occurs in the letter of the emperor Maximus to Pope Siricius, and some of Symmachus's epistles, which De Marca mentions. Afterward we meet with the distinction of Gallia and the seven provinces, which occurs in the letters of Pope Zosimus and Boniface, and is thought to owe its name to the emperor Honorius, who ordered seven provinces to meet in the convention of Arles, viz. Narbonensis Prima and Secunda, Viennensis, Alpes Maritimæ, Aquitania Prima and Secunda, and Novempopulania. These are sometimes distinguished from Gallia by the name of Septem Provinciæ, which occasioned the mistake of those who take Gallia in the largest extent and the seven provinces to be the same; whereas it appears, that there were not only seven, but seventeen or eighteen provinces in it. The names of the bishoprics in each province, because they occur not in any modern *notitia*, I will here subjoin out of Carolus a Sancto Paulo, who has collected them out of the Acts of the ancient councils.

Sect. 2. Of the dioceses in the province of Alpes Maritimæ. The first of these provinces was that of the Maritime Alps, next to Italy, which had seven dioceses. 1. Ebrodunum, Ambrun, made the metropolis of this province in the fifth century, for before it was not so, when it was laid to the charge of Armentarius, bishop of this see, that he was ordained without the consent of the metropolitan,[4] which had been a frivolous accusation, had he himself then been metropolitan of the province. 2. Dinia, Digne. 3. Nicæa, Nice. 4. Cemelene, Cimies, which was afterwards united to Nice; for in the fifth council of Orleans, Magnus subscribes himself bishop of both churches. Some say it was only six, others thirty miles from Nice. 5. Sanicium, Senez. 6. Glandata, Glandeve, which Baudrand says is now translated to Intervallium, Entrevaux. 7. Ventio, Vence.

Sect. 3. Alpes Graiæ, or Penninæ. In the second province, called Alpes Graiæ, or Penninæ, were but three bishoprics. 1. Tarantasia, the metropolis, which see is now translated to Monasterium, or Moutiers en Tarantaise. 2. Octodurum, Martenach. 3. Sedunum, Syon en Valez, the bishop of which place is now prince of the city, as Baudrand informs us.

Sect. 4. Viennensis Prima and Secunda. The next province westward was Viennensis, divided into Prima and Secunda. In the first were six dioceses. 1. Vienna, the metropolis. 2. Geneva. 3. Gratianopolis, Grenoble. 4. Civitas Albensium, al.

[1] Marca de Primatu Lugdun. n. 66, &c.
[2] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 374. n. 18.
[3] Philastr. Hær. 62. Manichæ. Qui et in Hispania et quinque provinciis latere dicuntur.
[4] Conc. Reiens. c. 2.

Vivaria and Alba Augusta, Viviers. 5. Mauriana, St. Jean de Maurienne. 6. Valentia, Valence. In the second, called also Provincia Arelatensis, were ten dioceses. 1. Arelate, Arles, the metropolis. 2. Massilia, Marseilles. 3. Avenio, Avignon. 4. Cabellio, Cavaillon. 5. Carpentoracte, Carpentras. 6. Tolonium, al. Telonium, Toulon. 7. Arausio, Orange. 8. Vasio, Vaison. 9. Dia, or Dea Vocontiorum, Die. 10. Tricastini, or Augusta Tricastinorum, now called St. Paul de Trois Chasteaux, which Baudrand reckons three leagues from Avignon, and four from Vaison.

Sect. 5. Narbonensis Prima and Secunda.

Out of the province of Vienna eastward was also taken another province, called Narbonensis Secunda, or Aquensis, from the metropolis of it, Aquæ Sextiæ, Aix; beside which there were six other dioceses in the province. 2. Apta Julia, Apt. 3. Reii, Riez. 4. Forum Julii, Frejuz. 5. Vapincum, Gap. 6. Segestero, Cisteron. 7. Antipolis, Antibe, since translated to Grassa in Provence. On the west of Viennensis Secunda, lay the province of Narbonensis Prima, which had ten dioceses. 1. Narbo. 2. Tolosa. 3. Bætiræ, Beziers. 4. Nemausum, Nismes. 5. Luteva, Lodeue. 6. Ucetia, Uzes. 7. Carcaso, Carcassone. 8. Agatha, Agde. 9. Helena, Elna. 10. Magalona, an island of the Mediterranean, which see is since translated to Mons Pessulanus, or Montpellier.

Sect. 6. Of Novempopulania.

Westward of Narbonensis Prima lay the province of Novempopulania, along the Pyrenæan mountains to the Aquitanic ocean, wherein were eleven dioceses. 1. Elusa, Eause, the metropolis, whence the province was styled Elusana. The see is since translated and joined to Augusta Ausciorum, which was a second see, now called Aux. 3. Lactoratium, Lectoure. 4. Convenæ, Cominges. 5. Consoranni, Conserans. 6. Vasatæ, Basas. 7. Tarba, Tarbes. 8. Aturum, al. Vico-Julia, Aire. 9. Lascara, Lescar. 10. Olero, Oleron. 11. Aquæ, Acs.

Sect. 7. Of Aquitania Prima and Secunda.

Northward of these provinces, from the Garumna to the Ligeris, lay the two provinces of Aquitania Prima and Secunda, the latter of which, bordering upon the ocean, had six very large dioceses. 1. Burdigala, Bourdeaux, the metropolis. 2. Aginnum, Agen. 3. Engolisma, Angoulesme. 4. Santones, al. Mediolanum Santonum, Saintes. 5. Pictavi, Poitiers, where St. Hilary was bishop. 6. Petrocorium, Perigueux. In the other province, which lay eastward from this, were nine as large dioceses. 1. Biturigæ, the metropolis, now called Bourges. 2. Arverni, Clermont. 3. Rutena, Rhodes. 4. Arisita. 5. Cadurcum, Cahors. 6. Lemovica, Limoges. 7. Gabalum, al. Mimate, now Mande. 8. Vellava, al. Anicium, now le Puy en Vellay. 9. Albiga, or Alba Helviorum, Alby, whence the Albigenses, who flourished in these parts, had their denomination.

Sect. 8. Of Lugdunensis Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Quarta, and Maxima Sequanorum.

North and east of Aquitain, lay Gallia Lugdunensis, divided into five provinces, whereof the first had five dioceses. 1. Lugdunum, Lyon, the metropolis. 2. Matisco, Mascon. 3. Cabillonum, Chalons on the Saone. 4. Lingones, Langres. 5. Augustodunum, Autun. The second, called Lugdunensis Secunda, had eight dioceses. 1. Rothomagum, Rouen in Normandy. 2. Ebroica, Eureux. 3. Lexovium, Lisieux. 4. Baioca, Baieux. 5. Constantia, Coutance. 6. Abrinca, Auranches. 7. Sagium, Siez. 8. Oximum, Hiesmes, since united to Sagium, from whence it is four leagues' distance. Lugdunensis Tertia, otherwise called Turonensis, had seven dioceses. 1. Turones, Tours. 2. Andegavum, Angiers. 3. Cenomanum, Le Mans. 4. Redones, Renes. 5. Namnetes, Nantes. 6. Venetia, Vennes. 7. Aletium, Alet, since translated to Maclovium, anno 1140. Five others are added by some French writers, viz. Briocum, Dola, Trecora, Ossisma, Corisopitum: but Carolus a Sancto Paulo makes some question about their antiquity, because in the time of Carolus Calvus Brittany had but four bishoprics in the whole. Lugdunensis Quarta was that part of France where Paris stands, the metropolis whereof was Senones, Sens. Next to that, 2. Carnutum, Chartres. 3. Antissiodorum, Auxerre. 4. Trecæ, Troyes in Champagne. 5. Aurelia, Orleans. 6. Parisii, Paris. 7. Melda, Meaux. 8. Nivernum, Nevers. Lugdunensis Quinta was otherwise called Maxima Sequanorum; not from Maximus the tyrant, as Carolus a Sancto Paulo and many others think; for it was called so long before, in the time of Diocletian, as De Marca[5] shows from an ancient inscription in Gruter. The ancient metropolis of it was Vesontio, or Bisuntio, Besançon. 2. Aventicum, Avenche, which see was since translated to Lausanna. 3. Augusta Rauracorum, Augst, translated to Basil. 4. Vindonissa, Winich, since translated to Constance. 5. Bollica, Belley, which, De Marca says, arose out of the ruins of a more ancient one, which was Noiodunum, Nion, formerly called Colonia Equestris.

Sect. 9. Of Belgica Prima and Secunda.

The most northern provinces of Gallia were Belgica Prima and Secunda, and Germania Prima and Secunda, which was all the country lying north of the river Matrona from near Paris and Meaux to the Rhine. Belgica Prima had but four dioceses. 1. Augusta Trevirorum, Treves, or Triers, the metropolis. 2. Mediomatricum, Metz. 3. Tullum, Toul. 4. Verodunum, Verdun in Lorrain. In the other Belgica there were ten dioceses. 1. Remi, Rheims. 2. Au-

[5] Marca de Primat. Lugdun. n. 64.

gusta Suessionum, Soissons. 3. Catalaunum, Chalons in Champagne. 4. Laudunum, Leon. 5. Augusta Veromanduorum, Vermand; which being destroyed by the Huns, the see was translated to Neomagus, or Noviodunum, now called Noyon. 6. Cameracum, Cambray. 7. Tornacum, Tournay. 8. Sylvanectum, Senlis. 9. Bellovacum, Beauvais. 10. Ambianum, Amiens. Some add two more, Teruana, Therouenne, and Bononia, Boulogne. But Carolus a Sancto Paulo thinks these were not very ancient; for he finds no mention of the former before the time of Pope Zachary, anno 750. And the latter was made out of the former a great many centuries after, in the time of Charles V., anno 1350, when the see of Taruanna was divided into three, and translated to Bononia for that part of the diocese which is in France, and to Audomaropolis, or St. Omers, for that part which is in Artois, and to Ipres for the third part in Flanders.

Sect. 10. Of Germanica Prima and Secunda.

Germanica Prima had but four dioceses. 1. Moguntiacum, Mayence, or Ments. 2. Argentoratum, Strasburgh. 3. Spira Nemetum, Spire. 4. Wormacia Vangionum, Worms. And Germanica Secunda had but two. 1. Colonia Agrippina, Colen. 2. Tungri, or Aduatuca Tungrorum, Tongres in Brabant: which see was first translated to Trajectum ad Mosam, Mastricht, and from thence to Leodium, or Liege, where it now continues, having the temporal jurisdiction joined to the spiritual, and twenty-four towns or cities subject to its command. Now, I suppose any one that knows any thing of the state of these countries, will easily conclude, that the greatest part of these dioceses were large, as they are at this day: the whole number being but one hundred and twenty-two, when the bounds of France extended much further than they do at present, including some parts of Helvetia, Germany, and Belgium, which are now reckoned distinct countries of themselves.

Sect. 11. The ancient division of the Spanish provinces.

Out of France, passing over the Pyrenæan mountains, we come into Spain, which with the province of Tingitana in Africa, and the islands called Baleares, made up another great civil diocese of the Roman empire, under the *præfectus-prætorio* Galliarum. The whole country of Spain then was divided only into five provinces, Tarraconensis, Carthaginensis, Bœtica, Lusitania, and Gallæcia, and in these provinces there were never above seventy-four or seventy-six episcopal dioceses, when they were most numerous, and they are almost as many at this day.

Sect. 12. Of Tarraconensis.

In the large province of Tarraconensis, which lay next to France, there were only sixteen dioceses. 1. Tarracona, now Tarragona, the metropolis. 2. Dertosa, Tortosa. 3. Cæsaraugusta, Saragossa. 4. Tyrassona, al. Turiasso, now Tarazona. 5. Calagurris, Calahorra. 6. Auca, Oca. 7. Osca, Huesca. 8. Pampelona. 9. Ilerda, Lerida. 10. Barcino, Barcelona. 11. Egara, Tarrassa, a place near Barcelona, about four or six leagues from it, and now united to it. 12. Ausona, al. Ausa, Vich de Ausona. 13. Gerunda, Girone. 14. Emporiæ, Empurias. 15. Orgellum, Urgel. 16. Velia, now Veleia.

Sect. 13. Of Carthaginensis.

Next to this, on the coast of the Mediterranean, lay the province called Carthaginensis, from the chief city, Carthago, Carthagena, which was the ancient metropolis of the province, though Toledo afterward gained the privilege of being a new metropolis, and at last succeeded to the dignity of the whole province. Beside these two, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons twenty-two more dioceses in this province. 1. Complutum, now Alcala de Henares. 2. Oxoma, Osma. 3. Pallentia. 4. Voleria, now Valera la Vieja. 5. Saguntum, al. Segontia, Siguenza. 6. Secobia, Segovia. 7. Arcabrica, Arcas. 8. Oretum, Oreto. 9. Valentia, Valencia. 10. Dianium, Denia. 11. Setabis, Xativa. 12. Basti, Baza. 13. Mentesa, Mentexa. 14. Salaria. 15. Acci, now Guadix. 16. Segobriga, Segorbe. 17. Castulo, Gazlona. 18. Bigastrum. 19. Illicias, which some make the same as Alicante, others Origuela, or Elche. 20. Ergavica, a place of more doubtful situation, some taking it for Alcaniz near Toledo, others for Penna Escritta, or Santaver. 21. Eliocrota, now Lorca. 22. Urci, al. Virgi, now Orce.

Sect. 14. Of Bœtica.

The next province of Bœtica had but eleven dioceses. 1. Hispalis, Seville. 2. Italica, now Sevilla la Vieja. 3. Ilipa, Niebla. 4. Astygis, now Ecija. 5. Corduba, Cordoua. 6. Egabrum, Cabra. 7. Eliberis, Elvira. 8. Malaca, Malaga. 9. Asinda, al. Assidonia, now Medina Sidonia. 10. Tucci, now Martos. 11. Abdara, Adra.

Sect. 15. Of Lusitania.

In the province of Lusitania there were but nine dioceses. 1. Emerita, Merida, the metropolis. 2. Abula, Avila. 3. Salmantica, Salamanca. 4. Ebora, Evora. 5. Cauria, Coria. 6. Pax Julia, now Beja, which some by mistake confound with Pax Augusta, now called Badajoz, which is but a modern bishopric. 7. Ossonaba, Estoy. 8. Olysippo, Lisbon. 9. Egita, Eidania.

Sect. 16. Of Gallecia.

Gallecia was a large province, and yet never had above thirteen or fourteen dioceses. In the council of Lucus Augusti, or Lugo, under King Theodimir, anno 569, a complaint was made that the dioceses here were so large, that the bishops could scarce visit them in a year. Upon which an order was made, that several new bishoprics, and one new metropolis, should be erected: which was accordingly done by the bishops then in council, who made Lugo to be the new metropolis, and raised several other episcopal sees out

of the old ones, as is declared[6] in the Acts of that council. Bracara, now called Braga, was the old metropolis, which after the division had no more than seven dioceses subject to it. 1. Dumium. 2. Portus Calensis, now called El Puerto. 3. Conimbrica, Coymbra. 4. Viseum, Viseo. 5. Lamecum, Lamego. 6. Valentia ad Minium, Valenzia, al. Menno. 7. Legio, Leon. The other metropolis, Lucus Augusti, had but five suffragans. 1. Iria Flavia, El Padron. 2. Auria, Orense. 3. Tude, Tuy. 4. Asturica, Astorga. 5. Brittonia, Bretagna. Of these, Legio and Asturica are thought by many learned men to have been but one diocese in the time of Cyprian, because he joins them together in the same epistle,[7] writing to the church in both places: but I think the argument is hardly cogent, because he joins Emerita with them in the same inscription. There is another place, which some say had no diocese but a monastery, that is, Dumium near Braga. But this is a great mistake. For though there be an instance or two in ancient history[8] of bishops being ordained in monasteries without any diocese at all, yet we no where read that their monastery was their diocese; and in the present case it was far otherwise. For, as a learned man has showed,[9] Dumium had another diocese beside the monastery: in the Acts of the Council of Lugo it is said to have *familia regia*, the king's court, belonging to it. For Martin Braccarensis, commonly called the apostle of Gallecia, having converted Theodimir, king of the Suevi, from the Arian heresy, was created bishop in the monastery of Dumium, (which he had built,) not for the service of the monastery, but the king's court, till he was translated to Braccara, or Braga, the metropolis of the province. And further, in the distribution of dioceses made by King Wamba, the bounds of this diocese are marked, from Duma to Albia, and from Rianteca to Adasa: which though they be such obscure places, as geographers take no notice of, yet they argue the diocese to be larger than the monastery; or at least this monastery, like that of Sublaqueum in the diocese of Tibur in Italy, had several villages under its jurisdiction. And so it might have a sufficient diocese, though not so large as the rest of the province of Gallecia, which were so vastly great as to need the wisdom and consideration of a council to contract them.

Sect. 17. Of the islands Majorica, Minorica, &c.

To these Spanish provinces we must join the Spanish islands, Majorica, Minorica, and Ebusus, which Carolus a Sancto Paulo by mistake places with Sardinia, as appendants of the Roman diocese. Majorica, the largest of the Baleares, was one hundred and ten miles in circuit, yet it never had above one episcopal diocese, whose chief seat was Palma, now called Mallorca, which is the name that the inhabitants at present give to the whole island, by others called Majorca. Minorica, Minorque, is sixty miles in compass, and anciently enjoyed a bishop of its own, whose see was Jamna, now called Citadella, the capital city of the island. Ebusus, now called Yvica, was less than these, yet large enough to make a distinct diocese, being forty-two miles in compass, having a city of the same name, with several villages under its jurisdiction. So that in all the Spanish provinces the dioceses were generally very large, and not one among them whose bounds did not far exceed the limits of a single congregation.

Sect. 18. The state of the Spanish church evidenced from some of her most ancient councils.

And that this was the true state of the Spanish church in ancient times, appears from some of her most early councils. The council of Eliberis, which was held anno 305, in the beginning of the Diocletian persecution, has a canon, which plainly supposes the dioceses to have country parishes, when it says,[10] If any deacon who has the care of a people, shall baptize any one without a bishop or presbyter, the bishop shall consummate him by his benediction. The same is more plainly intimated by a canon of the first council of Toledo, anno 400, which directs the presbyters of every church[11] throughout each diocese to send to the bishop before Easter for chrism, to be used in baptism at Easter, and other solemn times when baptism was to be administered. This supposes the Spanish dioceses to have country parishes, where presbyters and deacons resided without the bishop, and it serves to confirm the account that has been given of the original state and division of those churches.

Sect. 19. Of Ireland and Scotland.

Out of Spain, we come at last to the British Isles, part of which only was under the Roman government, and called the Britannic diocese; for Ireland and the greatest part of Scotland never came under that denomination: yet in our passage it will not be amiss to say something of them, as well as England, if it were for no other reason but to set aside and censure some fabulous reports that are made of them. When Ireland was first converted, or by whom, is not very material here to be inquired, since before

[6] Concil. Lucens. Conc. t. 5. p. 874.

[7] Cypr. Ep. 68. al. 67. Plebibus consistentibus ad Legionem et Asturicæ.

[8] See Book IV. chap. 6. sect. 3.

[9] Maurice, Defenc. of Dioc. Episc. p. 149.

[10] Concil. Eliber. c. 77. Si quis diaconus regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptisaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit.

[11] Conc. Tolet. 1. c. 20. Placuit, ex hac die nullum alium nisi episcopum chrisma conficere, et per diœcesim destinare, ita ut de singulis ecclesiis ad episcopum ante diem Paschæ diaconi destinentur, qui confectum chrisma ab episcopo destinatum, ad diem Paschæ possint ad tempus deferre.

the time of St. Patrick, anno 433, there is little mention of bishops or dioceses in this kingdom, and after him the accounts of them are so uncertain and dark, that Carolus a S. Paulo does not pretend to give any other catalogue of them, but what he has from Camden and the Provinciale Romanum, both of which are modern accounts: for they make mention of the diocese of Waterford, which, as Dr. Cave and other learned men have observed out of Eadmerus,[12] was not erected till the year 1097, when King Murchertacus and the clergy of his kingdom petitioned Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who was then primate of that part of Ireland, to let Waterford be made a bishop's see; to which petition he consented, and ordained one Malchus, whom they had elected, first bishop of the place. Nay, both these catalogues also take notice of four archbishoprics in Ireland, which number of metropolitans was first introduced by Pope Eugenius, anno 1151, as Baronius has observed out of Roger Hoveden; and the same thing is noted by Matthew Paris, Simeon Dunelmensis, Gervasius Chronicon, and others of our English writers. Yet because we have no catalogues of Irish dioceses older or more authentic than these, it will not be amiss to insert them in this place. That in Camden has the four archbishoprics and their suffragans in this order.

Archiepiscopo Armachano subsunt

1. Midensis, vel Elnamirand. 2. Dunensis, al. Dundalethglas. 3. Colchorensis, al. Lugundunensis. 4. Connerensis. 5. Ardachadensis. 6. Rathbotensis. 7. Rathlucensis. 8. Daln-liguirensis. 9. Dearrihensis.

Sub archiepiscopo Dublinensi.

1. Glendelacensis. 2. Fernensis. 3. Osseriensis, al. De Canic. 4. Lechlinensis. 5. Kildarensis.

Sub archiepiscopo Cassiliensi.

1. Laoniensis de Kendalnam. 2. Limricensis. 3. De Insula Gathay. 4. De Cellumabrath. 5. Melicensis, al. de Emeleth. 6. Rossiensis, al. Roscreensis. 7. Waterfordiensis, al. de Batilfordian. 8. Lismorensis. 9. Clonensis, al. de Cluanania. 10. Corcagiensis. 11. De Rosalither. 12. Ardefertensis.

Sub archiepiscopo Tuamensi.

1. Duatensis, al. Killmacduoc. 2. De Mageo. 3. Enachdunensis. 4. De Cellaiaro. 5. De Roscomon. 6. Clonfertensis. 7. Achadensis. 8. Ladensis, al. Killaleth. 9. De Conany. 10. De Killmunduach. 11. Elphinensis.

The other catalogue in the Provinciale Romanum, published by Carolus a S. Paulo in the Appendix to his Geography, advances the number of suffragans to fifty-three, in the following order.

Sub archiepiscopo Armachano.

1. Connerinensis. 2. Deconnannas. 3. Dedamlialiagg. 4. Dedundaleglas. 5. Deardarchad. 6. Dedarrich. 7. Ingundunum. 8. Deralhboth. 9. Dunensis, al. Drumorensis. 10. Elualnirand, al. Midensis. 11. Derathlurig. 12. Renensis, al. Reuelensis, al. Crocorensis. 13. Cluanensis, al. Cluanerdensis. 14. Rochinosensis, al. Rathbotensis. 15. Artagadonensis, al. Ardocadensis. 16. Conerensis. 17. Heugamensis.

Sub archiepiscopo Dublinensi.

1. Glendelacensis. 2. Caldetensis, al. Kiscarensis. 3. Glensis, al. Gluisonensis. 4. Ossinensis. 5. Darensis. 6. Gaininch. 7. Licelinensis.

Sub archiepiscopo Cassellensi.

1. Decendaluensis, al. Laonensis. 2. Derostreensis, al. Wldifordianus. 3. Deartefertensis. 4. Lunech. 5. Lismorensis. 6. Firmaberensis, al. Fymbarrensis. 7. De Insula. 8. Deduanamensis, al. Cluanensis. 9. Laudensis. 10. Carthax. 11. Tubricensis. 12. Decellininabrach. 13. Deconeagia, vel Corcagensis. 14. Artfertelensis. 15. Denulech, al. Umblicensis. 16. Derosailitchir. 17. Waterfordensis.

Sub archiepiscopo Tuamensi.

1. Demageonensis. 2. Achadensis. 3. Nelfinensis. 4. Decellaid. 5. Deconairi. 6. Eacdunensis. 7. Roscomon. 8. Decelmundaiach. 9. Cluartifertensis. 10. Deculuanferd. 11. Duacensis. 12. Bladensis.

This seems to have been the greatest number of bishops that ever Ireland had since it was a Christian nation. For as to the pretence of some modern writers, that there were at one time no less than three hundred and sixty-five bishops, ordained by St. Patrick, it is solidly refuted by Dr. Maurice, who shows plainly,[13] that the story is not to be understood of so many bishops at once, but of that number in the reign of four kings successively, and in the compass of a hundred years: which any one that carefully reads Bishop Usher's Antiquities,[14] whence the ground of the story is fetched, will easily discern. And it is no hard matter to conceive then, how there might be three hundred and fifty, or, as Nennius tells the story, three hundred and sixty-five bishops in the compass of a whole century, though there were not above fifty or threescore

[12] Eadmer. Hist. lib. 2. p. 36. Vid. Cave, Hist. Literar. vol. 2. p. 373.

[13] Maurice, Defence of Dioces. Episcop. p. 155.

[14] Usser. Antiquit. Eccl. Brit. p. 490.

at any one time living together. Another error committed by Carolus a Sancto Paulo in reference to the bishops of this nation, which makes the whole number of them subject to a single abbot, has been already rectified in speaking of the ascetics, where I have showed,[15] he mistakes Hibernia for the little isle of Huy in the north of Scotland, where a monastery was founded by Columbanus, the abbots of which by an unusual custom, as Bede calls it, had some sort of superiority over the province of the northern Picts, and the provincial bishops too; but this has no relation to Ireland, nor any other part of Scotland than what has been now mentioned.

As to the original state of dioceses in Scotland, Carolus a Sancto Paulo, for want of light from ancient history, could give no account of them, and therefore he only sets down the modern names. Under the archbishop of St. Andrews eight dioceses: 1. Dunkeld. 2. Brechin. 3. Aberdeen. 4. Rosse. 5. Moravia, or Muray. 6. Caithness. 7. Dumblain. 8. The islands called Orchades. Under the archbishop of Glasgow three: Candida Casa, or Whitern, Lismore, and the Islands, that is, the Hebrides, or Western Islands, whereof Iona was one of the chief. The principal town of this island, called Sodora, was made a bishop's see by Gregory IV., anno 840, whence the bishop of all those forty-four islands, together with the Isle of Man, which then was but a part of that diocese, had the name of Episcopus Sodorensis. But when the Isle of Man fell into the hands of the English, the Western Islands withdrew their obedience from their ancient bishop, who commonly lived in this island, and set up another bishop of their own, who for a long time retained the title of Sodorensis, but at last he relinquished that title to the bishop of the Isle of Man, and took the name of Insulanus, bishop of the Isles, which he still retains. The Provinciale Romanum makes no mention either of this diocese of these islands, or that other of the Orchades; but speaks of one called Dearegarchel, belonging to the pope, and makes Glasgow only a suffragan to St. Andrews. By which it appears that it is not many ages since Glasgow was made an archbishopric, the bishop of St. Andrews being then the only metropolitan among them. But about ancient dioceses we must not be very solicitous: for whatever fabulous writers affirm, it is certain from Bede, that no part of this nation possessed by the Picts, was converted till the fifth century, when first, in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, the southern Picts were converted by Ninias, a Briton, who built a church at Candida Casa, which was the first cathedral in that part of Scotland, and which gave denomination of Whitern to the place, as Bede observes,[16] because the church was built of stone, which was not a very usual thing among the Britons in those days. The northern Picts were not converted till above a hundred and fifty years after this. For their apostle was Columbanus, the famous monk, who came out of Ireland in the time of Justin junior, anno 565, to preach the gospel to them, as Bede informs us in the same place. So that it would be in vain to search after episcopal dioceses before we have any certainty that Christianity was planted among them. In the following ages we have no particular account of any other diocese, save this of Candida Casa, in Bede, or any other authentic writer. For though they speak of bishops both among the southern and the northern Picts, yet they take no notice of the names of their sees. Whence some have concluded, that the Scottish bishops had no proper sees, but were ordained at large for the whole country; and others, that there was but one bishop for all the region. The first of which opinions is incredible, because it is against the known rule of the catholic church, which forbade any bishop to be ordained at large: and the other is expressly refuted by Bede,[17] who speaks of several bishops in the province of the northern Picts; and by the writer of the Life of Ninias, in Bishop Usher's Antiquities, who says,[18] that Ninias, having converted the southern Picts, ordained them presbyters, and consecrated them bishops, and divided the whole region into certain *parochiæ*, or dioceses, and so returned to his own church again, meaning Candida Casa, before mentioned. Whence it is evident, there were bishops both among the northern and southern Picts, though the names of their dioceses be not mentioned. As for the diocese of Candida Casa, Bishop Usher truly observes, that it was not properly in any part of the Picts' dominions, but in that part or province of the Romish Britain, which was called Valentia, and afterwards Bernicia, by Bede, when it was under the dominion of the Saxons. Bishop Usher[19] thinks it was also sometimes called the kingdom of Cumbria or Cumberland; and that the diocese of Casa Candida was sometimes of equal extent with that kingdom, reaching from Glasgow on the river Clota or Cluyd to Stanemore-cross in the borders of Westmoreland; and that in the time of Kentigern the see was removed to Glasgow. But when the Irish Scots had seized this country, and given it the name of Galloway, this and the neighbouring regions were all subjected to the bishop of Sodora, whose residence was in the Isle of Man, till Malcolm III., king of Scots, made Candida Casa a bishop's see again, and assigned it the country of Galloway for its diocese, which continues to be so to this day. I

[15] See Book VII. chap. 3. sect. 14.

[16] Bede, lib. 3. c. 4.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Vit. Niniæ, ap. Usser. Antiq. p. 350. Ordinavit presbyteros, episcopos consecravit, et totam terram per certas parochias divisit: confirmatisque in fide omnibus, ad ecclesiam suam est regressus.

[19] Usser. Antiq. p. 319.

cannot give any such particular account of any other diocese in the kingdom of Scotland for want of certain records; but this is certain, that from the first conversion of it, first by Ninias, and then by Columbanus, they had several bishops among the Picts; part of whose country being made tributary, as well as Valentia, to the Saxon kings of Northumberland, their bishops consequently became subject to the metropolitan of York, from whose hands they sometimes had their ordination.

Sect. 20. Of the British church in England and Wales.

There remains only one country more to be examined, which is our own part of the British nation; a country that embraced the Christian faith as early as any of the western parts of the world, and therefore may be presumed to have received the same form of government that we have found in all other churches. It has been noted before, that the Britannic diocese was divided by the Romans at first into three provinces, and then into five; but by the injury of time, we have no complete account of what bishoprics were erected in every province. They who speak of a precise number of flamens and archflamens turned into so many archbishops and bishops, seem rather to deliver their own fancies than relate true history. That which is certain in the case, is this: there were here in the beginning of the fourth century such episcopal churches as were in all other nations; for the bishops of these churches were summoned to councils as others were. There were British bishops in the council of Arles, Eborius[20] de civitate Eboracensi, Restitutus de civitate Londinensi, Adelphus de civitate Colonia Londinensium. The last of which Holstenius,[21] following Camden, and Selden in his Notes upon Eutychius, thinks ought rather to be read Colonia Camalodunensium; which some take to be Colchester, others Maldon, others Walden, in Essex. But a late learned antiquary,[22] in his posthumous observations upon Antonine's Itinerary of Britain, has happily discovered that the true reading should in all probability be Colonia Lindi, which is the old Roman name for Lincoln, as he shows not only out of Antonine and Ptolemy, who call it Lindum, but out of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who more expressly styles it Lindum Colonia; which with a little variation is the name that is given it also by Bede,[23] who calls it Lindocolina, and the region thereabout Provincia Lindisi, whence, I presume, comes the name of Lindsey Coast, which is the name of one part of that province to this day. But to return to the ancient bishops of this nation. Some authors say there were British bishops in the council of Nice; but that does not so evidently appear from ancient history. It is more certain there were three bishops from Britain in the council of Ariminum, as Sulpicius Severus[24] informs us. And Athanasius also[25] takes notice of British bishops in the council of Sardica, anno 347. And Hilary inscribes his book, de Synodis, to the bishops[26] of the British provinces, among many others. Yet none of these authors tell us precisely the number of the whole college, and therefore we can only conjecture from the remains of those British bishops which continued in Wales after the Saxon conquests, and were there at the coming of Austin into England. Bede takes notice of seven of those,[27] which came to the synod of Worcester, or Austin's oak, to confer with Austin about the settlement of the church. And over these there was also a metropolitan, to whom they professed subjection in the council, which was the archbishop of Menevia, or St. David's, or, as they term him, the archbishop of Caer-Leon upon Uske, because that was the ancient metropolitical see, before it was translated to St. David's. The names of the other suffragans, as some of the British historians[28] record them in Latin, were then Herefordensis, Tavensis, Paternensis, Banchorensis, Elviensis, Vicciensis, Morganensis; that is, Hereford, Landaff, Lan-Patern, Bangor, St. Asaph, Worcester, and Morgan. Now, if the number of bishops in other provinces was answerable to this, we may conclude, there were more bishops before the invasion of the Saxons than there are at this day. But when Austin came into England, he found none except the forementioned. However, Gregory the Great gave him orders to settle twenty-six bishops, twelve bishops suffragans to the bishop of London, and as many subject to the metropolitan of York, and reserve to himself the primacy over the whole nation.[29] Yet this was rather a scheme laid for future ages, when the whole nation should be converted, than any present settlement or constitution of the church. For above fifty years after this, there were not above seven bishops in all the heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms, as appears from the account which Bede gives of the council of Herudford, anno 673, where were present Theodore, archbishop of Dorovernia or Canterbury,[30] Bisi, bishop of the East Angles, Wilfrid, bishop of the Northumbrians, Putta, bishop of Rochester, Leutherius, bishop of the West Saxons, and Winfrid, bishop of the whole province of the Mercians. In which council[31] a canon was made,

[20] Concil. Arelat. 1. an. 314.
[21] Holsten. Annot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 108.
[22] Dr. Gale, Not. in Antonin. Iter. Britan. p. 96.
[23] Bede, lib. 2. c. 16.
[24] Sulpic. lib. 2. p. 109. [25] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 720.
[26] Hilar. de Synod. Provinciarum Britanniarum Episcopis.
[27] Bed. Hist. Gent. Anglor. lib. 2. c. 2.
[28] Galfrid. Monumeth. Hist. lib. 8. c. 4. Vid. Powel. Not. in Girald. Cambrens. Itinerar. Cambriæ, lib. 2. p. 170.
[29] Bed. Hist. Gent. Anglor. lib. 1. c. 29.
[30] Bed. lib. 4. c. 5.
[31] Concil. Herudford. c. 9. ap. Bed. ibid. In commune

That the number of bishops should be augmented, as the number of converts should increase. But nothing was done for the present, save that Bisi or Bifus, bishop of the East-Angles, being grown old, two others, Æcca and Badwin, were consecrated in his room: and from that time to the age in which Bede lived, that province had two bishops, as our author notes in the same place. These were the bishops of Elmham and Dunwich, which were afterward united, and the see removed to Thetford, and from thence to Norwich, whose bishops succeed to the whole kingdom of the East-Angles. So that in that age a kingdom and a diocese were almost commensurate. In the kingdom of Northumberland there were at first but two bishops, whose sees were York and Lindisfarne. But not long after, anno 678, Ecgfrid, king of Northumberland, having expelled Wilfrid, bishop of York, from his see, four or five bishops were ordained in his room; one in the province of Deira; another in the province of Bernicia; a third at Hagulstade, or Hexam, in Northumberland; a fourth in the province of the Picts, which was then subject to the English; and a fifth in the province of Lindissi, as Bede[32] calls it, which was lately taken out of the diocese and kingdom of Mercia, and not long after laid to it again. The great kingdom of Mercia, (comprehending the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Leicester, Cambridge, Rutland, Northampton, Lincoln, Nottingham, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Derby, Stafford, Shropshire, Cheshire, and part of Hertfordshire,) was at first but the diocese of one bishop, whom Bede commonly calls the bishop of the Angli-Mediterranei, or Mercians, whose see was Lichfield, the royal seat and metropolis of the kingdom of Mercia; till about the year 678, a new see was erected at Sidnacester in Lincolnshire, and some time after another at Dorchester in Oxfordshire, which were afterward united and removed to Lincoln. Out of this large diocese also the sees of Worcester and Hereford were taken, as Ely was out of that part which fell to Lincoln: not to mention the dioceses of Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, and Gloucester, which had their rise out of the same at the Reformation. The diocese of Winchester was also very large at first, containing all the kingdoms of the West Saxons, till it was divided by King Ina between Winchester and Sherborn, anno 705. The latter of which was afterward subdivided into the dioceses of Cornwall, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire, some of which being united again, made up the dioceses of Exeter, Wells, Salisbury, and Bristol, as they now stand in the present frame and constitution of the church. I think it needless to carry this inquiry any further, since what has been already suggested sufficiently shows, that the dioceses in England were anciently much larger than they are now, and that it has ever been the wisdom of the church to multiply and contract them. Though many of them still remain so large, that if they be compared with some of the ancient Italian dioceses, one of them will be found to be equal to ten or twenty of those which lay round about Rome.

Sect. 21. The whole account confirmed from some ancient canons of the church.

I shall conclude this chapter with a few ancient canons, which confirm the account that has been given of episcopal dioceses throughout the world, as supposing them generally to have country regions and country parishes belonging to them. The council of Neocæsarea, which was held some years before the council of Nice, makes express mention[33] of πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιχώριοι, country presbyters, who are forbidden to officiate in the city church, save only in the absence of the bishop or city presbyters. The council of Antioch has two canons of the same import. The one describes a bishop's diocese[34] to be a city and all the region that was subject to it, wherein he might ordain presbyters and deacons, and order all things according to his own judgment, without consulting his metropolitan. The other is a provision concerning the *chorepiscopi*,[35] who were seated in the villages and regions about the city, that they should govern the churches committed to them, and content themselves with that care, ordaining readers, subdeacons, and exorcists; but not presbyters or deacons, unless commissioned to it by the city bishop, to whom both they and their region were subject. A like provision is made by the council of Nice,[36] in case a Novatian bishop should return to the unity of the catholic church, that then the catholic bishop might provide him the place of a *chorepiscopus* in some part of his diocese, that there might not be two bishops in one city. And indeed all the canons that mention the *chorepiscopi*, are full proof that a diocese was not only a city, but a country region, over which those *chorepiscopi* presided, under the inspection of the city bishop, to whom they were accountable. The canons of Sardica[37] and Laodicea,[38] do plainly suppose the same thing, when they prohibit bishops to be ordained in small cities or villages, because a presbyter or itinerant visitor might be sufficient to take care of them. So in the African canons, one orders the same as the council of Toledo, That every presbyter[39] throughout the diocese, who has the care of a church, shall have recourse to his own bishop for chrism to be used at Easter. And another[40] says, No bishop shall leave his principal church, to go to reside upon any other church in the diocese. Which

tractatum est, ut plures episcopi crescente numero fidelium augerentur, sed de hac re ad præsens silemus.

[32] Bed. lib. 4. c. 12. [33] Concil. Neocæsar. c. 13.

[34] Conc. Antioch. c. 9. [35] Ibid. c. 10. [36] Conc. Nic. c. 8.
[37] Concil. Sardic. c. 6. [38] Concil. Laodic. c. 57.
[39] Concil. Carthag. 4. c. 36. [40] Ibid. 5. c. 5.

canons speak plain nonsense, unless it be supposed that there were then other churches in the diocese beside the mother-church.

Sect. 22. And from the bishop's obligation to visit his diocese once a year, and confirm.

The bishop's obligation to visit his diocese, is a further proof of the same thing. For this was a necessary consequent of having several churches at a distance under his jurisdiction: such as he could not personally attend himself, he was obliged to visit, and see that they were provided of a proper incumbent, and that every thing was performed in due order. St. Austin and St. Basil,[41] who had pretty large dioceses, speak often upon this account of their being employed in their visitations. And the rule in some places was to visit ordinarily once a year, as appears from the council of Tarraco in Spain, which lays this injunction on bishops,[42] Because it was found by experience, that many churches in their dioceses were left destitute and neglected, therefore they were obliged to visit them once a year. And if a diocese was so large, that a bishop could not perform this duty annually, that was thought a reasonable cause to divide the diocese, and lay some part of the burden upon a new bishop; which was the reason assigned in the council of Lugo for dividing the large diocese of Gallecia, as has been observed before[43] in speaking of the Spanish churches. St. Jerom has a remark upon the exercise of confirmation, which also mightily confirms this notion of ancient episcopal dioceses. He says,[44] it was the custom of the churches, when any persons were baptized by presbyters or deacons in villages, castles, or other remote places, for the bishop to go to them and give them imposition of hands, in order to receive the Holy Ghost; and that many places lay at so great a distance, that the parties baptized died before the bishop could come to visit them. Which is a plain description of such dioceses as we have generally found in every part of the catholic church, some few provinces excepted, where the number of cities and populousness of the country made dioceses more numerous and of less extent than in other places.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NOTITIA, OR GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE BISHOPRICS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH, AS FIRST MADE BY THE ORDER OF LEO SAPIENS, COMPARED WITH SOME OTHERS.

For the fuller proof of what has been asserted in the last chapters, and to give the reader a clear view of the state of the ancient church, I shall here subjoin one of the *notitias*, or catalogues of bishoprics contained in the five greater patriarchates, Constantinople, Rome, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, according to the account that was taken first by the order of the emperor Leo Sapiens about the year 891. For though this does not come up to the antiquity of those other records, which I have generally made use of in this work; yet, being the most ancient and perfect account we have in the kind, and agreeing with the scattered remains of antiquity of this nature, it will be useful as a collateral evidence, to corroborate the account that has been given of the division and extent of dioceses in the primitive church. And I the rather choose to insert it here, to satisfy the curiosity of many of my readers, to whose view perhaps this *notitia* may not otherwise come, being scarce to be met with but in books of great rarity or great price, which fall not into the hands of every ordinary reader. The first of this kind was published by Leunclavius, in his Jus Græco-Romanum,[1] anno 1596, in Greek and Latin, under the name of Leo Sapiens, the reputed author of it. After which some others, but imperfect, were set forth by Carolus a Sancto Paulo,[2] in his Geography of the Ancient Church. The defects of which were supplied by Jacobus Goar, from a MS. in the French king's library, which he published at the end of Codinus,[3] among the Byzantine historians, anno 1648; and by Bishop Beverege, from a MS. in the Bodleian library, published in his Notes[4] upon the Pandects, anno 1672. The last of which being acknowledged to be the most perfect in the kind, has been since reprinted by the learned Schelstrate,[5] with some notes and observations upon the defects and variations of all the former; which, having revised and compared them together, I shall here present to the curious reader, that he may have them all together in one view.

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41 Basil. Ep. 264.

42 Concil. Tarracon. c. 8. Reperimus nonnullas diœcesanas ecclesias esse destitutas. Ob quam rem hac constitutione decrevimus, ut annuis vicibus episcopo diœceses visitentur, &c.

43 See sect. 14. of this chapter.

44 Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer. c. 4. Non abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat. And a little after, Alioquin si episcopi tantum imprecatione Spiritus Sanctus defluit, lugendi sunt qui in villulis, aut in castellis, aut in remotioribus locis per presbyteros aut diaconos baptizati, ante dormierunt, quam ab episcopis inviserentur.

1 Leunclav. Jus. Gr. Rom. t. 2. p. 88.

2 Carol. a S. Paulo, Append. ad Geograph. Sacr.

3 Codin. de Offic. Constant. in Append. p. 337.

4 Bevereg. Not. in Can. 36. Concil. Trull.

5 Schelstrat. de Concil. Antioch. Dissert. 4. cap. 13. p. 425.

The order of presidency of the most holy patriarchs. 1. Of Rome. 2. Constantinople. 3. Alexandria. 4. Antioch. 5. Ælia, or Jerusalem.

The order of presidency of the metropolitans, and *autocephali*, and bishops, subject to the apostolical throne of this divinely preserved and imperial city, viz. Constantinople.

PROVINCES.	METROPOLITANS.
1. Cappadocia.	1. Cæsarea.
2. Asia.	2. Ephesus.
3. Europa.	3. Heraclea in Thrace.
4. Galatia.	4. Ancyra.
5. Hellespontus.	5. Cyzicum.
6. Lydia.	6. Sardes.
7. Bithynia.	7. Nicomedia.
8. The same.	8. Nice.
9. The same.	9. Chalcedon.
10. Pamphylia.	10. Sida.
11. Armenia.	11. Sebastea.
12. Elenopontus.	12. Amasea.
13. Armenia.	13. Melitine.
14. Cappadocia.	14. Tyana.
15. Paphlagonia.	15. Gangra.
16. Honorias.	16. Claudiopolis.
17. Pontus Polemoniacus.	17. Neocæsarea.
18. Galatia.	18. Pissinus, or Justinianople.
19. Lycia.	19. Myra.
20. Caria.	20. Stauropolis.
21. Phrygia Cappatiana.	21. Laodicea.
22. Phrygia Salutaris.	22. Synada.
23. Lycaonia.	23. Iconium.
24. Pisidia.	24. Antioch.
25. Pamphylia.	25. Perga, or Sileum.
26. Cappadocia.	26. Mocessus.
27. Lazica.	27. Phasis.
28. Thracia.	28. Philippopolis.
29. Rhodope.	29. Trajanople.
30. Insulæ Cyclades.	30. Rhodes.
31. Æmimontus.	31. Adrianople.
32. Æmimontus.	32. Martianople.
33. Phrygia Pacatiana.	33. Hierapolis.

Here ends the account of provinces and metropolitans in the *notitia* of Bishop Beverege and Goar, but in Leunclavius these other metropolitans are added without any mention of provinces at all. 34. Thessalonica. 35. Corinth. 36. Crete. 37. Athens. 38. Seleucia. 39. Patræ. 40. Trapezus. 41. Calabria. 42. Larissa. 43. Naupactus. 44. Philippi. 45. Dyrrachium. 46. Smyrna. 47. Catana. 48. Ammorium. 49. Camachus. 50. Cotyaium. 51. Severiana. 52. Mitylene. 53. Novæ Patræ. 54. Euchaita. 55. Amastris. 56. Chonæ. 57. Hydrus. 58. Kelzene. 59. Colonia. 60. Thebæ. 61. Serræ. 62. Pompeiopolis. 63. Rossia. 64. Alania. 65. Ænus. 66. Tiberiopolis. 67. Achaia. 68. Cerasus. 69. Nacolia. 70. Germania. 71. Madyta. 72. Apamea. 73. Basileum. 74. Drystra. 75. Nazianzus. 76. Corcyra. 77. Abydus. 78. Methymna. 79. Christianopolis. 80. Rusium. 81. Lacedæmonia. 82. Naxia. 83. Attalia. To which the scholiast adds three more, Sebastopolis, Euripus, and Cybistis Herculis.

After the metropolitans, follow the *autocephali*, or independent bishops, which the *notitia* in Leunclavius calls archbishops: they were such as had neither metropolitans above them, nor suffragans under them, being immediately subject to the patriarch only, as Goar's *notitia* informs us. In Bishop Beverege's *notitia* they are as follows.

PROVINCES.	AUTOCEPHALI.
1. Mysia.	1. Odyssus.
2. Scythia.	2. Tomi.
3. Europa.	3. Bizya.
4. Paphlagonia.	4. Pompeiopolis.
5. Asia.	5. Smyrna.
6. Isauria.	6. Leontopolis.
7. Rhodope.	7. Maronæa.
8. Bithynia.	8. Apamea.
9. Rhodope.	9. Maximinianopolis.
10. Galatia.	10. Germia.
11. Europa.	11. Arcadiopolis.
12. Thracia.	12. Beræa.
13. Lesbus.	13. Mitylene.
14. Hellespont.	14. Parium.
15. Caria.	15. Melitus, al. Miletus.
16. Thracia.	16. Nicopolis.
17. Insulæ.	17. Proconesus.
18. Rhodope.	18. Anchialus.
19. Europa.	19. Selymbria.
20. Lesbus.	20. Methymne.
21. Bithynia.	21. Cius.
22. Europa.	22. Aprus.
23. Rhodope.	23. Cypsala.
24. Zicchia.	24. Cherson.
25. Zicchia.	25. Bosphori.
26. Zicchia.	26. Nicopsis.
27. Isauria.	27. Cotrada.
28. Elenopontus, al. Helenopontus.	28. Euchetæ.
29. Cyclades Insulæ.	29. Carpathus.
30. Rhodope.	30. Ænus.
31. Europa.	31. Drizapara, al. Mesena.
32. Hemimontus.	32. Mesembria.
33. Armenia.	33. Heracliopolis, al. Phylactoe.
34. Abasgia.	34. Sebastopolis.
35. Pontus Polemoniacus.	35. Trapezus.
36. Paphlagonia.	36. Amastris.
37. Lycaonia.	37. Misthia.
38. Pisidia.	38. Neapolis.

PROVINCES.	AUTOCEPHALI.
39. Mare Ægeum.	39. Ægene.
40. Phrygia Salutaris.	40. Cotyaium.
41. Pamphylia.	41. Selga.

To these, in Goar's *notitia*, are added two more, Delca, or Derce, and Reni in Armenia. But that in Leunclavius has but thirty-nine, whereof sixteen are different names, viz. Nice, Messana, Garella, Brisis, Carabyzia, Lemnus, Leucas, Cudræ, Soteropolis, Pedachthoa, Eroina, Gotthia, Sugdaia, Phullæ, Pharsala, and Matracha. And several of those which in the Bodleian *notitia* are called *autocephali*, are in Leunclavius reckoned among the metropolitans, as Trapezus, Smyrna, Cotyaium, Mitylene, Amastris, Pompeiopolis, Ænus, and Apamea. Whence it is easy to conclude, that archbishops and *autocephali* were then a sort of titular metropolitans, who had the privilege of being independent, though they had no suffragan bishops under them.

NOW FOLLOW THE PARTICULAR PROVINCES, WITH THE NUMBER OF BISHOPRICS CONTAINED IN EACH OF THEM.

Province of Cappadocia.

1. Cæsarea, the metropolis. 2. Thermæ Regiæ. 3. Nyssa. 4. Methodiopolis Armeniæ. 5. Camuliana. 6. Ciscissus, or Cissus: to which are added in Leunclavius. 7. Euaissa. 8. Serias. 9. Arathia. 10. Æpolia.

Province of Asia.

1. Ephesus, the metropolis. 2. Hypepæ. 3. Tralles. 4. Magnesia ad Mæandrum. 5. Elea. 6. Adramyttium. 7. Assus. 8. Gargara. 9. Mastaura. 10. Caloe. 11. Bryulla. 12. Pittamne. 13. Myrine. 14. Phocia. 15. Aurillopolis, al. Aureliopolis. 16. Nisa, al. Nyssa. 17. Maschacoma. 18. Metropolis. 19. Baretti. 20. Magnesia. 21. Aninates. 22. Pergamus. 23. Anea. 24. Priene. 25. Arcadiopolis. 26. Novæ Aulæ. 27. Templum Jovis. 28. Augaza. 29. Sion. 30. Colophon. 31. Levedus, al. Lebedus. 32. Teus. 33. Erythræ. 34. Clazomenæ. 35. Attadri, al. Antandri. 36. Theodosiopolis, al. Peperine. 37. Cymæ. 38. Palæopolis: to which are added in Leunclavius, Thyræa in Chliara; but Phocia, Magnesia, and Clazomenæ are wanting.

Here the province of Thracia and Macedonia is interposed in Leunclavius.

1. Heraclea, the metropolis. 2. Theodoropolis. 3. Rhœdestus. 4. Panium. 5. Hexamilium. 6. Calliopolis. 7. Peristasis. 8. Chariopolis. 9. Chalcis. 10. Daoneum. 11. Madyta. 12. Pamphilus. 13. Medea. 14. Lizicus. 15. Sergentza. 16. Metra. 17. Tzurolloe. 18. Athyra.

In the other *notitias* the last province is called the province of Europa; but it has but six bishoprics assigned to it, viz.

1. Heraclea. 2. Panium. 3. Callipolis. 4. Cherronesus. 5. Cylæ. 6. Redestus.

Province of Galatia.

1. Ancyra, the metropolis. 2. Tabia, al. Attabia. 3. Heliopolis. 4. Aspona. 5. Berinopolis. 6. Mizzus. 7. Cina. 8. Anastasiopolis.

Province of Hellespont.

1. Cyzicum, the metropolis. 2. Germe. 3. Pœmanium. 4. Oce. 5. Baris. 6. Adrianotheræ. 7. Lampsacus. 8. Abydus. 9. Dardanus. 10. Ilium. 11. Troas. 12. Pæonia. 13. Melitopolis.

Province of Lydia.

1. Sardes, the metropolis. 2. Philadelphia. 3. Tripolis. 4. Thyatira. 5. Seta. 6. Arilliapolis, al. Aureliopolis. 7. Gordi. 8. Troalli. 9. Sala. 10. Silandus. 11. Mœonia. 12. Fanum Apollinis. 13. Hyrcanis. 14. Mustina. 15. Arcastus, al. Acarasus. 16. Apollonias. 17. Attalia. 18. Baga. 19. Balandus. 20. Mesotymolus. 21. Hierocæsarea. 22. Dale. 23. Stratonicea. 24. Cerasia. 25. Sattala. 26. Gabbala. 27. Hermocapelia.

Province of Bithynia.

1. Nicomedia. 2. Prusa, or Theopolis. 3. Prænetus. 4. Helenopolis. 5. Basilinopolis. 6. Daschylium. 7. Apollonias. 8. Adriana. 9. Cæsarea. 10. Gallus, or Lophi. 11. Daphnusia. 12. Eriste.

The same Province.

1. Nice. 2. Modrina, al. Mela, or Melina. 3. Linoe. 4. Taius. 5. Gerduservæ. 6. Numericæ. 7. Maximianæ. It is added in Leunclavius, that Chalcedon in the same province had no sees under it, as being only an *autocephalus*, or honorary metropolis.

Province of Pamphylia.

1. Sida. 2. Aspendus. 3. Ettena. 4. Orymna. 5. Cassa. 6. Semnea. 7. Corallia. 8. Coracissius. 9. Syethra, al. Synedra. 10. Mylone, or Justinianople. 11. Anamanda. 12. Dalisandus, al. Duldasus. 13. Isbi. 14. Lybra. 15. Colybrassus. 16. Manæa.

Province of Armenia.

1. Sebastea. 2. Sebastopolis. 3. Nicopolis. 4. Satala. 5. Colonia. 6. Berissa.

Province of Helenopontus.

1. Amasea. 2. Amissus. 3. Sinope. 4. Ibora, al. Pimolissa. 5. Andropa. 6. Zalichus, al. Leontopolis. 7. Zela.

Province of Armenia Secunda.

1. Melitene. 2. Arca. 3. Cucusus. 4. Arabissus. 5. Ariaratha. 6. Ceomanæ, al. Comana.

Province of Cappadocia Secunda.

1. Tyana, or Christopolis. 2. Cybistra. 3. Faustinopolis. 4. Sasima.

Province of Paphlagonia.

1. Gangra. 2. Junopolis, al. Innopolis. 3. Dadybra. 4. Soræ.

Here follows next the province of Thessalia in Leunclavius, which is omitted in others.

1. Thessalonica. 2. Citria. 3. Berrhœa. 4. Drugubitia. 5. Servia. 6. Casandria. 7. Campania, al. Castrium. 8. Petra. 9. Herculia, al. Ardameria. 10. Hierissus. 11. Litæ ac Rentenæ. 12. Bardariotæ.

Province of Honorias.

1. Claudiopolis. 2. Heraclea Ponti. 3. Prusias. 4. Tius. 5. Cratea. 6. Hadrianopolis.

Province of Pontus Polemoniacus.

1. Neocæsarea. 2. Trapezus. 3. Cerosantes. 4. Polemoneum. 5. Comana. To these are added in Leunclavius, 6. Halyæum. 7. Rhizæum. 8. Coccus. 9. Eunicus. And the scholiast adds three more, Aradase, Myrtyropolis, and Hypsela.

Province of Galatia Secunda.

1. Pisinus. 2. Mericium. 3. Eudoxias. 4. Pitanissus. 5. Trochnada. 6. Germocolonia. 7. Spalea, al. Justinianopolis. 8. Orcistus.

Province of Lycia.

1. Myra. 2. Mastæra. 3. Telmessus. 4. Limyra. 5. Araxe. 6. Aprilla. 7. Tatla. 8. Arnea. 9. Sidyma. 10. Zenopolis. 11. Olympus. 12. Otla. 13. Corydala. 14. Cannus. 15. Xanthus. 16. Acrassus. 17. Marciana. 18. Bobus, al. Sophianopolis. 19. Chomas. 20. Onunda. 21. Phellus. 22. Candana. 23. Phaselis. 24. Antiphellus. 25. Acalissus. 26. Rhodiapolis. 27. Acanda. 28. Lebissus. 29. Eudocias. 30. Paliotæ. 31. Combi. 32. Patara. 33. Barbura. 34. Nessus. 35. Cianea. 36. Melata.

Province of Caria.

1. Stauropolis. 2. Cibyra. 3. Siza. 4. Heraclea Salbaci. 5. Apollonias. 6. Heraclea. 7. Lacyma (which Leunclavius makes but one, Heraclea Lacymorum). 8. Tabi. 9. Larba. 10. Antiochia Mæandri. 11. Tarpassæ. 12. Harpassæ. 13. Neapolis. 14. Orthysias. 15. Anotetarta. 16. Alabandi. 17. Stratonicea. 18. Alinda. 19. Mylassæ. 20. Mezus, al. Amezon. 21. Jassus. 22. Barbilius. 23. Halicarnassus. 24. Hylarima. 25. Cnidus. 26. Metaba. 27. Mindus. 28. Hieron. 29. Cindrama. 30. Cerama. 31. Promissus.

Province of Phrygia Cappatiana, al. Pacatiana.

1. Laodicea. 2. Tiberiopolis. 3. Azana. 4. Ancyrosuna. 5. Pelta. 6. Appia. 7. Icria. 8. Iluza. 9. Acada. 10. Tranopolis. 11. Sebasta. 12. Eumenia. 13. Timenus Therarum. 14. Agatha Coma. 15. Alina. 16. Tripolis. 17. Attanassus. 18. Trapezopolis. 19. Siblia. Note, In Leunclavius there are twenty-one cities, whereof many go by different names in this province; as Acmonea, Chærotopa, Forium Pœmæni, Cidissus, Lunde, Helaza, Synæum, Thampsiopolis, Justinianopolis, Dioclea and Aristea.

Province of Phrygia Salutaris.

1. Synada. 2. Dorylæum. 3. Nacolea. 4. Medæum. 5. Hipsus. 6. Promissus. 7. Merus. 8. Sibindus. 9. Phytia. 10. Hierapolis. 11. Eucarpia. 12. Lysias. 13. Augustopolis. 14. Bryzus. 15. Otrus. 16. Lycaon. 17. Stectorium. 18. Cinnaborium. 19. Cone. 20. Scordapia. 21. Nicopolis. 22. Ærocla. Here Leunclavius has but twenty cities, and some of those under other names, but Goar's *notitia* adds two more, Alopex and Cadenna.

Province of Lycaonia.

1. Iconium. 2. Lystra. 3. Vasada. 4. Ambada, al. Amblada. 5. Vomanoda. 6. Laranda. 7. Bereta. 8. Derbe. 9. Hyda. 10. Savatra. 11. Canus. 12. Berinopolis. 13. Galbana, al. Eudocias. 14. Ilistra. 15. Perta. Leunclavius has the same number, but some names different from these.

Province of Pisidia.

1. Antiochia. 2. Sagalassus. 3. Sozopolis. 4. Apamea. 5. Cibus. 6. Tyrænus. 7. Baris. 8. Adrianopolis. 9. Portus Limenorum. 10. Laodicea Combusta. 11. Seleucia Ferrea. 12. Dada, al. Adada. 13. Zarzela. 14. Timbrias, al. Timomarias. 15. Timandus. 16. Conane. 17. Malus. 18. Sitriandus. 19. Tityassus. 20. Metropolis. 21. Pappa. 22. Parallæ. 23. Mindevus, al. Bindæus.

Province of Pamphylia Secunda.

1. Perga, al. Sileum. 2. Attalia. 3. Magydus, al. Mandus. 4. Telimisus. 5. Isindus. 6. Eudocias. 7. Maximianopolis. 8. Lagina. 9. Palæopolis. 10. Cremnus. 11. Corydala. 12. Peltinissus. 13. Dicytanæra. 14. Ariassus. 15. Pugla. 16. Adriana. 17. Sandida. 18. Barba. 19. Perbæna. 20. Cous.

Note, The fourteen following provinces are in Leunclavius, but no other *notitia*.

Province of Peloponnesus.

1. Corinthus. 2. Damala. 3. Argos. 4. Monem-

basia. 5. Cephalenia. 6. Zacynthus. 7. Zemena. 8. Maina.

Province of Hellas.

1. Athens. 2. Euripus. 3. Diaulia. 4. Coronea. 5. Andrus. 6. Oreus. 7. Scyrus. 8. Charystus. 9. Porthmus. 10. Aulon. 11. Syra.

Province of Crete.

1. Gortyna. 2. Gnossus. 3. Arcadia. 4. Cherronesus. 5. Aulopotamus. 6. Agrius. 7. Lampe. 8. Cydonia. 9. Hiera. 10. Petra. 11. Sitea. 12. Cissamus.

Province of Peloponnesus.

1. Patra. 2. Lacedæmonia. 3. Methone. 4. Corone. 5. Helus. 6. Bolœna.

Province of Hellas Secunda.

1. Larissa. 2. Demetrias. 3. Pharsalus. 4. Domocus. 5. Zetonium. 6. Ezerus. 7. Lædoricium. 8. Trica. 9. Echinus. 10. Colydrus. 11. Stagæ.

Province of Ætolia.

1. Naupactus. 2. Bunditza. 3. Aquila. 4. Achelous. 5. Rhegæ. 6. Joannina. 7. Photica. 8. Hadrianopolis. 9. Buthrotus. 10. Chimæra.

Province of Macedonia.

1. Philippi. 2. Theoria. 3. Polystylum. 4. Belicea. 5. Christopolis. 6. Smolæna. 7. Cæsaropolis. 8. Alectryopolis.

Province of Epirus.

1. Dyrrachium. 2. Stephaniaca. 3. Chunobia. 4. Coria. 5. Elissus. 6. Dioclea. 7. Scodra. 8. Drivastus. 9. Polatha. 10. Glabinitza, al. Acroceraunia. 11. Aulonæa. 12. Licinida. 13. Antibaris. 14. Tzerinicum. 15. Polycheropolis. 16. Graditzium.

In Asia under Smyrna the metropolis.

1. Phocæa. 2. Magnesia. 3. Anelium. 4. Clazomenæ. 5. Sosandrus. 6. Archangelus. 7. Petra.

In Armenia under Camachus.

1. Kelzene. 2. Arabraca. 3. Barzanissa. 4. Melus. 5. Melus alter. 6. Romanopolis. 7. Tutileum.

In Phrygia under Cotyaium.

1. Spora. 2. Cone. 3. Gaiocomis.

In Lesbus under Mitylene.

1. Erissus. 2. Strongyla. 3. Tenedus. 4. Berbine. 5. Perperine. 6. Marmaritza.

In Hellas under Novæ Patræ.

1. Gazala. 2. Cutzagron. 3. Sibictus. 4. Bariana.

Under Keltzene.

1. Tomus. 2. Chatzoun. 3. Lycopotamia. 4. Cortzene. 5. Mastrabatz. 6. Chuit. 7. Toparchus. 8. Ambra. 9. Tutara. 10. Marmentitzur. 11. Matzierte. 12. S. Nicholai. 13. Eva Deiparæ. 14. Artzesius. 15. Artzica. 16. Amucium. 17. Percin. 18. S. Georgii. 19. Ostan. 20. S. Elissæi. 21. Sedrac Deiparæ. These fourteen metropolitical sees, with their suffragans, are in Leunclavius only: after which the other *notitias* now proceed again.

Province of Cappadocia.

1. Mocessus. 2. Nazianzus. 3. Colonia. 4. Parnassus. 5. Doara: to which Leunclavius adds Metiana.

Province of Lazica.

1. Phasis. 2. Rhodopolis. 3. Petra. 4. Ecclesia Abissenorum. 5. Ecclesia Ziganeorum. But in Leunclavius there are reckoned sixteen in this province. 1. Trapezus, the metropolis. 2. Cheriana. 3. Chamuzur. 4. Chachæum. 5. Paiper. 6. Ceramea. 7. Tochatzitzi. 8. Bizana. 9. Sacabus. 10. Phasiana. 11. Tochantierz. 12. Toulnutus. 13. Lerium. 14. Tosermatzus. 15. Andacta. 16. Zarima.

Province of Thrace.

1. Philippopolis. 2. Diocletianopolis. 3. Diospolis. But Leunclavius reckons eleven. 1. Philippopolis. 2. Agathonicæa. 3. Liotitza. 4. Scutarium. 5. Leuca. 6. Bleptus. 7. Dramitza. 8. Joannitza. 9. Constantia. 10. Belicea. 11. Bucuba.

Province of the islands Cyclades.

1. Rhodus, the metropolis. 2. Samus. 3. Chius. 4. Cous. 5. Naxia. 6. Thera. 7. Parus. 8. Lethrus. 9. Andrus. 10. Tenus. 11. Melus. 12. Pissina: to which Leunclavius adds, Icaria, Lerna, Ostypalia, Trachæa, and Nasura.

Province of Hæmimontus.

1. Adrianopolis. 2. Mesembria. 3. Sozopolis. 4. Plutinopolis. 5. Zoida: to which Leunclavius adds, 6. Agathopolis. 7. Debeltus. 8. Trabyzia. 9. Carabus. 10. Bucellus. 11. Probatus. 12. Scopelus. 13. Brisis. 14. Bulgarophugus.

The same Province.

1. Marcianopolis. 2. Rhodostolus. 3. Tramariscus. 4. Nobi. 5. Zecedopa. 6. Sarcara.

The same Province; which is otherwise called Rhodope in Leunclavius.

1. Trajanopolis. 2. Perus. 3. Anastasiopolis: to which Leunclavius adds, 4. Didymotichus. 5. Macra. 6. Misinopolis. 7. Pora. 8. Xantha. 9. Peritheorium. 10. Theodorium.

Province of Phrygia Cappatiana.

1. Hierapolis. 2. Metellopolis. 3. Dionysopo-

lis. 4. Anastasiopolis. 5. Antæda. 6. Mosyna: with six others, which are inserted by mistake from the province of Hæmimontus. But Leunclavius adds, Autuda, Phobi, Ancyra, Synaus, Tiberiopolis, Cana, and Zana.

Province of Galatia Secunda.

1. Amorium. 2. Philomelium. 3. Docimeum. 4. Claneus. 5. Polybotus. 6. Pissia. Note, This province is called Phrygia in Leunclavius; but the cities are the same.

Here it is remarked in all the *notitias*, that the following metropolitans and their suffragans were taken from the Roman diocese, and added to Constantinople: viz. 1. Thessalonica. 2. Syracuse. 3. Corinth. 4. Rhegium. 5. Nicopolis. 6. Athens. 7. Patræ. 8. Novæ Patræ. As also the metropolitan of Seleucia in Isauria, or, as Leunclavius calls it, Pamphylia, with twenty-three bishops under him. Which conclude the *notitia* in Leunclavius: for it only contains the account of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Carolus a Sancto Paulo also wholly omits the Roman patriarchate, because his manuscript here, he says, was so corrupt that there was no sense to be made of it: but this defect is supplied by Goar and Bishop Beverege, in whose *notitias* the following account is given:—

The Province under the most glorious Eparch of Rome, or Italy.

Province of Rome, called Urbicaria.

1. Brittium. 2. Macæria. 3. Luna. 4. Neapolis. 5. Garanta. 6. Vintimilium. 7. Genues. 8. Sipontus. 9. Ponturoma. 10. Insulæ Centumcellæ. 11. Castrum Euoriæ. 12. Castrum Amalphes. 13. Castrum Getteon. 14. Castrum Tiberias. 15. Castrum Nepes. 16. Insula Comaniciæ. 17. Castrum Mulium. 18. Castrum Campsas. 19. Castrum Sorcum. 20. Castrum Susas. 21. Castrum Ilbas. 22. Castrum Anagnia.

Province of Campania.

1. Neapolis. 2. Brettania. 3. Pannonia. 4. Calabria. 5. Venetia. 6. Messina. 7. Vicovarina. 8. Taurata. 9. Apulia. 10. Castrum Opiterbetos. 11. Castrum Samnios. 12. Castrum Susias. 13. Castrum Regium. 14. Castrum Taurata. 15. Castrum Sygnias. 16. Castrum Gradum. 17. Castrum Patriarchias. 18. Castrum Scylaceum. 19. Castrum Martyrium. 20. Castrum Ormuvera. 21. Castrum Ortonos. 22. Castrum Oppiterbitum.

Isle of Sicily.

1. Syracuse. 2. Catana. 3. Tærebenium, al. Tauromenium. 4. Sesena, al. Messana. 5. Cephaludium. 6. Thermum. 7. Panormus. 8. Lilybæum. 9. Trocalis. 10. Acragantus, al. Agrigentum. 11. Tindarium. 12. Carine, al. Camarina. 13. Leontina. 14. Abeusis, al. Alesa. 15. Gaudus. 16. Melita. 17. Liparis. 18. Burcausus. 19. Didymi. 20. Urica. 21. Onarea. 22. Basiludin.

Province of Calabria.

1. Rhegium. 2. Locris. 3. Scylacias. 4. Cotronum, al. Croton. 5. Constantia. 6. Tropæum. 7. Tauriana. 8. Bibonum, al. Cibonum.

Provincia Annonaria.

1. Ravenna. 2. Phanus. 3. Olcusa, al. Asculum. 4. Polus, al. Fulginum. 5. Pecinus, al. Picenum. 6. Pisaurum. 7. Tergetra. 8. Augustopolis. 9. Talbitau. 10. Castrum Ferentinum. 11. Castrum Solernos. 12. Tulericum. 13. Castrum Zanga. 14. Castrum Nobo. 15. Castrum Eurinica. 16. Castrum Semania. 17. Vicomanto. 18. Castrum Vereles. 19. Castrum Tamia. 20. Castrum Varectelia. 21. Castrum Samugia. 22. Castrum Sora. 23. Castrum Suagallia. 24. Castrum Cisines.

Province of Æmia, leg. Æmilia.

1. Castrum Foropompus. 2. Castrum Brizilium. 3. Castrum Brinti.

Under the most glorious Eparch of Africa.

Province of Bizacia.

1. Carthago Proconsularis. 2. Sybiba. 3. Campsia. 4. Cileos. 5. Junce. 6. Talepte. 7. Cascala. 8. Castellæ. 9. Pezana. 10. Mamida. 11. Madasuba. 12. Colule. 13. Capse. 14. Adramytto.

Province of Numidia.

1. Calama. 2. Tebete. 3. Hippo Regius. 4. Nuzidias. 5. Castamagæ. 6. Bade. 7. Meleum. 8. Leradus. 9. Castrum Bedere, al. Castra Vetera. 10. Scele. 11. Egerinesium. 12. Titessin, al. Tididita. 13. Bage. 14. Constantina. 15. Sitiphi.

Province of Mauritania Prima.

1. Rhinocururum.

Province of Mauritania Secunda.

1. Septum. 2. Septum ad partem Tenessi. 3. Spanias. 4. Mesopot. ad partem Spaniæ. 5. Majurica, al. Majorica Insula. 6. Menyca, al. Minorica Insula. 7. Insula Sardon, vel Sardinia. 8. Carallus Metropolis. 9. Tures. 10. Sanaphas. 11. Sines. 12. Sulces. 13. Phœsiana. 14. Chrysopolis. 15. Aristiane. 16. Limne. 17. Castrum Tutar. Note, Goar's *notitia* reads most of these names differently, and makes but two of these three last, Christianæ Lacus and Tucca. Here Carolus a S. Paulo begins again.

In the Diocese of Egypt.

Province of Augustamnica Prima.

1. Pelusium, the metropolis. 2. Sethroetes. 3. Tanes. 4. Thmues. 5. Rhinocurura. 6. Ostracine. 7. Pentaschanon. 8. Casium. 9. Aphtheum. 10. Hiphestus. 11. Panephusus. 12. Geros. 13. Itageros. 14. Thenesus.

Province of Augustamnica Secunda.

1. Leonto Metropolis. 2. Athrabes. 3. Helius. 4. Bubastus. 5. Carbethus. 6. Arabius.

Province of Ægyptus Prima.

1. Alexandria sub duce et Augustali. 2. Hermopolis. 3. Milleos. 4. Costus. 5. Vicus Psaneos. 6. Vicus Cotrideos. 7. Sais. 8. Leontopolis. 9. Naucratia. 10. Andronicius. 11. Zenonopolis. 12. Paphna. 13. Onuphis. 14. Tava. 15. Cleopatris. 16. Mareotes. 17. Manelaitæ. 18. Schedia. 19. Ternuthes. 20. Sondra.

Province of Ægyptus Secunda.

1. Cabasa. 2. Phragon. 3. Pachnemon. 4. Diospolis. 5. Sebennytus. 6. Cœno. 7. Busiris. 8. Elearchia. 9. Regeon Paralus. 10. Vicus Parianæ. 11. Vicus Rhicomerium. 12. Xois: to which Goar's *notitia* adds Cyma, and makes Regeon and Paralus two distinct places.

Province of Arcadia.

1. Oxyrynchus. 2. Heracleus. 3. Cœno. 4. Nilopolis. 5. Arsinoetes. 6. Memphilitus, al. Memphis. Goar adds, Clisma, Theodosiopolis, Aphroditon, and Latopolis.

Province of Thebais Prima.

1. Antinous. 2. Hermopolis. 3. Theodosiopolis. 4. Polyco. 5. Hypsele. 6. Apollonias. 7. Anteios. 8. Panos. Goar adds Casus.

Province of Thebais Secunda.

1. Ptolemais. 2. Conto, al. Justinianopolis. 3. Diocletianopolis. 4. Diospolis. 5. Tentyra. 6. Maximianopolis. 7. Thebais. 8. Lato. 9. Iambon. 10. Hermonthon. 11. Apollonos. 12. Vicus Anassæ Magnæ. 13. Thebais Magna. 14. Ibis. 15. Mathon. 16. Trimunthon. 17. Erbon, al. Hermon.

Province of Libya.

1. Dranicon. 2. Paratonium. 3. Tranzala. 4. Ammoniaca. 5. Antipyrgus. 6. Antiphron. 7. Ædonias. 8. Marmarice.

Province of Libya Pentapolis.

1. Sozusa. 2. Cyrine. 3. Ptolemais. 4. Teuchera. 5. Adriane. 6. Beronica.

Province of Tripoli.

1. Tosibon. 2. Leptis. 3. Hyon.

In the Oriental Diocese.

Province of Cilicia.

1. Tarsus. 2. Pompeiopolis. 3. Sebaste. 4. Coricus. 5. Adana. 6. Augustopolis. 7. Mallos. 8. Zephurium.

Province of Cilicia Secunda.

1. Anazarbus. 2. Mopsuestia. 3. Ageia. 4. Epiphania. 5. Eirenopolis. 6. Flavias. 7. Alexandria. 8. Cabissus. 9. Castabala. 10. Rhossus.

Province of Isauria.

1. Seleucia. 2. Cilendre. 3. Anemorius. 4. Titiopolis. 5. Lamus. 6. Antiochia. 7. Heliu-Sebaste, al. Julio-Sebaste. 8. Cestra. 9. Selinuntes. 10. Jostape. 11. Diocæsarea. 12. Olya. 13. Hierapolis. 14. Dalisandus. 15. Claudiopolis. 16. Eirenopolis. 17. Germanicopolis. 18. Neapolis. 19. Zenonopolis. 20. Sbidæ. 21. Philadelphia. 22. Adrassus. 23. Meloe. 24. Domitiopolis. 25. Climata Nauzadeæ. 26. Cassorum. 27. Benæorum. 28. Golgosi. 29. Costradis.

Province of Syria Prima.

1. Antiochia ad Daphnen. 2. Paltus. 3. Seleucia. 4. Berrhœa. 5. Chalcis.

Province of Syria Secunda.

1. Apamea. 2. Arethusa. 3. Epiphania. 4. Larissa. 5. Mariamne. 6. Seleucobelus. 7. Raphanæa.

Province of Euphratisia or Hagiopolis.

1. Hierapolis. 2. Cyrus, al. Hagiopolis. 3. Samosata. 4. Doliche. 5. Germanicia. 6. Zeugma. 7. Perrhe. 8. Europus. 9. Nicopolis. 10. Schenarchia. 11. Cæsaria. 12. Sergiopolis. 13. Orimon. 14. Santon.

Province of Theodorias.

1. Laodicea. 2. Balanea. 3. Gabala. Goar adds Paltus.

Province of Osdroene.

1. Edessa. 2. Carræ. 3. Constantia. 4. Theodosiopolis. 5. Batnæ. 6. Callinicus, al. Leontopolis. 7. Nova Valentia. 8. Birthon. 9. Monithilla. 10. Therimachon. 11. Moniauga. 12. Macarta. 13. Marcopolis. 14. Anastasia. 15. Hemerius. 16. Circisia.

Province of Mesopotamia Superior, or Armenia Quarta.

1. Amida. 2. Martyropolis. 3. Darus. 4.

Castrum Ricephas. 5. Castrum Turandios. 6. Castrum Mardes. 7. Castrum Lornes. 8. Castrum Riphton. 9. Castrum Isphrios. 10. Castrum Tzauras. 11. Castrum Audasson. 12. Castrum Amarmes. 13. Castrum Tzinobias. 14. Castrum Banabelorum. 15. Castrum Intzietorum. 16. Castrum Chaddorum. 17. Castrum Æsudios. 18. Castrum Masphronas. 19. Castrum Basilicum. 20. Castrum Spelon et Odelorum. 21. Castrum Bijubaithas. 22. Castrum Manassarorum. 23. Castrum Phirtachabras. 24. Castrum Siteon Chiphas. 25. Castrum Calonos. 26. Castrum Bibasarorum. 27. Castrum Tzauras. 28. Castrum Birthas. 29. Castrum Attachas. 30. Castrum Aphuborum. 31. Castrum Florianarum. 32. Castrum Arimachorum. 33. Castrum Baluos. 34. Castrum Daphnudin. 35. Castrum Samochartorum.

The other Armenia.

1. Dademon. 2. Arsamusaton. 3. Polichne. 4. Chosana. 5. Chosomacha. 6. Citharizæ. 7. Castrum Marticertum. 8. Castrum Baiulæos. 9. Castrum Polios. 10. Castrum Ardon. 11. Clima Sophines. 12. Regio Jalimbana, where Basilius was born, who wrote the present account. 13. Clima Anzetines. 14. Clima Digesines. 15. Clima Garines. 16. Clima Orziacines. 17. Clima Bilabitenes. 18. Clima Astianices. 19. Clima Mamuzurarum.

Province of Phœnicia Maritima.

1. Tyrus. 2. Sidon. 3. Ptolemais. 4. Beritus. 5. Biblus. 6. Tripolis. 7. Arcæ. 8. Orthosias. 9. Botrys. 10. Vicus Gegarta. 11. Arados. 12. Antarados. 13. Paneas. 14. Gonasitii Saltus. 15. Vicus Politianus. 16. Vicus Trieris.

Province of Phœnicia Libani.

1. Emissa. 2. Laodicea. 3. Heliopolis. 4. Abilla. 5. Damascus. 6. Clima Jabrudorum. 7. Evarius, al. Justinianopolis. 8. Talmyra: in Goar it is Palmyra. 9. Clima Maglydorum. 10. Saltum Gonæticum. 11. Salamias. 12. Clima Orientale.

Province of Palestina[6] Prima.

1. Ælia, or Jerusalem. 2. Cæsarea. 3. Dora. 4. Antipatris. 5. Diospolis, al. Georgiopolis. 6. Jamnia. 7. Nicopolis. 8. Onus. 9. Sozusa. 10. Joppa. 11. Ascalon. 12. Gaza. 13. Raphia. 14. Anthedon. 15. Diocletianopolis. 16. Eleutheropolis. 17. Neapolis. 18. Sebaste. 19. Regio Apathus. 20. Regio Jericho. 21. Regio Libyæ. 22. Regio Gadara. 23. Azotus Maritima. 24. Azotus Hippinis. 25. Acomazon. 26. Bittymos. 27. Tricomias. 28. Toxus. 29. Saltum Constantiniani. 30. Saltum Geraiticum, al. Barsamon.

Province of Palestina Secunda.

1. Scythopolis. 2. Gadara. 3. Pellæ. 4. Abila. 5. Capetomas. 6. Diocæsarea. 7. Maximianopolis. 8. Gabæ. 9. Tiberias. 10. Hippos. 11. Helenopolis. 12. Clima Gælanes. 13. Tetracomia. 14. Comenais.

Province of Palestina Tertia.

1. Petra. 2. Augustopolis. 3. Arindela. 4. Charagmuda. 5. Areopolis. 6. Mapsis. 7. Elusa. 8. Zoara. 9. Birosabon. 10. Elas. 11. Pentacomia. 12. Mamopsora. 13. Metrocomia. 14. Saltum Hieraticum. Goar divides two of these into four, reading them thus, Salton, Mamo, Psora, Hieraticon.

Province of Arabia.

1. Bostra. 2. Adrasus. 3. Dia. 4. Medaba. 5. Gerassa. 6. Neva. 7. Philadelphia. 8. Esbus. 9. Neapolis. 10. Philippopolis. 11. Phenutus. 12. Constantina. 13. Dionysias. 14. Pentacomia. 15. Tricomia. 16. Canothas. 17. Saltum. 18. Bataneos. 19. Exacomia. 20 Enacomia. 21. Vicus Gonias. 22. Vicus Cherus. 23. Vicus Stanes. 24. Vicus Caberæ. 25. Vicus Coreathæ. 26. Vicus Bilbanus. 27. Vicus Caprorum. 28. Vicus Pyrgoaretarum. 29. Vicus Setnes. 30. Vicus Ariacharum. 31. Neotes. 32. Clima Orientalium et Occidentalium. 33. Vicus Ariathæ Saxosæ. 34. Vicus Bebdamus.

Province of Armenia Magna.

Concerning this the author only remarks, that it is an *autocephalus*, or independent country, not subject to any apostolical throne, but honoured in respect to St. Gregory of Armenia, having two hundred cities and castles.

Province of Cyprus.

The author makes the same observation upon this country, that it is an independent also, in honour of St. Barnabas the apostle, who was found here, having the Gospel of St. Mark laid upon his breast. The cities in this province are,

1. Constantia, the metropolis. 2. Citium. 3. Amathus. 4. Curium. 5. Paphus. 6. Arsenæ. 7. Soli. 8. Lapithus, the birth-place of Georgius Cyprius, who wrote the book out of which these were taken. 9. Cyrenia. 10. Tamasus. 11. Cythri. 12. Trimithus. 13. Carpasin.

There is added at the end of Goar's *notitia:* This account was taken anno 6391, in the reign of the

[6] Note, This province and the next are wanting both in Carolus a Sancto Paulo and Goar.

emperor Leo Sapiens, and under the patriarch Photius, that is, anno 891.

In this description of the church, the reader may observe, that the author being a Greek, is much more accurate in his account of the Greek and Eastern churches, than of the Western and Latin: for here is no account of France, Spain, Britain, Illyricum; and such confused and imperfect accounts of the provinces of Italy and Africa, as show plainly, that the author was not rightly acquainted with the state of the church in those countries; at least not in Italy; for in all Italy and Sicily here are not mentioned above a hundred dioceses, and yet it is clear from the accounts that have been given before out of the subscriptions of ancient councils, that there were nearer three hundred dioceses in those regions. Above one hundred and fifty Italian bishops of distinct sees are found subscribed in one age in the Roman councils held under Hilary, Felix, and Symmachus, and there were almost as many more not mentioned in those councils, but to be found in other councils and ancient records. And though when these *notitias* were made, several of the ancient dioceses might be united together, yet it appears from the subscriptions of the Roman councils under Eugenius II. and Leo IV. in the ninth century, that there were above double the number to what the *notitias* mention. So that it must be owned, that they give but an imperfect account of the Latin or Western church. But the account of the Greek and Eastern churches is more complete, and agrees very well with the subscriptions collected out of the ancient councils. And so they one confirm another, and both together fully make out the account that has been given both of the number and extent of dioceses in the ancient church.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE DIVISION OF DIOCESES INTO PARISHES, AND THE FIRST ORIGINAL OF THEM.

Sect. 1. Of the ancient names of parish churches.

THERE remains but one thing more to be inquired into on this head, which is the division of dioceses into such lesser precincts as we now call parishes and parish churches. Concerning which I shall here need to say the less, because so much has already been said incidentally in speaking of the extent of ancient dioceses, which we have generally found too large to be confined to a single congregation. All that I shall add upon this subject, therefore, in this place, is only to make a few remarks upon the ancient names of parishes, (because some of them are a little ambiguous,) and show when, and upon what account, and by what degrees dioceses were divided into parishes, to bring them to the present state and form of the church. As to the ancient names, I have had occasion to show before, that the words *παροικία*, and *διοίκησις*, for the three first ages were of the same importance, denoting not what we now call a parish church, but a city with its adjacent towns or country region. But in the fourth and fifth ages we find both names promiscuously given as well to country parishes, as episcopal or city churches. For now these lesser divisions of dioceses began to be called *parochiæ*, as may be seen in the council of Chalcedon,[1] which ordered, That in every church such country parishes as belonged of old time to any bishop, should continue in his possession without any molestation. And in the council of Vaison, anno 442, a decree was made,[2] That country parishes should have presbyters to preach in them, as well as the city churches. And so the word *parochia* is often used by St. Jerom,[3] Sulpicius Severus,[4] Theodoret,[5] Innocentius,[6] and other writers of those ages. Though still the name *parochia* continued to signify properly an episcopal diocese, from which it was transferred to denote those lesser *parochiæ*, because they were a sort of imitation of the former. Which is the account that Socrates[7] seems to give of them, when, speaking of the villages of the region of Maréotes that were subject to the bishop of Alexandria, he says, they were as so many *παροικίαι*, or lesser dioceses under his city. And upon the same reason the name *diocesis* was sometimes given to a parish church also, though it most properly belongs to an episcopal diocese. Thus Sidonius Apollinarius[8] speaks of his own visiting his dioceses, meaning only the parish churches under his episcopal jurisdiction. And so in the Collation of Carthage, it is said[9] of one place, that there was perfect unity not only in the city, but in all the dioceses, that is, the country parishes or villages belonging to it. Baluzius has observed the same[10] in Ruricius Lemovicensis,[11] and Gregory of

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[1] Concil. Chalced. can. 17. *Τὰς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἀγροικικὰς παροικίας, ἢ ἐγχωρίους μένειν ἀπαρασαλεύτως τοῖς κατέχουσιν αὐτὰς ἐπισκόποις.*

[2] Concil. Vaisionen. 1. c. 2. Placuit ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis, verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem.

[3] Hieron. cont. Vigilant. cap. 2.

[4] Sulpic. Sever. Dial. 1. c. 4.

[5] Theodor. Ep. 113.

[6] Innoc. Ep. ad Decent. c. 5.

[7] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 27. *Εἰσὶν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς παροικίαι.*

[8] Sidon. lib. 9. Ep. 16. p. 611. Peragratis forte diocesibus cum domum veni, &c.

[9] Collat. Carthag. Die 1. c. 176. Unitas illic perfecta est non solum in ipsa civitate, verum etiam in omnibus diocesibus.

[10] Baluz. Not. ad Gratian. p. 510.

[11] Ruricius Lemovic. lib. 2. Ep. 6.

Tours,[12] and some other writers. The reason of this appellation being, as I said before, for that these churches, whereupon single presbyters were fixed, were a sort of lesser dioceses, as the author of the Pontifical[13] under the name of Damasus terms them; and some canons give them[14] the name of *ecclesiæ diœcesanæ*, diocesan churches; and others, country or village churches, whence the presbyters residing on them were termed ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι, country presbyters, by the council of Neocæsarea,[15] in opposition to the city presbyters in the cathedral or mother church. Parish churches were also peculiarly called *tituli*, as has been noted before,[16] in contradistinction to the bishop's church; being such churches as had particular presbyters and deacons assigned to them, who upon that account are said to have a title. And some learned persons[17] are of opinion, that cardinal presbyters and deacons, at first, were no more but presbyters and deacons so deputed and affixed to the service of particular parish churches, and that as well at Rome as other places.

Sect. 2. The original of parish churches owing to necessity, and founded upon the apostolical rules of Christian communion.

As to the original of parish churches, there is no doubt but it was necessity, and the conveniences of celebrating Christian offices and holding Christian communion with greater ease, that first gave occasion to them. For when the multitude of believers increased so in large and populous cities, that one church could not contain them, there was a necessity of dividing the assembly, and erecting other churches, where all the solemnities of the Christian worship and the usual offices of Divine service might be performed, as well as in the mother church, to answer the apostolical ordinance of holding Christian communion one with another; which was according to what we read, Acts ii. 42, that men should continue "stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." The author of the Pontifical under the name of Damasus, in the Life of Marcellus, seems to say, that several of the Roman *tituli*, or parish churches, were erected[18] for the convenience of baptizing great multitudes that were converted from paganism, and for burying the martyrs. But if there was any necessity upon that account, there was doubtless a greater necessity upon another. For in those days, the whole body of the Christian church was used to communicate weekly at the Lord's table; and it being impossible that one church should suffice in large cities for this purpose, there was an absolute necessity of building more, that Christians might live in communion one with another. And so parish churches must be as ancient as the necessities of the church; and he that knows how to date the one, may easily date the original of the other for any particular city or diocese in the universe.

Sect. 3. Some of them probably as ancient as the times of the apostles.

But as cities and their appendant dioceses differed very much in their size and extent, so it is reasonable to believe, that some of them were obliged to build parish churches much sooner than others. And in such places as Jerusalem and Rome, there is great probability, from several passages in the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles, that there were more churches than one from the days of the apostles. However, it is undeniably evident from Optatus, as I have showed before, that Rome had above forty churches in it before the end of the third century, or in the beginning of the Diocletian persecution. As for the lesser cities, it will be no wonder to find some of them which had but one church whilst the persecution lasted; such as that city in Phrygia, which Lactantius speaks of, where he says, the church and all the people were burnt[19] together by one of the barbarous prefects in the last persecution. Valesius thinks Eusebius speaks of the same city, who says,[20] it was all Christian at that time, both magistrates and people, and therefore an army was sent against them, which burnt them all together, men, women, and children, as they were making their supplications to Christ their God. From which it may be concluded, that there were some cities, which were but what Eusebius calls this, πολίχναι, so very small, as to need no other church beside the bishop's cathedral, even when all the members of them were become universally Christian. And this may seem an argument to some, that there were anciently many episcopal dioceses that never had any parish churches.

Sect. 4. Some lesser cities had country parishes even in times of persecution.

But here it must be remembered, what has been abundantly proved before, that generally the ancient cities had their suburbs or country region belonging to them; and some that were very small cities, as Cyrus in Comagene, where Theodoret was bishop, had upon this account very large territories under their jurisdiction. And we find a great many instances of such country regions having country parishes, and country presbyters and deacons residing on them, even in the hottest times of perse-

[12] Greg. Turon. Hist. lib. 4. c. 13. lib. 6. c. 38.

[13] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. Viginti quinque titulos in urbe Roma constituit, quasi diœceses, propter baptismum et pœnitentiam multorum.

[14] Concil. Tarracon. can. 8.

[15] Concil. Neocæsar. can. 13.

[16] Book VIII. chap. 1. sect. 10.

[17] Vid. Joh. Fronto. Epist. de Canonicis Cardinalibus, Par. 1661.

[18] Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli.

[19] Lactant. Instit. lib. 5. c. 11. Aliqui ad occidendum præcipites extiterunt, sicut unus in Phrygia, qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo concremavit.

[20] Euseb. lib. 8. c. 11

cution; as appears from the canons of the council of Eliberius,[21] and those of Neocæsarea,[22] the former of which was held while the Diocletian persecution lasted, and the latter immediately after it was over, and yet both of them speak of country presbyters and deacons, to whom the care of Christian assemblies was committed. Epiphanius also[23] speaks of village presbyters belonging to the city Caschara in Mesopotamia in the middle of the third century, and Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, about the same time frequently mentions such in the regions of Arsinoe, Alexandria, and other cities of Egypt and Libya, in several fragments of his epistles, recorded in Eusebius, which have already been alleged, and need not here be repeated. From these and many other such instances it is evident, that as soon as the Christian religion began to spread itself from the cities into the country regions in any considerable manner, village churches were erected, and country presbyters fixed on them; the necessities and convenience of the church requiring it so to be for the greater benefit and edification of the whole community. Thus parish churches had their original both in city and country, not all at one time, nor by any general decree, but as the exigences of every diocese required, the bishop of which was always the properest judge, how many assistants he needed to help him to discharge the several offices belonging to him as chief superintendent of the city and territory under his jurisdiction. In France the council of Vaison speaks of country parishes in the beginning of the fifth century, as I have noted before in the first section of this chapter. But in England we have not so early an account of them, because the records we have remaining of the ancient British church, make no mention of parishes: and after the Saxon conversions were begun, it was some time before our dioceses were divided into parishes, and longer before they had appropriated revenues settled upon them. Some think Honorius, the fifth archbishop of Canterbury, divided so much of the nation as was converted, into parishes about the year 640. So Bishop Godwyn and Dugdale. But others think this division is rather to be understood of dioceses than parishes: for *parochia* in Bede commonly denotes a bishop's diocese, according to the ancient style and language of the church; as is evident from that canon of the council of Herudford mentioned in Bede,[24] which was held above thirty years after this supposed division of Honorius, in the time of Archbishop Theodore, anno 673, where it is decreed, That no bishop shall invade another's *parochia*, or diocese, but be content with the government of the people committed to him. Bishop Andrews[25] indeed brings this very canon for a proof of parishes being now settled all over the nation: but I conceive the other sense of the word *parochia* to be more proper to that place. Though I will not deny but that toward the latter end of this archbishop's time, who lived to the year 690, the division of parishes might be made. For Bede observes,[26] that religion and the affairs of the church made a greater progress in his time than ever they had done before. And Mr. Wheelock,[27] in his observations upon the place, cites an ancient manuscript, which speaks of the division of parishes as made under him. Now Christianity had spread itself into the country, and churches were built, and presbyters fixed upon them, and first-fruits and other revenues were settled by King Ina[28] among the West Saxons, and by Withred, king of Kent, in the council of Beconceld, anno 694, and patrons, when they founded churches, endowed them with lands for proper maintenance: all which seem to imply, that the original of country parishes was about the latter end of the seventh century in this nation, and in the next age they were fully settled.

Sect. 5. The city parishes not always assigned to particular presbyters, but served in common by the clergy of the bishop's church. This otherwise in country parishes.

But to return to the former times: it is further to be noted concerning the ancient manner of serving the city parish churches, that they were not usually committed to any particular presbyters, as those in the country regions were, but were served in common by the clergy of the bishop's church. Learned men conclude this from a passage in Epiphanius, who seems to note it as a particular custom at Alexandria, that all the churches there had their own particular presbyters assigned them, who dwelt near their own churches, every one in their own streets or divisions,[29] which the Alexandrians, in their own language, called *laura*. Petavius indeed[30] thinks Epiphanius was mistaken, and that it was not the peculiar custom of Alexandria, but common to all great cities, to have presbyters fixed upon all their churches. But Valesius[31] and other learned men defend Epiphanius against his censure, and show this to have been so singular a custom at Alexandria, that perhaps no other city in the world in that age, no, not Rome itself, which had above forty churches, had any one church appropriated to any

[21] Conc. Eliber. c. 77. [22] Conc. Neocæsar. c. 13.

[23] Epiph. Hær. 66.

[24] Bede, lib. 4. c. 5. Conc. Herudford. c. 2. Ut nullus episcoporum parochiam alterius invadat, sed contentus sit gubernatione creditæ sibi plebis.

[25] Andrews de Decimis, inter Opuscula, p. 152.

[26] Bede, lib. 5. c. 8. [27] Wheelock in loc.

[28] Inæ Leges Eccles. c. 4. Primitiæ seminum ad festum S. Martini redduntor, &c. ap. Spelman. p. 183. Conc. Beconceld. c. 1. Ibid. p. 191.

[29] Epiph. Hær. 69. Arian. c. 1.

[30] Petav. Annot. in loc.

[31] Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 1. c. 15. Maurice's Vindic. of the Prim. Ch. p. 65.

particular presbyter, but they were all served in common by the clergy of the bishop's church. Valesius observes, that it was so at Rome to the time of Innocent I., who speaks of his sending the bread of the consecrated eucharist to the presbyters ministering in the parish churches on the Lord's day, that they might not on that day think themselves[32] separated from his communion. So that they seem to have been the clergy of the great church, sent forth by turns only, to minister in the several *tituli* on the Lord's day; and then their having a title, or the care of a church, must mean no more but their being deputed in common to the service of the *tituli*, or parish churches, in contradistinction to the cathedral church. Something of this custom continued at Constantinople to the time of Justinian. For in one of his Novels[33] he takes notice of three churches, St. Mary's, Theodore's, and Irene's, which had no appropriated clergy belonging to them, but were served by the ministers of the great church, who officiated in them according to their courses. It is observed also by some, that a peculiar custom prevailed at Rome, to have two presbyters officiate in every church, whereas in other places there was but one. Dr. Maurice[34] infers this from a passage in the Comments of Hilary, the Roman deacon, who commonly goes under the name of St. Ambrose, who says, that though there were but seven deacons in all Rome, yet there was such a number of presbyters as to have two to officiate in every church,[35] because the inhabitants communicated twice a week, and there were sick persons to be baptized almost every day. But whether this custom was so peculiar to Rome, as to belong to no other church, is what I had rather the reader should believe upon that learned man's judgment, than my own assertion. As to country churches, the case is very plain, that presbyters were more early fixed and appropriated peculiarly to them, there being not the same convenience of serving them in common by the presbyters of the city church. Therefore we may observe, that the council of Neocæsarea[36] makes a distinction between the ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι, the country presbyters, and those of the city, forbidding the former to officiate in the city church, except in the absence of the bishop and city presbyters: which plainly implies, that country parishes were then served by fixed presbyters of their own, who had nothing to do with the service of the city church. And the same appears from the account which Athanasius gives of the presbyters of the villages of Mareotis under Alexandria, and many other passages of the ancient writers.

Sect. 6. Settled revenues not immediately fixed upon parishes at their first division, but paid into the common stock.

But we are to observe, that the being settled in a parish-cure, whether in city or country, did not immediately entitle a man to the revenue arising from that cure, whether in tithes or oblations, or any other kind. For, anciently, all church revenues were delivered into the common stock of the bishop's church, whence, by the direction and approbation of the bishop, who was the chief administrator of the revenues of his diocese, a monthly or an annual division was made among the clergy under his jurisdiction, as has been showed before, in giving an account of ecclesiastical revenues,[37] and their distribution. Where, among other things, it has been observed out of Theodorus Lector,[38] that at Constantinople no parish church had any appropriated revenues till the time of Gennadius, in the middle of the fifth century, anno 460, when Marcian's *œconomus* first ordered the clergy of every church to receive the offerings of their own church, whereas before the great church received them all. In the Western church, particularly in Spain, in the middle of the sixth century, it appears from the first council of Bracara, that the bishop and city clergy had still all their revenues in a common fund, which was divided into four parts, one for the bishop,[39] another for the clergy, a third for the fabric and lights of the church, and a fourth for the relief of the poor, to be dispensed by the hands of the archpresbyter or archdeacon, with the bishop's approbation. But the country clergy, as to their revenues, were now, or shortly after, upon a different foot: for in the second council of Bracara, which was held but nine years after the first, anno 572, we find a canon[40] forbidding bishops to have any share in the oblations of the parochial churches,

[32] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 5. Quarum presbyteri, quia die ipso propter plebem sibi creditam nobiscum convenire non possunt, idcirco fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt, ut se a nostra communione maxime illa die non judicent separatos.

[33] Justin. Novel. 3. c. 1.

[34] Maurice of Dioces. Episcop. p. 47.

[35] Ambros. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. Nunc autem septem diaconos esse oportet, et aliquantos presbyteros, ut bini sint per ecclesias, et unus in civitate episcopus.—Omni enim hebdomada offerendum est, etsi non quotidie peregrinis, incolis tamen vel bis in hebdomada, etsi non desint qui prope quotidie baptizentur ægri.

[36] Conc. Neocæsar. c. 13.

[37] Book V. chap. 6. sect. 1.

[38] Theodor. Lector. lib. 1. p. 553.

[39] Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 25. Placuit ut de rebus ecclesiasticis tres æquæ fiant portiones, id est, una episcopi, alia clericorum, tertia in reparatione vel in luminariis ecclesiæ. De quarta parte sive archipresbyter sive archidiaconus illam administrans, episcopo faciat rationem.

[40] Conc. Bracar. 2. c. 2. Placuit ut nullus episcoporum per suas diœceses ambulans, præter honorem cathedræ suæ, id est, solidos duos, aliquid aliud per ecclesias tollat. Neque tertiam partem ex quacunque oblatione populi in ecclesiis parochialibus requirat, sed illa tertia pars pro luminaribus ecclesiæ vel recuperatione servetur, et per singulos annos episcopo inde ratio fiat.

and assigning that third part to maintain the fabric and lights of the church; only allowing them to receive two *solidi* by way of honorary acknowledgment, (*honor cathedræ*, the canon terms it,) in their parochial visitations. So that at least from this time we may date the appropriation of revenues in Spain to the country parochial churches. In the same council there is another canon which corrects an abuse, that plainly implies such an appropriate settlement upon country churches. For some patrons,[41] it seems, would build churches on their own lands, not for piety, but for lucre's sake, that they might go halves with the clergy in whatever was collected of the oblations of the people. To remedy which inconvenience the council orders, That no bishop should consecrate any church for the future, that was built upon such abominable contract and tributary condition. This is a further evidence, that the revenues of country churches were then appropriated to them, else such abuses as these could not have had any foundation. But in Germany and France the revenues of the parochial churches seem to have continued in the hands of the bishop, at least he had his dividend of a fourth part, for some ages longer. For there are rules in the Capitulars of Baluzius and Goldastus's editions, which order[42] tithes and oblations to be divided into four parts, according to ancient canon, and one-fourth to be given to the bishop. And some learned persons,[43] who have narrowly examined our English constitution, seem to be of opinion, that the bishops had their portion of the ecclesiastical revenues with the parochial clergy for some considerable time after the first designation and settlement of parish churches. For they suppose, that originally the bishop's cathedral was the only church in a diocese, from whence itinerant or occasional preachers were sent to convert the country people, who for some time resorted to the cathedral for solemn Divine worship. Afterwards, by degrees, some other churches were built among them: first private oratories, or chapels, without any parish bounds, for the convenience of such as, being at too great distance from the cathedral, might more easily resort to them. Then parish churches with certain limits were erected, some by the liberality of the people themselves in more populous and wealthy places, others by the bishops, and others by the Saxon kings; but chiefly the lords of manors, the thanes, as they then called them, were the great instruments in this work of founding parish churches. Whence it was that parish bounds were conformed to the limits and extent of a manor, as I have showed that the bounds of an ancient diocese were to the territory of a city: and hence the lord of a manor had his original right of patronage and presentation. Yet this did not destroy the bishop's right to a share in the revenue of his whole diocese. But time made an alteration in this matter: for our bishops seem voluntarily to have relinquished their title to parochial revenues, as the Spanish bishops had done before them; though whether they made any canon about it, as the other did, I am not able to inform the reader. But Dr. Kennet has observed[44] out of Dugdale,[45] that notwithstanding the alteration that was made in this matter, the bishops of the Isle of Man continued to have their *tertiana*, or third part of all church revenues in that island. Which, I suppose, was because they were not liable to any alterations made here, as not being then of the English jurisdiction. Thus I have given a short account of the original and ancient state of parochial churches, but it is beyond my design to carry this inquiry any further. They who would know by what steps and encroachments parish churches lost their revenues again, first by the confusion of parish bounds, and a liberty granted to men to pay their tithes and oblations where they pleased, and then by appropriations to monasteries, and impropriations granted to laymen, may find these things handled at large in Dr. Kennet's elaborate Discourse of Impropriations and Augmentation of Vicarages, to which I refer the inquisitive reader.

THE CONCLUSION.

WHEREIN IS PROPOSED AN EASY AND HONOURABLE METHOD FOR ESTABLISHING A PRIMITIVE DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY (CONFORMABLE TO THE MODEL OF THE SMALLER SORT OF ANCIENT DIOCESES) IN ALL THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

All I have further to add upon this subject, is only to make one seasonable and useful reflection upon what has been discoursed in this last Book, with relation to the long wished-for union of all the churches of the Reformation in the same form of episcopal government, agreeable to the model and practice of the primitive church. One great ob-

[41] Conc. Bracar. 2. c. 6. Si quis basilicam non pro devotione fidei, sed pro quæstu cupiditatis ædificat, ut quicquid ibi de oblatione populi colligitur, medium cum clericis dividat, eo quod basilicam in terra sua quæstus causa condiderit, quod in aliquibus locis usque modo dicitur fieri. Hoc ergo de cetero observari debet, ut nullus episcoporum tam abominabili voto consentiat, &c.

[42] Capitular. lib. 7. c. 375. Quatuor partes ex omnibus (decimis et oblationibus) fiant.——Quarta episcopo referenda. Vid. Goldast. Constitut. Imper. t. 3. cap. 23. p. 158.

[43] See Dr. Kennet's Case of Impropriations, p. 9, &c. Mr. Wharton's Defence of Pluralities, chap. 2. p. 85.

[44] Case of Impropriations, p. 28.

[45] Dugdal. Monastic. Angl. t. 1. p. 718.

jection against the present diocesan episcopacy, and that which to many may look the most plausible, is drawn from the vast extent and greatness of most of the northern dioceses of the world, which makes it so extremely difficult for one man to discharge all the offices of the episcopal function. To take off the main force of which objection, I have been at some pains to show, that for the preservation of episcopacy, there is no necessity that all dioceses should be of the same extent, since there was so great difference in the bounds and limits of the ancient dioceses, but not the least difference about the forms or species of episcopal government, for all that, in any part of the primitive church. And therefore, if ever it shall please God to dispose the hearts of our brethren, in the churches of the Reformation, to receive again the primitive form of episcopacy, (which is much to be wished, and there seems in some of them to be a good inclination and tendency toward it,) there needs be no difficulty from this objection to hinder so useful and peaceable a design; because every church is at liberty to contract her own dioceses, and limit them with such bounds, as she judges most expedient for the edification and benefit of the whole community; there being no certain geometrical rule prescribed us about this, either in the writings of the apostles, or in the laws and practice of the primitive church, any further than that every city, or place of civil jurisdiction, should be the seat of an ecclesiastical magistracy, a bishop with his presbytery, to order the spiritual concerns of men, as the other does the temporal. That this was the general rule observed in the primitive church, I think, I have made it appear beyond all dispute, and that upon this ground there was so great a difference in the extent of dioceses sometimes in the same countries, as in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Italy, especially, because the cities differed so much in the extent of their territories, and the bounds and limits of their jurisdiction. Now, it is not very material in itself whether of these models be followed, since they are both primitive, and allowed in ancient practice. The Church of England has usually followed the larger model, and had very great and extensive dioceses: for at first she had but seven bishoprics in the whole nation, and those commensurate in a manner to the seven Saxon kingdoms. Since that time she has thought it a point of wisdom to contract her dioceses, and multiply them into above twenty; and if she should think fit to add forty or a hundred more, she would not be without precedent in the practice of the primitive church. Archbishop Cranmer was very well apprized of this, and therefore he advised King Henry VIII. to erect several new bishoprics, as a great means among other things for reforming the church. In pursuance of which advice the king himself drew up a list of near twenty new bishoprics which he intended to make, and a bill was passed in parliament, anno 1539, to empower the king to do this by his letters patent. The whole transaction and the names of the intended sees may be read at large in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 262. The thing indeed miscarried afterward, and by some accident was never effected; but notwithstanding it shows us the sense of the leading men in the Reformation. What therefore has been and still is allowable in this church, is allowable in others; that is, to multiply dioceses as necessity requires, and divide the great care and burden of the episcopal function into more hands for the greater benefit and advantage of the church. Whenever, therefore, any of the foreign churches of the protestant communion shall think fit to reassume again the ancient episcopal form of government among them, they may both with honour and ease frame to themselves such a model of small dioceses, as will not much exceed the extent of one of their classes, nor much alter its form, and yet be agreeable to the model of the lesser sort of dioceses in the primitive church. A temporary moderator, or a superintendent of a small district, such as are our rural deaneries, will easily be made a bishop, by giving him a solemn ordination to the perpetual office of governing the churches of such a district, as chief pastor, under whom all other inferior pastors of the same district must act in subordination to him, deriving their authority from his imposition of hands, and doing nothing without his consent and approbation. As this will secure the just authority and veneration of episcopal superintendency, whilst, according to the rule of Ignatius, nothing is done without the bishop in the church; so will it be agreeable to the model of the ancient church, which had many small dioceses as well as large ones, particularly in Italy, where many episcopal sees were not above five or six miles from one another, and their dioceses not above ten or twelve miles in extent, such as Narnia and Interamnia, Fidenæ, Fulginum, Hispellum, Forum Flaminii, and many others, that have been particularly spoken of in the foregoing Book. There are now a great many such dioceses in Italy in the realm of Naples, where the whole number is a hundred and forty-seven, twenty of which are archbishoprics; and some of them so small as not to have any diocese beyond the walls of the city, as is particularly noted by Dr. Maurice[1] and others, of Campana and Vesta, out of Ughellus's Italia Sacra, whence it is observed also, that Cava in the same kingdom had but five hundred communicants belonging to it. And there are some dioceses at

[1] Maurice, Diocesan Episc. p. 132.

present in the southern parts of France, which I am told do not very much exceed that proportion. The bishopric of the Isle of Man has now but seventeen parishes, and in Bede's time[2] the whole island had but the measure of three or four hundred families, according to what was then the English way of computation, though the Isle of Anglesea had thrice that number. So that though dioceses in the protestant churches should be thus contracted, yet no other church, where episcopacy is already settled, can have any just reason to complain of such an episcopacy as this, so long as it appears to be agreeable to the original state, and exactly conformable to ancient practice. Nor can any churches then have ground for dispute with one another about external polity and government, though the dioceses of one church happen to be larger or smaller than those of another; so long as they have each their precedents in the ancient church, they may treat one another with the same catholic charity as the ancient churches did, among whom we never find the least footstep of a dispute upon this foundation. Nor is there now any dispute between the two sister churches of England and Ireland upon this head, though the one has enlarged and the other contracted her dioceses since the Reformation. For in Ireland there are not now above half the number of dioceses that there were before, and consequently they must needs be larger by uniting them together. In England there are more in number than formerly, some new ones being erected out of the old ones, and at present the whole number augmented to three times as many as they were for some ages after the first conversion. Beside that we have another way of contracting dioceses in effect here in England, appointed by law, which law was never yet repealed, which is by devolving part of the bishop's care upon the *chorepiscopi*, or suffragan bishops, as the law calls them: a method commonly practised in the ancient church in such large dioceses as those of St. Basil and Theodoret, one of which had no less than fifty *chorepiscopi* under him, if Nazianzen rightly informs us; and it is a practice that was continued here all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and even to the end of King James; and is what may be revived again whenever any bishop thinks his diocese too large, or his burden too great to be sustained by himself alone. From hence I conclude, that the multiplying bishops and contracting of dioceses in the protestant churches, can give no just offence to any other episcopal churches, since it was ever practised in the ancient church, and is now practised in some of the churches of the Reformation, where still the dioceses remain so great, as to be capable of being divided each into ten, without altering the species of episcopacy, or infringing any rule of the catholic church. If this consideration may contribute anything toward the settlement of a primitive episcopacy in such churches of the Reformation as are still without it, (which may be done by ordaining a supreme pastor in every great town, where there is a civil magistracy, with lesser towns and villages in its dependence, which was the ancient notion of a city when episcopacy was first settled by the apostles,) I shall then think my pains and labour, which have not been small, in discovering the extent and measure of so many ancient dioceses, to be still so much the more useful, not only as opening a way to a clear understanding of the state of the ancient church, but as promoting the unity and firmer settlement of the present church, whose general interest, and not that of any particular church or party interfering with it, I have proposed to myself in this whole work to prosecute and serve. The God of peace and truth prosper the endeavours of all those who have no other design.

APPENDIX.

Having given no particular catalogue of the ancient dioceses in the six African provinces, in the foregoing Book, as of all other provinces in the world; lest it should be thought an omission, I have here subjoined an account of them, as collected by Carolus a Sancto Paulo and Holstenius, out of the ancient councils, and the Collation of Carthage, and the *notitia* of Africa, published by Sirmondus, among his Miscellanies, and the works of St. Austin, and Victor Vitensis, who speaks of one hundred and sixty-four bishops in the first of these provinces, called Zeugitana, or the Proconsular Africa; though Car. a Sancto Paulo could find the names only of one hundred and two dioceses, and some of these named twice or thrice over. For Bolita, and Vallis, and Vol, are but three names for

[2] Bede, lib. 2. c. 9.

the same city. So Abdera, and Abbirita, and Abbir Germaniciorum, are the same. As also Sicca and Zigga. Duassedemsai and Duæsenepsalitinæ, two corrupt names for the city Selemsal, as Holstenius observes in his remarks upon them.

In Provincia Zeugitana, otherwise called Africa Proconsularis.

1. Carthago. 2. Sicilibra. 3. Maxula. 4. Vallis. 5. Uthina. 6. Tuburbo. 7. Abdera. 8. Assurus. 9. Tucabor, al. Tucca Terebinthina. 10. Altibura. 11. Vazua. 12. Ammedera. 13. Sicca Venerea. 14. Thinnissa. 15. Tuburbo Minus. 16. Membresa. 17. Melzita. 18. Utica. 19. Theudalis. 20. Hippozaritus, al. Hippo-Diarritorum. 21. Membro. 22. Lapda. 23. Bulla Regia. 24. Tennona, al. Tunnona. 25. Beneventum. 26. Simithu. 27. Thele. 28. Carpis. 29. Utimmira. 30. Misua. 31. Duassedemsai. 32. Migripa. 33. Puppiana. 34. Puppita. 35. Urcita, forsan Uci. 36. Gisipa. 37. Uzita, Uci. 38. Bonusta. 39. Cicsita. 40. Neapolis. 41. Culcita. 42. Curubis. 43. Cœfala. 44. Bulla. 45. Clypea. 46. Meglapolis. 47. Timida Regia. 48. Zigga. 49. Semina. 50. Parisium, forsan Pertusa. 51. Rucuma. 52. Talbora. 53. Tagarata. 54. Cellæ. 55. Uzippare. 56. Abbir Germanicia. 57. Ausana, al. Ausapha. 58. Tabuca. 59. Maraggarita, al. Naraggarita. 60. Muzua. 61. Abitina. 62. Tituli. 63. Eudala. 64. Casula. 65. Tulana. 66. Vina, al. Viva. 67. Volita, al. Bolita. 68. Tunes. 69. Mattiana. 70. Hilta. 71. Zarna. 72. Cubdis. 73. Municipitogia. 74. Elibia. 75. Pia. 76. Tadua. 77. Uzala. 78. Tizzica. 79. Abora. 80. Libertina. 81. Scilita. 82. Absasalla. 83. Aradita. 84. Veri. 85. Ciumtuburbo, which Holstenius takes to be a corrupt reading for Civ. M. Tuburbo. 86. Ofita. 87. Municipium Canapium. 88. Nummula. 89. Tauracina. 90. Ucala. 91. Sinuara. 92. Succuba. 93. Horta, vel Horrea. 94. Trisipellis. 95. Giutrambacaria. 96. Villa Magna. 97. Tigimma. 98. Bolita. 99. Aga. 100. Cæcirita. 101. Tatia Montanensis. 102. Mullita. 103. Duæ Senepsalitinæ, al. Selemsilita. 104. Eguge. Holstenius adds, Furni, Simingita, Aptunga, and Simidita.

In Numidia.

1. Cirta, al. Constantina, the civil metropolis of this province. 2. Cullu. 3. Rusicade. 4. Vaga, al. Bagaia. 5. Lares. 6. Mileum, rectius Milevum. 7. Idicra. 8. Cuiculum. 9. Nobas Parsa. 10. Diana. 11. Gemellæ. 12. Cullicitanis. Holstenius reckons it the same with Culcita. 13. Zama Regia, the royal seat of King Juba. 14. Lambiri. 15. Sinitu. 16. Aquæ Tibilitanæ. 17. Hippo Regius. 18. Tubursica. 19. Calama. 20. Gasauphala, al. Gazophyla. 21. Tigillaba. 22. Rotaria. 23. Tipasa. 24. Tagaste. 25. Thagura, al. Tagora. 26. Altaba. 27. Vegesela. 28. Mascula. 29. Macomades. 30. Tamugada. 31. Lambæsa. 32. Tabuda. 33. Bercera. 34. Municipium, al. Municipium Tullense. 35. Burca. 36. Vada. 37. Centenaria. 38. Niba. 39. Amphora. 40. Buconia. 41. Sugita, al. Siguita. 42. Putea. 43. Ausucurro. 44. Fussala. 45. Noba Barbara. 46. Idassa. 47. Monte. 48. Lamsorte. 49. Tididita. 50. Casæ Medianæ. 51. Cethaquensusca, al. Cathaquensa. 52. Centuzia. 53. Noba Germania. 54. Susicasia. 55. Noba Cæsaris. 56. Vazarita, al. Bazarita. 57. Ressana. 58. Augurium. 59. Octabum. 60. Gilba. 61. Mathara. 62. Midila. 63. Punentiana. 64. Metæ. 65. Cæsarea. 66. Nobasina. 67. Cœlia. 68. Zattara. 69. Tarassa. 70. Castellum Titulianum. 71. Girus Marcelli. 72. Sillita, al. Sillilita. 73. Hizirzada. 74. Rusticiana. 75. Madaurus. 76. Buffada. 77. Sistroniana. 78. Regium. 79. Tegla. 80. Casæ Nigræ. 81. Tubunia. 82. Tigisi. 83. Zabi. 84. Narangara. 85. Musti. 86. Centurio. 87. Aquæ Novæ. 88. Tebeste. 89. Babra. 90. Moxorita. 91. Tamogazia. 92. Respecta. 93. Legiæ. 94. Mazaca. 95. Lugura. 96. Turres Concordiæ. 97. Belesase. 98. Gaudiabe. 99. Garbis. 100. Marculita. 101. Suaba. 102. Germania. 103. Vadesita. 104. Naratcata. 105. Lamiggiza. 106. Lamiggiga. 107. Vagarmilita, al. Magarmelita, et Aquæ. 108. Turres Ammeniarum. 109. Mulia. 110. Ospitum. 111. Vagada, al. Vaga, Vaiana, et Bagaia. 112. Lamasua. 113. Tacarata. 114. Ullita, al. Vallita. 115. Seleucia, al. Solentiana. 116. Vada. 117. Maximiana. 118. Zaradta. 119. Girus Tarasi. 120. Vicus Pacis. 121. Tabraca. 122. Tucca. 123. Quidia. 124. Castellum. 125. Milevi. 126. Gira. 127. Fesseita. 128. Damatcore. 129. Mada. 130. Casæ Calaneæ. 131. Arsicarita. 132. Vesili, rectius Vegesela. 133. Villa Regia. 134. Legæ. 135. Lamfua. 136. Vagrava. 137. Gilba. 138. Sile. 139. Gauriana. 140. Forme. 141. Forme altera. 142. Fatum. Holstenius adds nine more—Vicus Nigras, Drusiliana, Zuma, or Summa, Constantia, Limata, Mutugenna, Zerta, Sululitta, Centuria; but then he thinks some others are twice repeated, as Mileum and Milevis, Zabi and Zama, Vaga and Vagada, Veseli and Vegesela, Tamagazia and Tamaguda, Culsita and Cullisitanis, Germania and Nova Germania: and Quida belongs to Mauritania Cæsariensis.

In Byzacena.

1. Adrumetum, the civil metropolis. 2. Horrea Cœlia. 3. Tagasa. 4. Turreblandis. 5. Medianum. 6. Sufes. 7. Afufenia. 8. Cillita. 9. Vicus Ateriæ. 10. Mibiarcesis. 11. Segermis. 12. Miriciana. 13. Gatiana, al. Garriana, et Gratiana. 14. Suffetula. 15. Dicea. 16. Tices. 17. Ancusa. 18. Mascliana. 19. Vadentiniana, al. Va-

lentiniana. 20. Nara. 21. Seberiana. 22. Tubulbaca. 23. Midita. 24. Tambaia. 25. Jubeclidia. 26. Neptita. 27. Bubelia. 28. Cellæ. 29. Decoriana. 30. Putea. 31. Theuzita. 32. Mactaris, al. Matiris. 33. Thagamuta. 34. Autentum. 35. Abaradira. 36. Bana. 37. Octabium. 38. Octabum. 39. Aquiaba. 40. Hermiana. 41. Paradamium, al. Feradi Minor. 42. Turris. 43. Taraza. 44. Crepedula. 45. Trofiniana. 46. Leptis Minor. 47. Feradimaia, al. Feradi Major. 48. Temuniana, vel Temoniara. 49. Unizibira. 50. Tamalluma. 51. Muzuca. 52. Massimana. 53. Serbatiana. 54. Marazana. 55. Pederodiana. 56. Tuzurita. 57. Matarita. 58. Usula. 59. Irpiniana, al. Hierpiniana. 60. Aquæ Albenses. 61. Menephessa. 62. Capse. 63. Acola, al. Aquila. 64. Tasbalte. 65. Municipia, et Gernisiæ. 66. Tizia. 67. Ruspe. 68. Vararita. 69. Febianum. 70. Cebaradefa. 71. Foratiana. 72. Boana. 73. Mimiana. 74. Telepte. 75. Præsidium. 76. Natio. 77. Maraguia. 78. Tetcitana. 79. Macriana. 80. Gurgaita. 81. Cululi. 82. Arsurita, al. Sarsurita. 83. Tagarbala. 84. Aquæ Regiæ. 85. Quæstoriana. 86. Carcabia. 87. Victoriana. 88. Materiana. 89. Hirina. 90. Gummi. 91. Morotheorita. 92. Ticualta. 93. Auzegera. 94. Gawarita. 95. Helia. 96. Talapte. 97. Limica. 98. Junca. 99. Thenæ. 100. Jubaltiana. 101. Tamaza. 102. Unuricopolis. 103. Aggir, al. Aggarita. 104. Bizacium. 105. Tapsus. 106. Madassumma. 107. Tysurus. 108. Septimunicia. 109. Amurdasa. 110. Abidus, al. Aviduvicus. 111. Benefensis. 112. Dura. 113. Rufiniana. 114. Forontoniana. 115. Egnatia. 116. Frontoniana. 117. Tegariata. 118. Aggarita. 119. Garriana. 120. Castrum. 121. Vite, where Victor Vitensis was bishop, who wrote the History of the Vandalic Persecution. 122. Circina. 123. Præcausa. 124. Cufruta. 125. Filace. 126. Oppenua. 127. Sublecte. 128. Cenculiana. 129. Suluiana. 130. Vassinassa. 131. Aquæ. Holstenius adds to these eight more, Taphrura, Tiella, or Zella, Cabarsussis, Tysurus, Tysdros, Casulæ Cariunæ, Dionysiana, Aquæ. But then he reckons some names unnecessarily repeated, as Miriciana and Maracia, which are but two names for the same city; so Boana and Bana; and Gurgaita the same with Gurges in Mauritania Cæsariensis.

In Mauritania Sitifensis.

1. Sitifi. 2. Tamalluma. 3. Acufida. 4. Ficus. 5. Lemfocta. 6. Perdices. 7. Tubusuptus. 8. Tucca. 9. Lesuita. 10. Flumen Piscis. 11. Privatum. 12. Gegita. 13. Satafa. 14. Cellæ. 15. Gadamusa. 16. Zabi. 17. Assapha. 18. Vamalla. 19. Surista. 20. Saldæ. 21. Horrea. 22. Aquæ Albæ. 23. Igilgili, al. Eguilguili. 24. Zarai. 25. Parthenium. 26. Marovana. 27. Cidamus. 28. Macri. 29. Tamagrista. 30. Aræ. 31. Mozota, al. Mopta. 32. Hippa. 33. Tamascania. 34. Vescetra. 35. Assuoremita. 36. Serteita. 37. Melicbuza. 38. Covium. 39. Oliva. 40. Equizotum. 41. Castellum. 42. Eminentiana. 43. Nobalicia. 44. Lemelefi, al. Lemellense Castellum. 45. Socia. 46. Zallata. Holstenius adds three more, Zabunia, or Medianæ Zabuniorum, Vamaccora, or Bamaccora, and Macriana; but rejects Satafa, as belonging rather to Cæsariensis, where it is also repeated.

In Mauritania Cæsariensis and Tingitana.

1. Cæsarea. 2. Ala Miliarensis. 3. Bilta. 4. Bacanaria. 5. Caputcillanum, al. Caputcellæ. 6. Cissæ. 7. Castellum Medianum. 8. Gurgites. 9. Columnæ. 10. Icosium. 11. Florianum. 12. Minna. 13. Obba. 14. Maturbum. 15. Reperitanum. 16. Rusubicari. 17. Suffara, al. Suffasar. 18. Rustonium. 19. Tigis. 20. Aquæ. 21. Tabora. 22. Mamilla. 23. Sumula, al. Subbula. 24. Ubaba. 25. Tadama. 26. Zuchabari. 27. Tipasa. 28. Ida. 29. Timisi. 30. Tasacora. 31. Vagal. 32. Cartenna. 33. Gratianopolis. 34. Masucaba. 35. Pamaria. 36. Lapidia. 37. Bulturia. 38. Malliana. 39. Castellum Tetraportiense. 40. Bapara. 41. Tamazuca. 42. Quidium. 43. Serta. 44. Ita. 45. Girumons. 46. Panatoria. 47. Sucarda. 48. Fidoloma. 49. Novæ. 50. Usunada. 51. Flumenzerita. 52. Amaura. 53. Sestum. 54. Taranamusa. 55. Nasbinca. 56. Villanoba. 57. Vardimissa. 58. Catula. 59. Regium. 60. Vaudinum. 61. Capra. 62. Rusucurrum. 63. Sfasteria. 64. Timida. 65. Tabla. 66. Rusgonia. 67. Leosita. 68. Oppidum Novum. 69. Aquisira. 70. Tigava. 71. Rusadir. 72. Castellum. 73. Mutecita. 74. Albula. 75. Bita. 76. Mauriana. 77. Baliana. 78. Arsenaria. 79. Oborita. 80. Labdia. 81. Tenissa. 82. Catabita. 83. Herpis. 84. Voncaria. 85. Gypsaria. 86. Tamadempsis. 87. Vagæ. 88. Tabadcara. 89. Catra, vel Castra. 90. Elephantaria. 91. Garra. 92. Murconium. 93. Ida. 94. Thubunæ. 95. Oppinum. 96. Tuscamia. 97. Gunagita. 98. Maxita. 99. Satafa. 100. Vissalsa. 101. Adsinuada. 102. Castellum Ripense. 103. Numidia. 104. Tamuda. 105. Caltadria. 106. Subur. 107. Ambia. 108. Murustaga. 109. Fallaba. 110. Bida. 111. Manaccenseri. 112. Tifilta, al. Tisilta. 113. Castellum Minus. 114. Tigamibena. 115. Junca. 116. Corniculana. 117. Nobica. 118. Frontæ. 119. Castellum Jabaritanum. 120. Sereddeli. 121. Agna. 122. Macania. 123. Sitæ. 124. Altaba. 125. Benepota. 126. Castra Seberiani. 127. Siccesa. 128. Flenucletu. 129. Metagonium. 130. Voncariana. 131. Maiuca. 132. Nabala. 133. Maura. 134. Tingaria. But Holstenius observes seven of these to be supernumerary; for Zuchabar and Subur are but two names for the same city. So Rustonium and Rusgonia differ only in the manner of pro-

nunciation. Timida belongs to the Proconsular Africa; and Labdia is the same as Lapda in the said province. Herpis is put for Irpiniana in Byzacena; Metagonium for Mutugenna in Numidia; and Macania for Macriana in Byzacena.

In Tripolis.

1. Leptis Magna. 2. Sabrata. 3. Girba. 4. Oea. 5. Tacape.

Beside these sees, which are thus assigned to their respective provinces, Carolus a Sancto Paulo exhibits an alphabetical list of several others, which he could not certainly fix in any province. But Holstenius, in his critical remarks upon them, observes, that a great many of these are only corruptions of the forementioned names; and therefore I shall here give them with his corrections, and some additions that he has made to them from his own observations.

1. Aurusuliana.
2. Advocata.
3. Asenemsala, which Holstenius takes to be the same with Senemsala, in Africa Proconsularis.
4. Ausugabra.
5. Acemerina.
6. Ambura; the same with Amphora in Numidia.
7. Abbeza.
8. Azuga; a mistake for Vaga.
9. Anguia.
10. Abissa.
11. Apissana.
12. Assaba.
13. Aptuca, a city in Africa Proconsularis.
14. Amaccura, leg. Ab Accura.
15. Aquitana.
16. Ausuagiga.
17. Abbir, the same with Abbarita in Africa.
18. Aniusa, added by Holstenius.
19. Arena, idem.
20. Bellulita.
21. Bazita.
22. Botriana.
23. Bamacora, the same with Vamacora in Mauritania Sitifensis.
24. Burugia.
25. Bauzara.
26. Bofeta, the same with Buffada in Numidia.
27. Bazarididaca.
28. Bosuta.
29. Bencenna.
30. Bartinifia.
31. Betagbara.
32. Bucara; the same with Boncara in Mauritania.
33. Buslacena.
34. Bagai, the same with Vagada, or Vaiana in Numidia.
35. Badi, Holstenius adds three more.
36. Bladia.
37. Burita.
38. Buronita.
39. Castrum Galbæ.
40. Cedias.
41. Chullabi.
42. Cibaliana.
43. Casæ Silvanæ.
44. Cemerinianu.
45. Clia. A corruption of Elia, or Helia, in Byzacena.
46. Cathaugura.
47. Cena.
48. Caviopitavora.
49. Cincarita.
50. Catagna; the same with Cataquensa in Numidia.
51. Celerina.
52. Cenesta; the same with Tevesta in Numidia.
53. Casæ Bastalenses.
54. Casæ Favenses.
55. Cilibia.
56. Cebarsussa. To these Holstenius adds,
57. Cancopita.
58. Ceramussa.
59. Cæsariana.
60. Dydarita.
61. Drusiliana; a city of Numidia, 12 miles from Lares.
62. Drusita.
63. Drua.
64. Dusa.
65. Diaba; the same with Zaba in Mauritania Sitifensis.
66. Evera; the same with Vera, or Veri, in Africa Proconsularis.
67. Edistiana.
68. Ensis; the same with Oea in Tripoli.
69. Feradi Major; the same with Feradimaia in Byzacena.
70. Furvi; the same with Furni in Africa Proconsularis.
71. Fissana; perhaps Fussala in Numidia.
72. A Furnis; the same with Furni.
73. Feliciana, added by Holstenius.
74. Gitti. Municipium Antonino.
75. Gazabeta.
76. Gazabiana. To which Holstenius adds,
77. Ginesita.
78. Givirta, or Girbis.
79. Guira; if it be not the same with Gira in Numidia mentioned before.
80. Haba.
81. Hospitia; the same with Ospitum in Numidia.
82. Horrea Avicinensis.
83. Haram Celtena; the same as Horrea Celia in Byzacena.
84. Iziriana.
85. Jucundiana.
86. Idura. Holstenius adds two more:
87. Jacubaza.
88. Infita.
89. Limata.
90. Larita.
91. Lambia; the same with Lambesa in Numidia.
92. Lucimagna.
93. Lelalita.
94. Liberalia.
95. Lacus Dulcis.
96. Luperciana, mentioned in the council under Cyprian, which Bishop Fell thinks is the same with Lupertina in the Collation of Carthage.
97. Magarmela; the same with Vagarmela in Numidia.
98. Medefessita; the same as Menefessa in Byzacena.
99. Mesarfelta.
100. Merferobita.
101. Munavilita.
102. Musertita.
103. Mopta; a city of Mauritania Sitifensis. Holstenius adds to these two more:
104. Munaciana, and
105. Marcelliana and Bazita, whereof one Lucidus is named bishop in the Collation of Carthage.
106. Niciba.

107. Nignenses Majores; the same as Nigrenses, or Vicus Nigras in Numidia.
108. Nurcona; the same with Murconium in Mauritania Cæsariensis.
109. Nasaita.
110. Nova Petra.
111. Nebbita.
112. Nizugubita.
113. Novasumma; the same with Nobasina, in Numidia.

114. Onza.
115. Oria.

116. Putzia.
117. Pauzera.
118. Pista. To which Holstenius adds three others:
119. Pisita.
120. Pisidia, a city of Tripolis.
121. Pertusa, a city in Antonine's Itinerary near Carthage.

122. Refala; the same as Cephala in Africa Proconsularis.

123. Sinuara, named before in Africa Proconsularis
124. Serteita, named before in Cæsarea Sitifensis.
125. Selemsila, named above in Africa.
126. Summa, Zuma in Numidia.
127. Sena.
128. Saya.
129. Simungita, Simingita, or Simina, in Africa.
130. Sinnipsa.
131. Suboabbirita; the same as Zuchabari in Mauritania.
132. Simidica, a city of Africa Proconsularis.
133. Siguita; the same as Sugita in Numidia.
134. Signi.
135. Sibida. Holstenius adds two more:
136. Saturnica.
137. Salicina.

138. Tibuzabete.
139. Turuda.
140. Tunugaba.
141. Tignica.
142. Tabaicaria; the same as Tabadcara in Mauritania Cæsariensis.
143. Taprura, Taphrura, near the isle of Cercina in Byzacena.
144. Turris Alba.
145. Tala.
146. Tubursus, Tubursica in Numidia.
147. Tzella; the same as Zella in Byzacena.
148. Tibazabula.
149. Tabazaga.
150. Truvascanina.
151. Tuzumma; the same as Zumma in Numidia.
152. Tunusuda.
153. Tesaniana.
154. Tusdrus; the same as Tysdros in Byzacena.
155. Tuzurita; a city of Mauritania Cæsariensis.
156. Tisedita.
157. Thybæ. Holstenius adds eight more:
158. Tibari.
159. Talabrica.
160. Tubia.
161. Timitica.
162. Tisilita.
163. Thasbalte.
164. Turuda.
165. Turuzi.

166. Vamaius, Uci Majus in Africa Proconsularis.
167. Vinariona.
168. Urugita.
169. Vartana.
170. Visa.
171. Vaturba.
172. Verrono.
173. Vensana.
174. Voseta, al. Visica, a city of Mauritania.
175. Vinda.
176. Vuazia.
177. Utumma.
178. Victoriana, named before in Byzacena.
179. Vicus Cæsaris. Holstenius adds five more:
180. Vallita, al. Ullita.
181. Vina; the same as Vica, or Vina Vicus, in Africa.
182. Undesia.
183. Uzittara.
184. Utinuna, al. Ucimina in Africa.

185. Zura.
186. Zella, named before in Byzacena.
187. Zelta. Holstenius thinks it should be Zerta in Numidia.
188. Zica.
189. Zabunia; the same as Medianæ Zabuniorum, a place near Sitifi in Mauritania.

Holstenius adds one more, called Zenita or Zemta in the Collation of Carthage, from whence the greatest part of the forementioned names are taken. But the reader must not imagine, that so many bishoprics, as have been specified in all the six African provinces, and among these of uncertain position, were all extant at one and the same time. For there never was quite five hundred at one time in Africa, as has been showed before from St. Austin and the *notitia* published by Sirmondus; and yet here are above six hundred and eighty recounted by Carolus a Sancto Paulo and Holstenius, after sixty are rejected, which are named twice over. So that from first to last there was a change of almost two hundred dioceses in Africa, or at least a change in their names; which I note, lest any should think there were more dioceses than St. Austin mentions.

AN INDEX OF THE PROVINCES.

AN INDEX OF EPISCOPAL SEES.

B

C

D

V

W

X

Z

BOOK X.

OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE CATECHUMENS, AND THE FIRST USE OF THE CREEDS OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEVERAL NAMES OF CATECHUMENS, AND THE SOLEMNITY THAT WAS USED IN ADMITTING THEM TO THAT STATE IN THE CHURCH. ALSO OF CATECHISING, AND THE TIME OF THEIR CONTINUANCE IN THAT EXERCISE.

Sect. 1. The reason of the names, κατηχούμενοι, *novitioli*, *tyrones*, &c.

HAVING hitherto discoursed of the several orders of men which made up the great body of the Christian church, and of churches themselves, or places of worship, and of the several districts into which the body diffusive was divided, I come now to consider the service of the church, or its public offices and exercises, by which men were disciplined and trained up to the kingdom of heaven. And to speak of these in their most natural order, it will be necessary to begin with the institution of the catechumens, who were the lowest order of men that had any title to the common name of Christians, and their instruction was the first part of the church's service. Some things relating to these have been already touched upon in speaking of the difference between them and the πιστοὶ, or perfect Christians, in the first Book.[1] The office of the catechist has also been considered in speaking of the inferior orders[2] of the clergy: and the places of instruction, or catechetic schools, have been treated of in the account[3] that has been given of the ancient churches. So that, omitting these things, I shall only speak in this place of such rites and customs as were observed in the practice of the church in training up the catechumens, and preparing them for baptism; premising something concerning the several names that were given them. They were called catechumens from the Greek words κατηχέω and κατήχησις, which signify in general the instruction that is given in the first elements or rudiments of any art or science; but in a more restrained ecclesiastical sense, the instruction of men in the first principles of the Christian religion. Hence they had also the names of *novitioli*, and *tyrones Dei*, new soldiers of God, as we find in Tertullian[4] and St. Austin,[5] because they were just entering upon that state, which made them soldiers of God and candidates of eternal life. They are sometimes also called *audientes*, hearers, from their instruction: though that name more commonly denotes one particular sort of them, such as were allowed to hear sermons only, but not to partake in any of the prayers of the church; of which more hereafter in the following chapter.

Sect. 2. Imposition of hands used in the first admission of catechumens.

I have already observed in another place,[6] that the catechumens, by virtue of their admission into that state, had some title to the common name of Christians also; being a degree higher than either heathens or heretics, though not yet consummated by the waters of baptism. And upon this account, they were admitted to this state not without some ceremony and solemnity of imposition of hands and prayer. Which appears evidently from what Sulpicius Severus[7] says of St. Martin, That passing through a town, where they were all Gentiles, and preaching Christ unto them, and working some miracles, the whole multitude professed to believe in Christ, and desired him to make them Christians: upon which, he immediately, as he was in the field, laid his hands upon them, and made them catechumens, saying to those that were about him, that it was not unreasonable to make catechumens in the open field, where martyrs were used to be consecrated unto God. Where we may observe, that to make Christians, and to make catechumens, is the same thing, and that this was done by imposition of hands and prayer. Which observation

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[1] Book I. chap. 4. sect. 5.
[2] Book III. chap. 10.
[3] Book VIII. chap. 7. sect. 12.
[4] Tertul. de Pœnitent. cap. 6.
[5] August. de Fide ad Catechumen. lib. 2. cap. 1.
[6] Book I. chap. 3. sect. 3.
[7] Sulpic. Vit. Martin. Dialog. 2. cap. 5. p. 294. Cuncti catervatim ad genua b. viri ruere cœperunt, fideliter postulantes, ut eos faceret Christianos. Nec cunctatus, in medio ut erat campo, cunctos, imposita universis manu, catechumenos fecit; cum quidem ad nos conversus diceret, Non irrationabiliter in campo catechumenos fieri, ubi solerent martyres consecrari.

will help us to the right understanding of some obscure canons and difficult passages in ancient writers, which many learned men have mistaken. In the first council of Arles[8] there is a canon, which orders imposition of hands to be given to such Gentiles as in time of sickness express an inclination to receive the Christian faith. And in the council of Eliberis[9] there is another canon to the same purpose, which says, That if any Gentiles, who have led a tolerable moral life, desire imposition of hands, they should have it allowed them, and be made Christians. Now the question is, what is here meant by imposition of hands, and being made Christians? Mendoza[10] and Vossius[11] take it for imposition of hands in baptism; and Albaspiny,[12] for imposition of hands in confirmation. But the true sense is no more than this imposition of hands used in making catechumens, which in some sort gave Gentile converts an immediate title to be called Christians. And so I find Valesius,[13] and Basnage,[14] and Cotelerius,[15] understand it. And this must be the meaning of that passage in Eusebius,[16] where, speaking of Constantine's prayers in the church of Helenopolis a little before his death, he says, It was the same church where he had first been admitted to imposition of hands and prayer; that is, had been made a catechumen with those ceremonies: for no other imposition of hands can here be meant, since it is now agreed on all hands, that Constantine was not baptized till he had left Helenopolis, and was come to Nicomedia, a little before his death. By this also we may understand the meaning of those canons of the first general council of Constantinople,[17] and the council of Trullo,[18] where, speaking of the reception of such heretics as the Eunomians, and Montanists, and Sabellians, who had not been truly baptized, they say, They should be received only as heathens, viz. the first day be made Christians, the second day catechumens, the third day be exorcised, then instructed for a considerable time in the church, and at last baptized. Here being made Christians, evidently signifies no more than their being admitted to the lowest degree of catechumens, by imposition of hands and prayer; after which came many intermediate ceremonies of exorcising, catechising, &c., before they were made complete Christians by baptism. So that, as Theodosius observes[19] in one of his laws, there were two sorts of men that went by the name of Christians, one called *Christiani ac fideles*, Christians and believers, and the other, *Christiani et catechumeni tantum*, Christians and catechumens only: the former whereof were made so by baptism, and the other by imposition of hands and prayer. Which was a ceremony used in most of the offices of religion, in baptism, confirmation, ordination, reconciling of penitents, consecration of virgins, curing the sick, and, as we have now seen, particularly in the first admission of new converts to the state of catechumens.

Sect. 3. And consignation with the sign of the cross.

Here also, as in most other offices of the church, they used the sign of the cross. St. Austin joins all these ceremonies together, when he says, That catechumens[20] were in some sort sanctified by the sign of Christ, and imposition of hands and prayer; meaning, that these ceremonies were used as indications of their forsaking the Gentile state, and becoming retainers to the Christian church. The same rite is mentioned also by St. Austin in his Confessions,[21] as used upon himself during his being a catechumen; but whether he means there his first admission, or his continuance in that state, is not certain. But in the Life of Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza, written by his disciple Marcus, it is more plainly expressed; for that author, speaking of some new converts, says, They fell down at the bishop's feet and desired the sign of Christ. Upon which, he signed them with the sign[22] of the cross, and made them catechumens; commanding them to attend the church. And so in a short time after, having first instructed them in the catechism, he baptized them.

Sect. 4. At what age persons were admitted to be catechumens.

The circumstance of time here mentioned, may lead us in the next place to inquire, at what age persons were admitted catechumens? And how long they continued in that state before they were baptized? The

[8] Conc. Arelat. 1. cap. 6. De his qui in infirmitate credere volunt, placuit debere eis manum imponi.

[9] Conc. Eliber. c. 39. Gentiles si in infirmitate desideraverint sibi manum imponi, si fuerit eorum ex aliqua parte vita honesta, placuit eis manum imponi et fieri Christianos.

[10] Mendoza, Not. in Conc. Eliber. c. 39.

[11] Voss. de Baptismo, Disp. 12. Thes. 5. p. 164.

[12] Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Eliber. c. 39.

[13] Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 4. c. 61.

[14] Basnag. Critic. in Baron. an. 44. p. 482.

[15] Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apostol. lib. 7. c. 39.

[16] Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. 4. c. 61. Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ πρῶτον τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εὐχῶν ἠξιοῦτο.

[17] Conc. Constant. 1. c. 7. Ὡς Ἕλληνας δεχόμεθα, καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὺς Χριστιανοὺς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν κατηχουμένους, εἶτα τῇ τρίτῃ ἐξορκίζομεν αὐτοὺς—καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς βαπτίζομεν.

[18] Conc. Trull. c. 95. Vide etiam Anonymi Epist. ad Martyrium Antiochenum, ap. Beveregii Pandect. t. 2. p. 100.

[19] Cod. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 7. de Apostat. Leg. 2.

[20] Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. 2. c. 26. Catechumenos secundum quendam modum suum per signum Christi et orationem, manûs impositione puto sanctificari.

[21] Aug. Confess. lib. 1. c. 11.

[22] Marcus, Vit. Porphyr. Prociderunt ad ejus pedes petentes Christi signaculum. Beatus vero cum eos signasset, et fecisset catechumenos, dimisit illos in pace, præcipiens eis ut vacarent sanctæ ecclesiæ. Et paulo post, cum eos catechesi instituisset, baptizavit.

first question concerns only heathen converts: for, as for the children of believing parents, it is certain, that as they were baptized in infancy, so they were admitted catechumens as soon as they were capable of learning. But the question is more difficult about heathens. Yet I find in one of the Resolutions of Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, that children, before they were seven years old, might be catechumens. For he puts the question thus: Suppose a child of seven years old,[23] or a man that is a catechumen, be present at the oblation, and eat of the eucharist; what shall be done in this case? And the answer is, Let him be baptized. By which it is plain, he speaks of heathen children, and not of Christians, who received not only baptism, but the eucharist, in their infancy, by the rule and custom of the church then prevailing, as will be showed in their proper place.

Sect. 5. How long they continued in that state.

As to the other point, how long they were to continue catechumens, there was no certain general rule fixed about that; but the practice varied according to the difference of times and places, or the readiness and proficiency of the catechumens themselves. In the apostolical age, and the first plantation of the church, we never read of any long interval between men's first conversion and their baptism. The history of Cornelius, and the Ethiopian eunuch, and Lydia, and the jailer of Philippi, in the Acts of the Apostles, to mention no more, are sufficient evidence, that in those days catechising and baptism immediately accompanied one another. And there were good reasons for it: the infant state of the church, and the zeal of the converts, both required it. But in after ages, the church found it necessary to lengthen this term of probation, lest an over-hasty admission of persons to baptism, should either fill the church with vicious men, or make greater numbers of renegadoes and apostates in time of persecution. For this reason, the council of Eliberis[24] appointed two years' trial for new converts, that if in that time they appeared to be men of a good conversation, they might then be allowed the favour of baptism. Justinian, in one of his Novels,[25] appointed the same term for Samaritans, because it was found by experience, that they were wont frequently to relapse to their old religion again. The Apostolical Constitutions[26] lengthen the term to three years, but with this limitation, that if men were very diligent and zealous, they might be admitted sooner; because it was not length of time, but men's conversation and behaviour, that was to be regarded in this case. The council of Agde, anno 506, reduced the time for Jewish converts[27] to eight months, giving the same reason why they made the time of probation so long, because they are often found to be perfidious, and returned to their own vomit again. In other places, the time is thought by some to be limited to the forty days of Lent; for so some learned men conjecture from a passage or two in St. Jerom, and Cyril's Catechetic Discourses. St. Jerom[28] says, it was customary in his time to spend forty days in teaching catechumens the doctrine of the blessed Trinity. And St. Cyril seems to imply as much, when he asks the catechumens, why they should not think it reasonable[29] to spend forty days upon their souls, who had spent so many years upon their own vanities and the world? The time of Lent is not expressly mentioned in either place, but it seems to be intended, because in those ages, Easter was the general time of baptizing over all the world. But I understand this only of the strict and concluding part of this exercise. In some cases, the term of catechising was reduced to a yet much shorter compass, as in case of extreme sickness, or the general conversion of whole nations. Socrates observes, that in the conversion of the Burgundians, the French bishop that converted them, only took seven days' time to catechise them,[30] and on the eighth day baptized them. So in case of desperate sickness, the catechumens were immediately baptized with clinic baptism; as appears from the forementioned council of Agde, which, though it prescribes eight months' time for the catechising of Jews, yet in case of extreme danger,[31] if their life was despaired of, it allows them to be baptized at any time within the term prescribed. Cyril of Alexandria,[32] in one of his canonical epistles, gives the same orders concerning catechumens who had lapsed, and were for their crimes expelled the church, that notwithstanding this, they should be baptized at the hour of death. St. Basil takes notice, that Arintheus, the Roman consul,[33] being converted by his wife, and

[23] Timoth. Alex. Resp. Canon. qu. 1.

[24] Conc. Eliber. c. 42. Eos qui ad fidem primam credulitatis accedunt, si bonæ fuerint conversationis, intra biennium placuit ad baptismi gratiam admitti.

[25] Justin. Novel. 144. Per duos primum annos in fide instituantur, et pro viribus Scripturas ediscant, tuncque demum sacro redemptionis offerantur baptismati.

[26] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 32. Ὁ μέλλων κατηχεῖσθαι, τρία ἔτη κατηχείσθω, &c.

[27] Conc. Agathen. c. 34. Judæi, quorum perfidia frequenter ad vomitum redit, si ad legem catholicam venire voluerint, octo menses inter catechumenos ecclesiæ limen introeant, &c.

[28] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. c. 4. Consuetudo apud nos ejusmodi est, ut iis qui baptizandi sunt per quadraginta dies publice tradamus sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem.

[29] Cyril. Catech. 1. n. 5. p. 18.

[30] Socrat. lib. 7. c. 30.

[31] Conc. Agathen. c. 34. Quod si casu aliquo periculum infirmitatis intra præscriptum tempus incurrerint, et desperati fuerint, baptizentur.

[32] Cyril. Ep. Canon. ad Episc. Libyæ et Pentapol. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. p. 178.

[33] Basil. Ep. 186.

in danger of death, was immediately baptized. And there are infinite numbers of such examples to be met with in ecclesiastical history, to verify the general observation which Epiphanius[34] makes upon the practice of the church, that such catechumens as were at the point to die, were always, in hopes of the resurrection, admitted to baptism before their death.

Sect. 6. The substance of the ancient catechisms, and method of instruction.

But excepting these cases, a longer time was generally thought necessary to discipline and train men up gradually for baptism; partly for the reason already mentioned, that some just experiment might be made of their conversation during that time; and partly to instruct them by degrees, first in the more common principles of religion, to wean them from their former errors, and then in the more recondite and mysterious articles of the Christian faith: upon which account they usually began their discourses with the doctrine of repentance and remission of sins, and the necessity of good works, and the nature and use of baptism, by which the catechumens were taught, how they were to renounce the devil and his works, and enter into a new covenant with God. Then followed the explication of the several articles of the Creed, to which some added the nature and immortality of the soul, and an account of the canonical books of Scripture; which is the substance and method of St. Cyril's eighteen famous discourses to the catechumens. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions[35] prescribes these several heads of instruction: Let the catechumen be taught before baptism the knowledge of the Father unbegotten, the knowledge of his only begotten Son, and Holy Spirit; let him learn the order of the world's creation, and series of Divine providence, and the different sorts of legislation; let him be taught, why the world, and man, the citizen of the world, were made; let him be instructed about his own nature, to understand for what end he himself was made; let him be informed how God punished the wicked with water and fire, and crowned his saints with glory in every generation, viz. Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Abraham and his posterity, Melchisedeck, Job, Moses, Joshua, Caleb, and Phineas the priest, and the saints of every age; let him also be taught, how the providence of God never forsook mankind, but called them at sundry times, from error and vanity to the knowledge of the truth, reducing them from slavery and impiety to liberty and godliness, from iniquity to righteousness, and from everlasting death to eternal life. After these, he must learn the doctrine of Christ's incarnation, his passion, his resurrection, and assumption; and what it is to renounce the devil, and enter into covenant with Christ. These were the chief heads of the ancient catechisms before baptism: in which it is observable, there is no mention made of the doctrine of the eucharist, or confirmation, because these were not allowed to catechumens till after baptism; and the instruction upon the former points was not given all at once, but by certain degrees, as the discipline of the church then required, which divided the catechumens into several distinct orders or classes, and exercised them gradually, according to the difference of their stations: of which I shall give a more particular account in the following chapter.

Sect. 7. The catechumens allowed to read the Holy Scriptures.

Here I shall only remark further, that they allowed them to read some portions of the Scripture; for the moral and historical books were thought most proper at first for their instruction; and the chief use of those which are now called apocryphal books, was then to instil moral precepts into the catechumens. Upon this account Athanasius says,[36] Though they were not canonical books, as the rest of the books of the Old and New Testament; yet they were such as were appointed to be read by those who were new proselytes, and desirous to be instructed in the ways of godliness: such were The Wisdom of Solomon, The Wisdom of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit; to which he also adds, the book called, The Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Shepherd, that is, Hermes Pastor. The author[37] of the Synopsis of the Holy Scripture also, under the name of Athanasius, has much the same observation, That besides the canonical books, there were other books of the Old Testament, which were not in the canon, but only read to or by the catechumens. But this was not allowed in all churches; for it seems to have been otherwise in the church of Jerusalem, at the time when Cyril[38] wrote his Catechetical Discourses; for he forbids his catechumens to read all apocryphal books whatsoever, and charges them to read those books only which were securely read in the church, viz. those books which the apostles and ancient bishops (who were wiser than the catechumens) had handed down to them. Then he specifies particularly the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, all the same as are now in our Bibles, except the Revelation, because I presume it was not

[34] Epiphan. Hær. 28. Cerinthian. n. 6.

[35] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. c. 39.

[36] Athan. Ep. Heortastic. t. 2. p. 39. Ἔϛιν καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν· ὀ κανονιζόμενα μέν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις, καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβεῖας λόγον· Σοφία Σολομῶνος, &c. καὶ διδαχὴ καλουμένη, τῶν Ἀποϛόλων, καὶ ὁ ποιμήν.

[37] Athan. Synops. Scriptur. t. 2. p. 55. Ἐκτὸς τῶν κανονιζομένων ἕτερα βιβλία τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, ὀ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, ἀναγινωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον τοῖς κατηχȣμένοις.

[38] Cyril. Catech. 4. n. 22. p. 66. Πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχε κοινὸν, &c. Ibid. p. 67. Ὅσα ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκεται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ σαυτὸν ἀναγίνωσκε.

then read in the church: and at last concludes with this charge to the catechumens, that they should not read any other books privately by themselves, which were not read publicly in the church. From whence I conclude, that as the books which we now call apocryphal, were not then read in the church of Jerusalem, so neither were they allowed to be read by the catechumens, though they were read both publicly and privately in many other churches. I know some learned persons are of a different opinion, and think that Cyril, by apocryphal books, means not those which we now call apocryphal, viz. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, &c., but other pernicious and heretical books, which were absolutely reprobated and forbidden to all Christians. But if that had been his meaning, he would not have said, that the canonical books were the only books that were read in the church of Jerusalem, but would have distinguished, as other writers in other churches do, between canonical, ecclesiastical, and apocryphal books, and have intimated that the ecclesiastical books were such as were allowed to be read in the church, as well as the canonical, for moral instruction, though not to confirm articles of faith. Whereas he says nothing of this, but the express contrary, that none but the canonical books were read publicly in the church, nor were any other to be read privately by the catechumens. Which, at least, must mean thus much, that in the church of Jerusalem there was a different custom from some other churches; and that though in some churches the catechumens were allowed to read both the canonical books and the apocryphal, or, as others call them, the ecclesiastical; yet in the church of Jerusalem they were allowed to read only the canonical Scriptures, and no other. However, it is observable, that no church anciently denied any order of Christians the use of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, since even the catechumens themselves, who were but an imperfect sort of Christians, were exhorted and commanded to read the canonical books in all churches, and the apocryphal books in some churches for moral instruction. Nay, if we may believe Bede, they were obliged to get some of the Holy Scriptures by heart, as a part of their exercise and discipline, before they were baptized. For he commends it as a laudable custom in the ancient church,[39] that such as were to be catechised and baptized, were taught the beginnings of the four Gospels, and the intent and order of them, at the time when the ceremony of opening their ears was solemnly used; that they might know and remember, what, and how many, those books were, from whence they were to be instructed in the true faith. So far were they from locking up the Scriptures from any order of men in an unknown tongue, that they thought them useful and instructive to the meanest capacities; according to that of the psalmist, "Thy word giveth light and understanding to the simple." And therefore they allowed them to be vulgarly read, not only by the more perfect and complete Christians, but even by the very catechumens; among whom, as St. Austin and others have observed, those were commonly the most tractable and the best proficients, who were the most conversant in the Holy Scriptures. For which reason they made it one part of the catechumens' care, to exercise themselves in the knowledge of them, and did not then fear that men should turn heretics by being acquainted with the word of truth.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SEVERAL CLASSES OR DEGREES OF CATECHUMENS, AND THE GRADUAL EXERCISES AND DISCIPLINE OF EVERY ORDER.

Sect. I. Four orders or degrees of catechumens among the ancients.

THAT there were different orders or degrees of catechumens in all such churches as kept to the term of catechising for two or three years together, is acknowledged on all hands by learned men; but what was the precise number of these orders, is not so certainly agreed. The Greek expositors of the ancient canons usually make but two sorts, the ἀτελέστεροι and the τελειώτεροι, the imperfect and the perfect, the beginners and the proficients, who were the immediate candidates of baptism. So Balzamon,[1] and Zonaras,[2] Alexius Aristenus,[3] and Blastares. And in this opinion they are followed by many modern writers. Dr. Cave[4] makes no other distinction but this of the perfect and imperfect, and says of the imperfect, that they were as yet accounted heathens; which, for the reasons given in the foregoing chapter, I cannot subscribe to: for I have showed, that from the time that they received imposition of hands to make them catechumens, they were always both called and accounted Christians, though but in an imperfect state, till they were completed by baptism. Bishop Beverege[5] makes but two sorts of catechumens likewise, the ἀκροώμενοι, and the εὐχόμενοι, or γονυκλίνον-

[39] Bed. de Tabernac. lib. 2. c. 13. t. 4. p. 887. Pulcher in ipsa ecclesia mos antiquitus inolevit, ut his qui catechizandi, et Christianis sunt sacramentis initiandi, quatuor Evangeliorum principia recitentur, ac de figuris et ordine eorum in apertione aurium suarum solenniter erudirentur: quo sciant exinde ac meminerint, qui et quot sint libri, quorum verbis maxime in fide veritatis debeant erudiri.

[1] Balzam. Not. in Conc. Neocæsar. c. 5.

[2] Zonaras, ibid.

[3] Alex. Aristen. in Conc. Ancyr. c. 14.

[4] Cave, Prim. Christ. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 211.

[5] Bevereg. Not. in Conc. Nicen. c. 14.

τες, that is, the hearers, who only stayed to hear the sermon and the Scriptures read, and the kneelers or substrators, who stayed to receive the minister's prayers and benediction also. Suicerus[6] and Basnage[7] go much the same way, dividing them into two classes, the *audientes* and *competentes.* Maldonate[8] adds to these a third class, which he calls *catechumeni pœnitentes,* such catechumens as were under the discipline and censures of the church. Cardinal Bona[9] augments the number to four kinds, viz. the *audientes, genuflectentes, competentes,* and *electi.* And indeed it appears, that there were four kinds of them; yet not exactly the same as Bona mentions; for the *competentes* and *electi* were but one and the same order. But there was another order antecedent to all these, which none of these writers mention, which we may call the ἐξωθούμενοι, that is, such catechumens as were instructed privately, and without-doors, before they were allowed to enter the church.

Sect. 2. First the ἐξωθούμενοι, or catechumens instructed privately without the church.

That there was such an order or degree of catechumens as this, is evidently deduced from one of the canons of the council of Neocæsarea, which speaks of several sorts of catechumens, and this among the rest, in these words: If any catechumen,[10] who enters the church, and stands amongst any order of catechumens there, be found guilty of sin; if he be a kneeler, let him become a hearer, provided he sin no more; but if he sin while he is a hearer, let him be cast out of the church. Here it seems pretty evident, that there was an order of catechumens not allowed to enter the church, to which such of the superior orders as had offended, were to be degraded by way of punishment, which the canon calls expulsion from the church. Which does not mean, utterly casting them off as heathens again, but only reducing them to that state in which they were before, when they first received imposition of hands to make them catechumens; which was a state of private instruction, before they were allowed to enter the church. Maldonate calls these, The order of penitents among the catechumens; and Balzamon and Zonaras, on this canon, style them mourners; which expresses something of this order, but not the whole: for there were catechumens privately instructed out of the church, who were not properly mourners or penitents, as persons cast out of the church by any censure, but they were such as never had yet been in the church, but were kept at a distance for some time from that privilege, to make them the more eager and desirous of it. And till we can find a better name for these, I call them from this canon, the ἐξωθούμενοι, which is a general name, that will comprehend both this lowest order of catechumens privately instructed out of the church, and also such delinquents of the superior orders as were reduced back again to it by way of punishment for their faults.

Sect. 3. Secondly, The ἀκροώμενοι, audientes, or hearers.

The next degree above these, were the hearers, which the Greeks call ἀκροώμενοι, and the Latins, *audientes.* Who were so called from their being admitted to hear sermons and the Scriptures read in the church, but they were not allowed to stay any of the prayers, no, not so much as those that were made over the rest of the catechumens, or energumens, or penitents; but before those began, immediately after sermon, at the word of command then solemnly used, *Ne quis audientium,* Let none of the hearers be present, they were to depart the church. As appears from the author of the Apostolical Constitutions,[11] who orders the deacon to dismiss the hearers and unbelievers with that solemn form of words, before the liturgy or prayers of the church began. Upon which account the council of Nice[12] calls them, ἀκροωμένους μόνον, hearers only, to distinguish them from such catechumens as might not only hear sermons, but also attend some particular prayers of the church, that were especially offered up for them, whilst they were kneeling upon their knees, and waiting for imposition of hands, and the minister's benediction.

Sect. 4. Thirdly, The γονυκλίνοντες, or genuflectentes, the kneelers.

Hence arose a third sort of catechumens, which the Greeks call γονυκλίνοντες, and the Latins, *genuflectentes* and *prostrati,* that is, kneelers or prostrators. These sometimes have the name of catechumens more especially appropriated to them, as in the forementioned canon of the council of Nice, which runs in these terms, "It is decreed by the great and holy synod, concerning the catechumens that have lapsed, That they for three years shall be hearers only; and after that, pray with the catechumens again." Hence that part of the liturgy which respected them, was particularly called Κατηχουμένων εὐχὴ, The prayer of the catechumens, which came immediately after the bishop's sermon, together with the prayers of the energumens and penitents, as we learn from the council of Laodicea,[13] which orders the method of them; and the forms of these prayers are recited both in the Apostolical Constitutions[14] and St. Chrysostom,[15] which I do

[6] Suicer. Thesaur. t. 2. p. 72.

[7] Basnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 484.

[8] Maldonat. de Baptism. c. 1. p. 79.

[9] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 16. n. 4.

[10] Conc. Neocæs. c. 5. Κατηχούμενος, ἐὰν εἰσερχόμενος εἰς κυριακὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατηχουμένων τάξει στήκῃ, οὗτος δὲ ἁμαρτάνων, ἐὰν μὲν γόνυ κλίνων, ἀκροάσθω, μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνων· ἐὰν δὲ ἀκροώμενος ἔτι ἁμαρτάνῃ, ἐξωθείσθω.

[11] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 5.

[12] Conc. Nicen. can. 14.

[13] Conc. Laod. c. 19.

[14] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 6.

[15] Chrysost. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor.

not here insert, because they will have a more proper place in the liturgy of the church. Together with these prayers they always received imposition of hands, kneeling upon their knees: whence the council of Neocæsarea,[16] and others, distinguish them by the name of γονυκλίνοντες, the kneelers; the prayer is called *oratio impositionis manûs*, the prayer of imposition of hands, which was frequently repeated both in the public and private exercises of the catechumens.

Sect. 5. Fourthly, The *competentes* and *electi*; the immediate candidates of baptism.

Above these was a fourth order, which the Greeks call βαπτιζόμενοι and φωτιζόμενοι; and the Latins, *competentes* and *electi*: all which words are used among the ancients to denote the immediate candidates of baptism, or such as gave in their names to the bishop, signifying their desire to be baptized the next approaching festival. Their petitioning for this favour gave them the name of *competentes*; and from the bishop's examination and approbation or choice of them, they were styled *electi*. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catechetic Discourses,[17] always terms them φωτιζόμενοι, which though it frequently signifies persons already baptized, or illuminated by the sacrament of baptism, yet in his style, it denotes persons yet to be baptized, or such as had only the illumination of catechetical instruction antecedent to baptism. And so the name βαπτιζόμενοι, in the author of the Apostolical Constitutions,[18] is taken, not for persons actually baptized, but for those catechumens who were desirous to be baptized. Whence, in the same author, the prayer that is said over the catechumens in the church is called βαπτιζομένων and φωτιζομένων εὐχὴ, the prayer for those that went about to be illuminated and baptized. Which also shows, that the *substrati* and *competentes* were different orders or degrees of the catechumens, (contrary to what Mr. Basnage and some others have asserted,) since different prayers, at different times in the church, were offered up for them.

Sect. 6. How this last order were particularly disciplined and prepared for baptism.

These *competentes*, as I said, were so called from their petitioning for the sacrament of baptism, as we learn from St. Austin, who often gives this reason[19] for it, telling us, that upon the approach of the Easter festival, it was usual for the catechumens to give in their names in order to be baptized, whence they were called *competentes*, petitioners or candidates for baptism. When their names were given in, and their petition accepted, then both they and their sponsors were registered in the books of the church; as is noted by the author under the name of Dionysius[20] the Areopagite, who brings in the bishop commanding the priests to register both the catechumen and his sponsor or susceptor together. And in the council of Constantinople, under Mennas,[21] there is mention made of an officer in the church, particularly appointed to this business, one whose appropriated office it was to register the names of those who offered and presented themselves to baptism. These registers were called their diptychs; but as they had several sorts of diptychs, some for the dead and some for the living, these were particularly called δίπτυχα ζώντων, the diptychs or books of the living, as is observed by Pachymeres,[22] in his comment upon the foresaid place of Dionysius.

Sect. 7. Partly by frequent examinations, in which such as approved themselves had the name of *electi*.

When their names were thus registered, then followed a scrutiny or examination of their proficiency under the preceding stages of the catechetical exercises. And this was often repeated before baptism, according to the direction given in this case by the fourth council[23] of Carthage. They that were approved upon such examination, were sometimes called *electi*, the chosen, as we find in the decrees of Pope Leo Magnus, who speaks of them under this appellation,[24] because they were now accepted and chosen as persons qualified for baptism at the next approaching festivals of Easter or Whitsuntide, which were the usual times of baptizing. Cardinal Bona makes these *electi* a distinct order from the *competentes*; but there seems to be no ground for such a distinction, because their exercises were all the same henceforward till they arrived at baptism.

Sect. 8. Partly by exorcism, accompanied with imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross, and insufflation.

For as they were all examined, so they were all exorcised alike for twenty days before baptism. This custom is often mentioned by the ancient writers, both of the Greek and Latin church. St. Austin, more than once, speaks of it as the common practice of the African church; joining examination,[25] catechising, and exorcism together, and telling us that the fire of exorcism, as

[16] Conc. Neocæsar. c. 5. [17] Cyril. Catech. 1, 2, &c.

[18] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 8.

[19] Aug. de Fide et Oper. c. 6. Cum fontis illius sacramenta peteremus, atque ab hoc competentes etiam vocaremur, &c. Id. de Cura pro Mortuis, c. 12. Pascha appropinquante dedit nomen inter alios competentes.

[20] Dionys. Hierarch. Eccles. c. 2. n. 4. p. 216. Ἱεράρχης ἀπογράψασθαι, κελεύει τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ἀνάδοχον.

[21] Conc. Constant. sub Menna. Act. 5. t. 5. p. 224. Ὁ τῆς προσηγορίας τῶν εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα προσίοντων ἐγγράφειν τεταγμένος.

[22] Pachymer. in Dionys. p. 234.

[23] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 84. Crebra examinatione baptismum percipiant.

[24] Leo, Ep. 4. ad Episc. Siculos, c. 5. In baptizandis in ecclesia electis, hæc duo tempora, de quibus locuti sumus, esse legitima, &c.

[25] Aug. in Psal. lxv. Post ignem exorcismi venitur ad baptismum. Id. de Fide et Oper. c. 6. Suis nominibus datis, abstinentia, jejuniis, exorcismisque purgantur.—— Ipsis diebus quibus catechizantur, exorcizantur, scrutantur.

his phrase is, always preceded baptism. We learn the same from Cyprian, and the council of Carthage, held under him, about the validity of heretical baptism: for there it is often said, that heretics[26] and schismatics were first to be exorcised with imposition of hands, and then baptized, before they could be admitted as true members of the catholic church. And we learn from thence also, that the practice was so universal, that the heretics themselves did not omit it, though it was esteemed of no effect by the catholics when done by them, but looked upon only as a mock-practice, where one demoniac[27] exorcised another, as Cæcilius a Bilta phrases it in the same council. Ferrandus Diaconus[28] also speaks of this exorcism, which immediately followed the scrutiny or examination of the *competentes*. And the like testimonies may be seen in Petrus Chrysologus,[29] and the second council of Bracara,[30] for the practice of the Italic and Spanish churches. In the last of which, it is particularly specified that these exorcisms shall continue for twenty days before baptism. Gennadius of Marseilles[31] testifies not only for the French church, but the universal church throughout the whole world, that exorcisms and exsufflations were uniformly used both to infants and adult persons, before they were admitted to the sacrament of regeneration and fountain of life. And for the Greek church in particular, (though the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, for a peculiar reason, makes no mention of this ceremony, because he represents the business of an exorcist not as a standing and ordinary office in the church, but as an extraordinary and miraculous gift of God,[32] as it was in the age of the apostles,) yet Gregory Nazianzen, and Cyril of Jerusalem, are undeniable evidences of the practice: for Nazianzen, in his Oration upon Baptism,[33] thus bespeaks his catechumen: Despise not thou the medicinal office of exorcism, neither grow weary of the length or continuance of it; for it is a proper trial of a man's sincerity in coming to the grace of baptism. Cyril, in like manner,[34] bids his catechumen to receive exorcism with diligence in the time of catechizing. For whether it was insufflation or exorcism, it was to be esteemed salutary to the soul; for as mixed metals could not be purged without fire, so neither could the soul be purged without exorcisms, which were Divine, and gathered out of the Holy Scriptures. He adds a little after, that the exorcists did thus, by the power of the Holy Spirit, cast a terror upon the evil spirit, and make him fly from the soul, and leave it in a salutary state and hope of eternal life; where we may observe two things that give great light in this matter: 1. Why it is so often called by the ancients the "fire of exorcism;" because it purges the soul, and as it were fires the evil spirit from it. 2. That these exorcisms were nothing but prayers, collected and composed out of the words of the Holy Scriptures, to beseech God to break the dominion and power of Satan in new converts, and to deliver them from his slavery by expelling the spirit of error and wickedness from them. Therefore Cyril[35] in another place calls them λόγοι εὐχῆς, the words of prayer, by which a devil, or a demoniac, who could not be held in chains of iron by many, was often held by one, through the power of the Holy Ghost working in him; and the bare insufflation of an exorcist, was a fire of sufficient force to expel the invisible spirits. So that the whole business of exorcism, and the power of it, is to be resolved into prayer, some forms of which are now extant in the Euchologium,[36] or Rituals of the Greek Church, published by Goar, and the Rituals of the Ancient Gallican Church, published by Mabillon.[37] From whence also it appears, that the insufflation, and imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross, [which was used at the same time, as we find in the writings of St. Austin[38] and St. Ambrose,[39]] were only looked upon as decent ceremonies or concomitants of prayer; to whose energy, and not to the bare ceremonies, the whole efficacy and benefit of this part of the catechumens' discipline is to be attributed. For though the ceremonies be sometimes only men-

[26] Conc. Carthag. ap. Cyprian. p. 232. Censeo omnes hæreticos et schismaticos, qui ad catholicam ecclesiam voluerint venire, non ante ingredi, nisi exorcizati et baptizati prius fuerint. Ibid. p. 237. Primo per manûs impositionem in exorcismo, secundo per baptismi regenerationem, tunc possunt ad Christi pollicitationem venire.

[27] Ibid. p. 230. Apud hæreticos omnia per mendacium aguntur, ubi exorcizat dæmoniacus, &c.

[28] Ferrand. Ep. ad Fulgent. de Catechizando Æthiope, inter Fulgentii Opera, p. 606. Celebrato solenniter scrutinio, per exorcismum contra diabolum vindicatur.

[29] Pet. Chrysolog. Serm. 52. Hinc est quod veniens ex gentibus impositione manûs et exorcismis ante a dæmone purgatur. Vid. Serm. 105.

[30] Conc. Bracar. 2. c. 1. Ante viginti dies baptismi ad purgationem exorcismi concurrant catechumeni, &c.

[31] Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccles. c. 31. Illud etiam quod circa baptizandos in universo mundo sancta ecclesia uniformiter agit, non otioso contemplamur intuitu: cum sive parvuli sive juvenes ad regenerationis veniunt sacramentum, non prius fontem vitæ adeant, quam exorcismis et exsufflationibus clericorum spiritus ab eis immundus abigatur.

[32] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 26.

[33] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 657. Μὴ διαπτύσῃς ἐξορκισμȣ̃ θεραπείαν, μηδὲ πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ταύτης ἀπαγορεύσῃς. Βάσανός ἐστί καὶ αὕτη τῆς περὶ τὸ χάρισμα γνησιότητος.

[34] Cyril. Præfat. ad Catech. n. 5. p. 7. Τȣ̀ς ἐπορκισμȣ̀ς δέχȣ μετὰ σπȣδῆς· κἂν ἐμφυσηθῇς κἂν ἐπορκισθῇς, σωτηρία σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα νόμισον εἶναι, &c. Vid. Catech. 1. n. 5. p. 18.

[35] Cyril. Catech. 16. n. 9. p. 234.

[36] Euchlog. p. 335.

[37] Mabillon. Musæum Italic. t. 1. p. 323.

[38] Aug. Confes. lib. 1. c. 11.

[39] Ambros. de iis qui initiantur, c. 4.

tioned, yet prayer is always to be understood, and to be taken for the substance of the action, whilst the other were only the circumstances of it.

Sect. 9. Partly by the exercises of fasting and abstinence, and confession, and repentance.

During this same term of twenty days the catechumens were also exercised with abstinence and fasting, as a suitable preparation for their ensuing baptism. The fourth council of Carthage has a canon which joins all these things together: Let such as give in their names to be baptized,[40] be exercised a long time with abstinence from wine and flesh, and with imposition of hands, and frequent examination, and so let them receive their baptism. In like manner St. Austin puts abstinence,[41] fastings, and exorcism together, and particularly mentions abstinence from the marriage bed, during this time of preparation for baptism. So Socrates tells us,[42] when the Burgundians desired baptism of a French bishop, he first made them fast seven days. And when a certain Jewish impostor, who had been baptized by the Arians and Macedonians, came at last to Paul, the Novatian bishop, to desire the like favour of him, the same author observes,[43] That Paul would not admit him, till he had first exercised him with fasting many days, and taught him the rudiments of the Christian faith. These fastings are also mentioned by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, where they speak of men's preparation for baptism. As many, says Justin Martyr,[44] as believe the things to be true which we teach, and promise to conform their lives to the laws of our religion, they first of all learn to ask pardon of their by-past sins of God by prayers and fastings, we joining our prayers and fastings with theirs. So Tertullian,[45] They that are about to receive baptism, must first use frequent prayers and fastings, and geniculations and watchings, and make confession of all their former sins, in imitation of John's baptism, taking it for a favour, that they are not obliged to make public confession of their flagitious crimes and offences. Whence we may conclude, that these confessions were sometimes public, and sometimes private, as directed by the wisdom of the church. They who would see more of this matter, may consult St. Cyril's Catechetic Discourses,[46] and Gregory Nazianzen's Oration about Baptism,[47] who, to confession, and prayers, and fasting, add humicubations, and groans and tears, and forgiving of enemies, as proper indications of a penitent mind, before men came to receive the seal of forgiveness at God's hand by the ministry of his church.

Sect. 10. Partly by learning the words of the Creed, and the Lord's prayer.

At this time also the *competentes* were taught the words of the Creed, which they were obliged to get by heart, in order to repeat it before the bishop at their last examination before baptism. This part of catechising was often performed by the bishop himself, as we may learn from those words of St. Ambrose,[48] where he thus distinguishes the *competentes* from the other catechumens: When the catechumens were dismissed, I recited the Creed to the *competentes* in the baptisteries of the church. This was done in some churches twenty days before baptism; for so the second council of Bracara ordered[49] for the Spanish churches. But the council of Agde in France[50] speaks only of eight days before Easter, appointing Palm Sunday to be the day when the Creed should be publicly taught the *competentes* in all their churches. But perhaps we are to distinguish betwixt the public and private teaching of the Creed; and so one might be done privately twenty days before by the catechists in the baptisteries or catechetic schools, and the other publicly, eight days before, by the ministers of the church. However this was, there was a certain day appointed for these catechumens to give an account of their Creed, and that was the *parasceue*, or day before our Saviour's passion, which the council of Laodicea[51] calls the fifth day of the great and solemn week, when such as were to be baptized, having learnt their Creed, were to repeat it before the bishop or presbyters in the church. And this was the only day, for several ages, that ever the Creed was publicly repeated in the Greek churches, as Theodorus Lector[52] informs us, who says, It was used to be recited only once a year, and that was on the *parasceue*, or

[40] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 84. Baptizandi nomen suum dent, et diu sub abstinentia vini et carnium, ac manûs impositione, crebra examinatione baptismum percipiant.

[41] Aug. de Fide et Oper. c. 6. Sine dubio non admitterentur, si per ipsos dies quibus eandem gratiam percepturi, suis nominibus datis, abstinentia, jejuniis, exorcismisque purgantur, cum suis legitimis et veris uxoribus se concubituros profiterentur, atque hujus rei, quamvis alio tempore licitæ, paucis ipsis solennibus diebus nullam continen tiam servaturos.

[42] Socrat. lib. 7. p. 30. [43] Ibid. c. 17.

[44] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 93.

[45] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 20. Ingressuros baptismum, orationibus crebris, jejuniis et geniculationibus et pervigiliis orare oportet, et cum confessione omnium retro delictorum, ut exponant etiam baptismum Johannis. Tingebantur, inquit, confitentes delicta sua. Nobis gratulandum est, si non publice confitemur iniquitates aut turpitudines nostras. Vid. Tertul. de Pœnitent. c. 6.

[46] Cyril. Catech. 1. n. 5 et 6. p. 18 et 19.

[47] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt.

[48] Ambros. Ep. 33. ad Marcellinam sororem, p. 158. Dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus tradebam in baptisteriis basilicæ.

[49] Conc. Bracar. 2. c. 1. Ante viginti dies baptismi, catechumeni symbolum, quod est, Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, specialiter doceantur.

[50] Conc. Agathen. c. 9. Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus ecclesiis una die, id est, ante octo dies Dominicæ resurrectionis, publice in ecclesia competentibus prædicari.

[51] Conc. Laodic. c. 46. Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς φωτιζομένους τὴν πίστιν ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἢ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις

[52] Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 563.

day of preparation to our Saviour's passion, now called Holy Thursday; at which time, the bishop was always wont to catechise the *competentes* in the church. When they had learned the Creed, they were also taught the Lord's prayer, which was not allowed ordinarily to the catechumens till immediately before their baptism. For this prayer was usually called, εὐχὴ πιστῶν, the prayer of the faithful, as being peculiarly used only by persons baptized, who were made sons of God by regeneration, and had a title, as such, to address God under the denomination of their Father which is in heaven: which catechumens, at least those of the first orders, could not so properly do; but when they arrived at this last degree of *competentes*, and stood as immediate candidates of baptism, then this form was part of their instruction, and not before. As we learn from Ferrandus Diaconus, who speaks first of their repeating the Creed, and then learning[53] the Lord's prayer. And the same is evident from Chrysostom, Austin, and Theodoret, of whom I shall have occasion to speak more particularly in chap. v. sect. 9, where I treat of the ancient discipline in concealing the sacred mysteries from the catechumens.

Sect. 11. And the form of renouncing the devil, and covenanting with Christ, and other responses to be used in baptism.

Together with the Creed, they were also taught how to make their proper responses in baptism; particularly the form of renouncing the devil and his works, his pomps, his worship, his angels, his inventions, and all things belonging to him; and the contrary form of covenanting with Christ, and engaging themselves in his service: for though these acts in their highest solemnity did properly appertain to the substance of baptism itself; yet it was necessary to instruct the catechumens beforehand, how they were to behave themselves in these matters, that they might not, through ignorance, be at a loss when they came to baptism. And therefore the author of the Apostolical Constitutions[54] orders it to be one special part of the catechumens' instruction, just before their baptism, that they should learn what related to the renunciation of the devil, and covenanting with Christ. And these engagements they actually entered into, not only at their baptism, but before it, as a just preparation for it: for, says that author, they ought first to abstain from the contraries, and then come to the holy mysteries, having purged their hearts beforehand of all spot and wrinkle, and habits of sin. And the same thing is intimated by Tertullian, and Ferrandus the deacon of Carthage; for Ferrandus says expressly,[55] that the catechumens, at the same time that they were exorcised, made their actual renunciation of the devil, and then were taught the Creed. And Tertullian means the same thing, when he says, that this renunciation was made twice; first in the church,[56] under the hands of the bishop, and then again when they came to the water to be baptized. And hence it became one part of the ancient office of deaconesses, to instruct the more ignorant and rustic sort of women, how they were to make their responses at the time of baptism to such interrogatories as the minister should then put to them, as I have had occasion to show from a canon of the fourth council of Carthage,[57] in discoursing of the office of deaconesses in another[58] place.

Sect. 12. What meant by the *competentes* going veiled some time before baptism.

Beside these parts of useful discipline and instruction, there were some other ceremonies of less note used toward the catechumens, which I must not wholly pass over. Among these was the ceremony of the *competentes* going veiled, or with their faces covered, for some days before baptism: which custom is taken notice of by Cyril of Jerusalem,[59] together with the reason of it: Your face, says he to the catechumens, was covered, that your mind might be more at liberty, and that the wandering of your eyes might not distract your soul. For when the eyes are covered, the ears are not diverted by any impediments from hearing and receiving the saving truths. St. Austin and Junilius give a more mystical reason for it. For they suppose the catechumens went veiled in public, as bearing the image of Adam's slavery after his expulsion out of Paradise; and that these veils, being taken away after baptism,[60] were an indication of the liberty of the spiritual life, which they obtained by the sacrament

[53] Ferrand. Ep. ad Fulgent. de Catechizando Æthiope. Ipsa insuper sancti symboli verba memoriter in conspectu fidelis populi clara voce pronuncians, piam regulam Dominicæ orationis accepit.

[54] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. c. 39 et 40. Μανθανέτω τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀποταγῆς τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς συνταγῆς τῦ Χριστοῦ, &c.

[55] Ferrand. Ep. ad Fulgent. inter Opera Fulgentii, p. 606. Per exorcismum contra diabolum vindicatur: cui se renunciare constanter, sicut hic consuetudo poscebat, auditurus symbolum, profitetur.

[56] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renunciare diabolo, et pompæ et angelis ejus.

[57] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 12. Viduæ vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant, et qualiter accepto baptismate vivant.

[58] Book II. chap. 22. sect. 9.

[59] Cyril. Præfat. ad Catech. n. 5. p. 7. Ἐσκέπασταί σου τὸ πρόσωπον, ἵνα σχολάσῃ λοιπὸν ἡ διάνοια.

[60] Aug. Ser. 4. in Dominic. Octav. Paschæ, 155. de Tempore. Hodie octavæ dicuntur infantium: revelanda sunt capita eorum, quod est indicium libertatis. Habet enim libertatem ista spiritalis nativitas. Junil. de Partibus Divinæ Legis, lib. 2. c. 16. Bibl. Patr. t. 1. p. 15. Typum gerunt Adæ Paradiso exclusi——propter quod et per publicum capitibus tectis incedunt.

of regeneration. However it be, the evidences are plain, that there was such a ceremony used to the catechumens: but, as Valesius[61] rightly observes, it did not respect them all, but only that order of them that were peculiarly called the *competentes*.

Sect. 13. Of the ceremony called *Ephphata*, or opening of the ears of the catechumens.

Another ceremony of this nature, was the custom of touching the ears of the catechumens, and saying unto them, *Ephphata*, Be opened: which Petrus Chrysologus[62] joins with imposition of hands and exorcism; making it to have something of mystical signification in it, to denote the opening of the understanding to receive the instructions of faith. And St. Ambrose,[63] or an author under his name, describes the same custom, deriving the original of it from our Saviour's example, in saying, *Ephphata*, Be opened, when he cured the deaf and the blind. But this custom seems not to have gained any great credit in the practice of the church; for besides these two authors, there is scarce any other that so much as mentions it; and whether it was used to the first or last order of the catechumens, is not very easy to determine.

Sect. 14. Of putting clay upon their eyes. What meant by it.

The like may be said of another ceremony which is mentioned in St. Ambrose, which was the custom of anointing the eyes with clay, in imitation of our Saviour's practice, when he cured the blind man by making clay of his spittle, and anointing his eyes with it, John ix. 6. The design of this ceremony, as that author explains it,[64] was to teach the catechumens to confess their sins, and to review their consciences, and repent of their errors, that is, to acknowledge what state and condition they were in by their first birth. St. Austin seems also[65] to refer to this practice in his discourse upon the blind man cured by our Saviour, where he says, The catechumens were anointed before baptism, as the blind man was by Christ, who was thereby perhaps made a catechumen.

Sect. 15. Whether the catechumens held a lighted taper in their hands in the time of exorcism.

Vicecomes[66] and Mr. Basnage[67] mention another custom, which was peculiar in their opinion to the African church, viz. the use of a lighted taper put into the hands of the catechumens in time of exorcism, to signify (as Mr. Basnage explains it) the illustration of the Holy Ghost; or, as Vicecomes would have it, the power of exorcism in expelling Satan. But their observation, I think, is grounded upon a mere mistake, interpreting some words of St. Cyprian and St. Austin in a literal sense, which are only figurative and metaphorical. Cyprian, speaking of the power of Christians over unclean spirits, says,[68] among many other things, that they could oblige them by their powerful stripes to forsake the persons they had possessed; that they could put them to the rack, and make them confess, and cry out, and groan; that they could scourge them with their whips, and burn them with their fire. Where it is plain enough to any unprejudiced reader, that the fire of exorcism here spoken of, is of the same kind with the whips, and stripes, and rack; that is, the spiritual and invisible power of the Holy Ghost, as Cyprian himself immediately explains them, when he says, All this was done, but not seen; the stroke was invisible, and the effect of it only appeared to men. So that it was not a material fire, or a lighted taper in the hands of the catechumens, that Cyprian speaks of, as Vicecomes fancies, but the invisible fire or power of the Holy Ghost. And it is the same fire that St. Austin means, whose authority only is urged by Mr. Basnage to found this custom on. He speaks of a fire indeed in the sacraments,[69] and in catechising, and in exorcising. For whence otherwise should it be, says he, that the unclean spirits so often cry out, I burn, if there be not a fire that burns them? From the fire of exorcism we pass to baptism, as from fire to water, and from water to a place of rest. There is nothing in all this that can signify a lighted taper in the hands of the catechumens, which certainly has no power to burn an unclean spirit: but the fire of exorcism is the invisible fire of the Holy Ghost, that is, the energy and powerful operation of God's Spirit, which casts out devils with a word, and makes Satan fall like lightning from heaven. Though I deny not but that this custom might come into the church in after ages; for Albi-

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[61] Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 4. c. 62.

[62] Chrysolog. Serm. 52. p. 286. Hinc est quod veniens ex gentibus impositione manûs et exorcismis ante a dæmone purgatur; et apertionem aurium percipit, ut fidei capere possit auditum.

[63] Ambros. de iis qui initiantur, c. 1. Quod vobis significavimus, cum apertionis celebrantes mysterium, diceremus, Effeta, quod est, aperire. —— Hoc mysterium celebravit Christus in evangelio, cum mutum curaret et surdum. Id. de Sacramentis, lib. 1. c. 1. Mysteria celebrata sunt apertionis, quando tibi aures tetigit sacerdos et nares.

[64] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 3. c. 2. Ergo quando dedisti nomen tuum, tulit lutum et linivit super oculos tuos. Quod significat ut peccatum tuum fatereris, ut conscientiam tuam recognosceres, ut pœnitentiam ageres delictorum, hoc est, sortem humanæ generationis agnosceres.

[65] Aug. Tract. 44. in Johan. t. 9. p. 133. Catechumenus inunctus est nondum lotus.

[66] Vicecomes de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 2. c. 32.

[67] Basnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 488.

[68] Cypr. ad Donatum. p. 4. Facultas datur, immundos et erraticos spiritus ad confessionem minis increpantibus cogere; ut recedant duris verberibus urgere; conflictantes, ejulantes, gementes, incremento pœnæ propagantis extendere; flagris cædere, igne torrere. Res illic geritur, nec videtur; occulta plaga, et pœna manifesta.

[69] Aug. Enarrat. in Psal. lxv. p. 277. In sacramentis et in catechizando et in exorcizando adhibetur prius ignis. Nam unde immundi spiritus plerumque clamant, Ardeo, si ille ignis non est? Post ignem autem exorcismi venitur ad baptismum, &c.

nus Flaccus, a ritualist of the eighth century, speaks of a custom like to it,[70] as used at least the night before the catechumens were to be baptized. For, describing the ceremonies of the vigil of the great sabbath before Easter, he says, A wax taper was used to be carried before the catechumens, which signified the illumination wherewith Christ enlightened that night by the grace of his resurrection, and the catechumens coming to baptism. And this was it that deceived Vicecomes, who would have all modern customs appear with a face of antiquity, and therefore wrested the words of St. Cyprian and St. Austin, to patronize a novel ceremony, which in their days was not so much as thought of.

Sect. 16. What meant by the sacrament of the catechumens.

There is another mistake which runs through the writings of many modern authors, concerning what the ancients call the sacrament of the catechumens. They suppose, that though the catechumens were not allowed to participate of the eucharist, yet they had something like it, which they call *eulogiæ*, or *panis benedictus*, consecrated bread, taken out of the same oblations, out of which anciently the eucharist itself was taken. Baronius[71] was the first that maintained this opinion, and after him Bellarmine,[72] and Vicecomes,[73] Albaspiny,[74] Petavius,[75] Bishop Beverege,[76] Estius, Maldonate, and many others follow him in the same assertion. But the opinion is wholly grounded upon a mistaken passage in St. Austin, who speaks indeed of something that, according to the language of his age, was then called the sacrament of the catechumens; but he does not say, that it was consecrated bread, or part of the same *eulogiæ* out of which the eucharist was taken. His words are these:[77] That which the catechumens receive, though it be not the body of Christ, is yet a holy thing, and more holy than the common meat which sustains us, because it is a sacrament. He gives it the name of sacrament, according to the custom of that age, which was, to call every thing a sacrament, that had either any thing of mystery or of spiritual signification in it. But that this sacrament was not the consecrated bread, but only a little taste of salt, we may learn from the same St. Austin, who, speaking of himself as a catechumen, says, At that time[78] he was often signed with the cross of Christ, and seasoned with his salt. And that it was this, and no more, appears further from a canon of the third council of Carthage, at which St. Austin was present, which orders,[79] That no other sacrament should be given to the catechumens on the most solemn days of the paschal festival, except their usual salt; giving this reason for it, That forasmuch as the faithful did not change their sacraments on those days, neither ought the catechumens to change theirs. From whence it is easy to be inferred, that the sacrament of the catechumens means no more than this ceremony of giving them a little taste of the salt, like milk and honey that was given after baptism, as Cardinal Bona,[80] and Mr. Aubertine,[81] and Basnage,[82] have rightly concluded: the design of the thing being not to give them any thing in imitation of the eucharist, or introductory to that, which they always kept hid as a secret from them; but that by this symbol they might learn to purge and cleanse their souls from sin; salt being the emblem of purity and incorruption.

Sect. 17. How the catechumens were punished, if they fell into gross sins.

I have but two things more to observe concerning the discipline used towards the catechumens. The one relates to those ecclesiastical censures and punishments, which were usually inflicted on them, in case they were found to have lapsed into any gross and scandalous offences. These being not yet admitted into full communion with the church, could not be punished as other offenders, by being subjected to those several rules of penance as other offenders were; nor did the church think fit to be so severe upon them, as upon other penitents that lapsed after baptism: but their punishment was commonly no more but a degradation of them from one degree of catechumenship to another, or at most a prorogation of their baptism to the hour of death. This appears plainly from the fifth canon of the council of Neocæsarea, which speaks thus of the several degrees of catechumens and their punishment: If any catechumen, who comes to church, and stands in any order of catechumens there, be found guilty of sin; if he be a kneeler or prostrator, let him become a hearer, if he sins no more; but if he sin while he is a hearer, let him be cast out of the church. After the same manner it

[70] Albin. al. Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. c. 19. Cereus præcedit catechumenos nostros; lumen ipsius Christum significat, quo præsens nox illuminetur, gratia scilicet resurrectionis, et catechumeni ad baptismum venturi.

[71] Baron. an. 313. n. 55.

[72] Bellarm. de Sacram. lib. 2. c. 25.

[73] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 259.

[74] Albaspin. Observat. lib. 2. c. 36.

[75] Petav. Animadvers. in Epiphan. Exposit. Fidei, p. 366.

[76] Bevereg. Not. in Can. 2. Conc. Antioch. Estius in Sentent. lib. 4. Dist. 10. sect. 5.

[77] Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. 2. c. 26. Quod accipiunt catechumeni, quamvis non sit corpus Christi, sanctum est tamen, et sanctius quam cibi quibus alimur, quoniam sacramentum est.

[78] Aug. Confess. lib. 1. c. 11. Audieram ego adhuc puer de vita æterna nobis promissa per humilitatem Filii tui Domini Dei nostri, et signabar jam signo crucis, et condiebar ejus sale.

[79] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 5. Placuit ut per solemnissimos paschales dies sacramentum catechumenis non detur, nisi solitum sal: quia si fideles per illos dies sacramenta non mutant, non catechumenis oportet mutari.

[80] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 16. n. 3.

[81] Albertinus de Eucharist. lib. 2. p. 650 et 711.

[82] Basnag. Exercit. Critic. in Baron. p. 487.

was decreed by the great council[83] of Nice, That if any of the catechumens (by whom they more especially mean the kneelers) were found guilty of sin, they should be degraded to the *classis* of the hearers for three years, and after that be admitted to pray with the catechumens again. In the council of Eliberis there are several canons to this purpose. For whereas the ordinary time of continuing catechumens was but two years, as appointed by that[84] council; yet in case of lapsing, they were obliged to continue catechumens sometimes three years, sometimes five, and sometimes to the hour of death, before they were baptized, according to the nature and quality of their offences. If a catechumen took upon him the office of a heathen flamen, and did not sacrifice,[85] but only exhibit the usual games, he was to be punished with the prorogation of his baptism for three years from the time of his lapsing. If a woman who was a catechumen divorced herself from her husband,[86] her punishment was five years' prorogation. But if she committed adultery, and after conception used any arts to destroy her infant in the womb, then her baptism was to be deferred to the hour[87] of death. And this was the highest punishment that ever was inflicted upon catechumens. For though in this council many times communion, even at the hour of death, be denied to believers that had lapsed after baptism; yet we meet with no instance or command, in this or any other place, prohibiting catechumens to be baptized at their last hour. The sixty-seventh canon of this council[88] orders them for some crimes to be cast out of communion; which is the same as the council of Neocæsarea calls casting out of the church, or reducing them back to the lowest rank of private catechumens, who were not allowed to enter the church: but when this was done, if ever after[89] they showed true signs of repentance, and a desire to be baptized, they were admitted to this privilege at the hour of death, if not before: and this council gives a reason for this moderation toward them in comparison of others, because their sins were committed whilst they were unregenerate in the old man, and therefore were more easily pardoned than crimes committed by believers after baptism. This was the distinction universally observed between the punishments of the catechumens, and those that had arrived to greater perfections in the church.

Sect. 18. How they were treated by the church, if they died without baptism.

But in case the catechumens died without baptism, by neglect or their own default, then they were punished as other malefactors, who unqualified themselves for the solemnities of a Christian burial. They were put into the same rank as those who laid violent hands on themselves, or were publicly executed for their crimes. The first council of Bracara joins all these[90] together, as persons unworthy to be interred with the usual solemnities of singing of psalms, or to be commemorated amongst the faithful in the oblations and prayers of the church. For in ancient times, prayers, and oblations, and thanksgivings were solemnly made in the communion service, for all that died in the faith of Christ, and in full communion with the church: but such as neglected their baptism, were none of this number; and therefore they were buried in silence, and no mention was ever after made of them among others in the prayers of the church. Chrysostom[91] says expressly, This was the peculiar privilege of those that died in the faith, but catechumens were excluded from this benefit and all other helps, except that of alms and oblations for them.

Sect. 19. What opinion the ancients had of the necessity of baptism.

This discipline plainly respected those who put a contempt upon the holy ordinance of baptism, and neglected to receive it, when the time of their catechumenship perhaps was expired, and they were under an obligation by the laws of the church to have received it. But in case there was no contempt, but only an unforeseen and unavoidable necessity hindered their baptism, whilst they were diligently preparing for it; in that case, they were treated a little more favourably by the ancients, who did not generally think the mere want of baptism in such circumstances to be such a piacular crime, as to exclude men absolutely from the benefit of church communion, or the hopes of eternal salvation. Some few of them indeed are pretty severe upon

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83 Conc. Nicen. c. 14. *Περὶ τῶν κατηχȣμένων καὶ παραπεσόντων ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥϛε τριῶν ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀκροωμένους μόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα εὔχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν κατηχȣμένων.*

84 Conc. Eliber. c. 42.

85 Ibid. c. 4. Item flamines, si fuerint catechumeni, et se a sacrificiis abstinuerunt, post triennii tempora, placuit ad baptismum admitti debere.

86 Ibid. c. 10 et 11. Intra quinquennii autem tempora, catechumena si graviter fuerit infirmata, dandum ei baptismum placuit non denegari. Vid. can. 73. de Delatoribus.

87 Ibid. can. 68. Catechumena, si per adulterium conceperit, et conceptum necaverit, placuit eam in fine baptizari. Vid. can. 73. ibid.

88 Conc. Eliber. can. 67. Prohibendum ne qua fidelis vel catechumena aut comicos aut viros cinerarios (al. scenicos) habeat; quæcunque hoc fecerit a communione arceatur.

89 Ibid. c. 45. Qui aliquando fuerit catechumenus, et per infinita tempora nunquam ad ecclesiam accesserit, si eum de clero quisquam cognoverit esse (al. voluisse esse) Christianum, aut testes aliqui extiterint fideles, placuit, ei baptismum non negari; eo quod in veterem hominem deliquisse videatur.

90 Conc. Bracar. 1. c. 35. Catechumenis sine redemptione baptismi defunctis, simili modo, non oblationis sanctæ commemoratio, neque psallendi impendatur officium.

91 Chrysost. Hom. 3. in Phil. p. 1225. *Οἱ δὲ κατηχούμενοι οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀξιοῦνται τῆς παραμυθίας*, &c.

infants dying without baptism, and some others seem also, in general terms, to deny eternal life to adult persons dying without it: but yet, when they interpret themselves, and speak more distinctly, they make some allowance, and except several cases, in which the want of baptism may be supplied by other means, when the want of it proceeded not from contempt, but from some great necessity and disability to receive it. They generally ground the necessity of baptism upon those two sayings of our Saviour, "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved;" and, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." But then, in their exposition of these texts, they limit the sense to the ordinary method of salvation, and such cases wherein baptism may be had. And as for extraordinary cases, wherein baptism could not be had, though men were desirous of it, they made several exceptions in behalf of other things, which, in such circumstances, were thought sufficient to supply the want of it.

Sect. 20. The want of baptism supplied by martyrdom.

The chief of these excepted cases was martyrdom, which commonly goes by the name of second baptism, or, baptism in men's own blood, in the writings of the ancients, because of the power and efficacy it was thought to have, to save men by the invisible baptism of the Spirit, without the external element of water. Tertullian,[92] upon this account, not only dignifies it with the title of second baptism, but says, it was that which men desired to suffer, as that which procured the grace of God and pardon[93] of all sins by the compensation of their own blood; for by this act all sins were pardoned. This was that second baptism[94] in men's own blood, with which our Lord himself was baptized after he had been baptized in water. This baptism was of force both to compensate for want of baptism, and to restore it when men had lost it. Cyprian treads in the steps of his master Tertullian; for speaking of the catechumens, who were apprehended and slain for the name of Christ, before they could be baptized in the church, he says, These were not deprived[95] of the sacrament of baptism, seeing they were baptized in the most glorious and celebrated baptism of their own blood; to which our Lord had reference, when he said, "I have another baptism to be baptized with." And, says he, that they who are thus baptized in blood, are also sanctified and consummated by their passion, and made partakers of the grace which God hath promised, is further declared by our Saviour in his Gospel, in that he said to the thief, who believed and confessed him upon the cross, "To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise." Cyprian has many other noble encomiums and flights upon this second baptism, and he excepts no sort of men from the benefit of it, but only one, that is, heretics and schismatics, because they wanted the grace of charity, and died out of the communion of the church without repentance; in which case he thought martyrdom itself not sufficient[96] to expiate their crimes, though it was available to purge away any others. Origen was wont to speak of this kind of baptism, under the name of baptism by fire, as that which often translated even catechumens to heaven, though they wanted baptism by water. For so Eusebius represents both Origen's sense and his own, when, speaking of the martyrs that suffered out of the school of Origen, he says, Two of them were only catechumens; Heraclides among the men, and Herais among the women,[97] were in this class only, when they died, but they received baptism by fire, as Origen was used to phrase it. And that this baptism did purge away sins, as well as baptism by water, Origen himself declares: for he argues thus, That martyrdom[98] is rightly called baptism, because it procures remission of sins, as baptism by water and the Spirit doth; and that by virtue of Christ's promise, who ascertains pardon of sins to all that suffer martyrdom, saying, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven." And that this was then the general doctrine of the Christians in that age, appears further from this, that it was so common and well known, that the heathens themselves were not

[92] Tertul. de Patient. c. 13. Quum vero producitur ad experimentum felicitatis, ad occasionem secundæ intinctionis, &c.

[93] Tertul. Apol. c. 50. Quis non ubi requisivit accedit? ubi accessit, pati exoptat? ut totam Dei gratiam redimat, ut omnem veniam de eo compensatione sanguinis sui expediat? Omnia enim huic operi delicta donantur.

[94] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 16. Est quidem nobis etiam secundum lavacrum, unum et ipsum, sanguinis scilicet: de quo Dominus, Habeo, inquit, baptismo tingui, quum jam tinctus fuisset.—Hic est baptismus, qui lavacrum et non acceptum repræsentat, et perditum reddit.

[95] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 208. Deinde nec privari baptismi sacramento, utpote qui baptizentur gloriosissimo et maximo sanguinis baptismo, de quo et Dominus dicebat, habere se aliud baptisma baptizari, &c.

[96] Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 150. Quale delictum est, quod nec baptismo sanguinis potest ablui? Quale crimen est, quod martyrio non potest expiari? Vid. Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. p. 113. It. Ep. 55. ad Antonian. p. 108. Ep. 57 et 60. ad Cornel. Ep. 73. ad Stephan. p. 207.

[97] Euseb. Hist. lib. 6. c. 4. Ἡραῒς ἔτι κατηχȣμένη, τὸ βάπτισμα, ὥς πȣ φησὶν αὐτὸς, το διὰ πυρὸς λαϐȣ̃σα, τὸν βίον ἐξελήλυθεν.

[98] Orig. Tract. 12. in Matth. p. 85. Si baptismus indulgentiam peccatorum promittit, sicut accepimus de baptismo aquæ et Spiritûs: remissionem autem accepit peccatorum et qui martyrii suscipit baptismum: sine dubio ipsum martyrium rationabiliter baptismus appellatur. Quoniam autem remissio fit peccatorum omni martyrium sustinenti, manifestum est ex eo quod ait, Omnis qui confessus fuerit in me coram hominibus, et ego confitebor in illo coram Patre meo qui est in cœlis.

ignorant of it. For in the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. Felicitas and Perpetua, who suffered about the time of Origen and Tertullian, one Saturus a catechumen[99] is spoken of as being thrown to a leopard, who by the first bite of the wild beast was so washed all over in blood, that the people, as he returned, gave him the testimony of the second baptism, crying out, *Salvum lotum; salvum lotum;* Baptized and saved; baptized and saved. This they said only by way of ridicule of the Christian doctrine of martyrdom's being esteemed a second baptism, and a means of salvation: but the author of the Acts rightly observes, that he was saved indeed, who was so baptized.

Nor was this only the doctrine of the more ancient writers, who lived in the times of persecution and martyrdom, but of those that followed after, and who are commonly imagined more rigid defenders of the necessity of baptism. For even St. Austin and all his contemporaries, who were engaged against Pelagius, made the same allowance in the case of martyrdom. St. Austin declares himself[100] wholly of Cyprian's opinion, that martyrdom does many times supply the room of baptism; and he thinks Cyprian argued well from the instance of the thief upon the cross, to whom it was said, though he was not baptized, "To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise." St. Austin often argues from the same[101] example of the thief in other places, telling us, That by the ineffable power and justice of God, baptism was imputed to the thief upon his faith, and it was accounted to him as if he had received it, because he had a good mind and will toward it, though he could not actually receive it in his body by reason of his crucifixion. Therefore he reckons him[102] among those who are sanctified by the invisible grace without the visible sacrament, as he thinks many were both under the Old and New Testament: from whence yet it does not follow, that the visible sacrament may be contemned by any; for the contemner of it cannot by any means be sanctified by the invisible grace thereof. In his book De Civitate Dei, he speaks more generally[103] of all those that suffer martyrdom, that though they have not been washed in the laver of regeneration, yet their dying for the confession of Christ avails as much toward the remission of sins, as if they had been washed in the holy fountain of baptism. For which he alleges those sayings of our Saviour, "He that loses his life for my sake, shall find it;" and, "He that confesses me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven." This passage is repeated and approved by Prosper, in his Collection of Sentences[104] out of St. Austin's works: to which he adds an epigram of his own, expressing his sense to this purpose: They are not[105] deprived of the holy baptism of Christ, who, instead of a font, are washed in their own blood; for whatever benefit accrues to any by the mystical rite of the sacred laver, is all fulfilled by the glory of martyrdom. Fulgentius is as severe as any man, yet he allows martyrdom[106] to compensate for the want of baptism. Though he pronounces peremptorily of all others, that die without the sacrament of faith and repentance, which is baptism, that they shall not inherit eternal life; yet he excepts those that are baptized in their own blood for the name of Christ. And Gennadius, after he has said, that none but persons[107] baptized are in the way of salvation; and that no catechumen, though he die in good works, can have eternal life; yet he excepts the case of martyrdom, because in that all the mysteries of baptism are fulfilled. A martyr, as the author of the Apostolical Constitutions[108] expresses

[99] Acta Perpetuæ et Felicit. ad calcem Lactantii de Mort. Persecutor. p. 34. Statim in fine spectaculi leopardo ejecto, de uno morsu tanto perfusus est sanguine, ut populus reverteuti illi secundi baptismatis testimonium reclamaverit: Salvum lotum: salvum lotum. Plane utique salvus erat, qui hoc modo laverat.

[100] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 4. c. 22. Baptismi sane vicem aliquando implere passionem, de latrone illo, cui non baptizato dictum est, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso, non leve documentum B. Cyprianus assumit.

[101] Aug. Octogint. Quæst. lib. qu. 62. t. 4. Ineffabili potestate dominantis Dei atque justitia deputatum est etiam baptismum credenti latroni, et pro accepto habitum in animo libero, quod in corpore crucifixo accipi non poterat.

[102] Aug. Quæst. in Levit. qu. 84. t. 4. Hoc et de latrone illo, cui secum crucifixo Dominus ait, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. Neque enim sine sanctificatione invisibili tanta felicitate donatus est. Proinde colligitur invisibilem sanctificationem quibusdam affuisse atque profuisse sine visibilibus sacramentis.—Nec tamen ideo sacramentum visibile contemnendum est; nam contemptor ejus sanctificari nullo modo potest.

[103] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 13. c. 7. Quicunque etiam non percepto regenerationis lavacro, pro Christi confessione moriuntur, tantum eis valet ad dimittenda peccata quantum si abluerentur sacro fonte baptismatis. It. Ep. 108. ad Seleucian. Ipsa passio pro baptismo deputata est. It. de Orig. Animæ, lib. 1. c. 9.

[104] Prosper. Sentent. 149.

[105] Id. Epigram. 88.

Fraudati non sunt sacro baptismate Christi,
Fons quibus ipsa sui sanguinis unda fuit
Et quicquid sacri fert mystica forma lavacri,
Id totum implevit gloria martyrii.

[106] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, c. 30. Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites, exceptis illis qui pro nomine Christi suo sanguine baptizantur, nullum hominem accepturum vitam æternam, qui non hic a malis suis fuerit per pœnitentiam fidemque conversus, et per sacramentum fidei et pœnitentiæ, id est, per baptismum liberatus. Vid. Fulgent. de Baptismo Æthiopis, c. 8.

[107] Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. 74. Baptizatis tantum iter esse salutis credimus; nullum catechumenum, quamvis in bonis operibus defunctum, vitam æternam habere credimus, excepto martyrio, ubi tota baptismi sacramenta complentur.

[108] Constit. Apost. lib. 5. c. 6.

it, may rejoice in the Lord, and leave this life without sorrow, though he be but a catechumen; because his passion for Christ is a more genuine baptism: he really and experimentally dies with his Lord, whilst others only do it in figure. It were easy to add many other such testimonies out of St. Chrysostom,[109] and St. Jerom,[110] St. Basil,[111] Gregory Nazianzen,[112] Cyril of Jerusalem,[113] and St. Ambrose:[114] but enough has been already said to show this to be the general sense of the ancients, that catechumens were not to be despaired of, though they died without baptism, if they were baptized in their own blood.

Sect. 21. And by faith and repentance in such catechumens as were piously preparing for baptism.

Nor was it only the case of martyrs they speak so favourably of, but of all other catechumens, who, whilst they were preparing for baptism by the exercises of faith, and repentance, and a pious life, were suddenly cut off, before they could have opportunity to put their desires in execution. St. Ambrose joins these two cases together, and makes them in a manner parallel. For in his funeral oration upon the younger Valentinian, who was thus snatched away before he could attain to his desired baptism, he thus makes apology for him: If any one[115] is concerned that the holy rites of baptism were not solemnly administered to him, he may as well say, that the martyrs are not crowned, if they happen to die whilst they are only catechumens: but if the martyrs are washed in their own blood, then this man also was washed by his piety and desire of baptism. St. Austin was entirely of the same opinion, that not only martyrdom,[116] but faith and repentance joined with a desire of baptism, was sufficient to save a man in the article of necessity, when there was otherwise no opportunity to receive it. Considering, says he, over and over again the case of the thief upon the cross, I find that not only suffering for the name of Christ may supply that which was wanting of baptism, but also faith and true conversion of heart, if want of time in extreme necessity would not suffer the sacrament of baptism to be administered. For that thief was not crucified for the name of Christ, but for the merit of his own crimes; nor did he suffer because he was a believer, but he became a believer whilst he was a suffering. Therefore his case declares how far that saying of the apostle avails, without the visible sacrament of baptism, "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation:" but then only this invisible operation is performed, when the ministry of baptism is excluded purely by the article of necessity, and not any contempt of religion. Therefore when these writers speak in general terms of the absolute necessity of baptism, they must be allowed to interpret themselves with these two limitations and restrictions. As when St. Ambrose says,[117] No man ascends into the kingdom of heaven, but by the sacrament of baptism, he must be understood to except martyrs, and such catechumens as were desirous of baptism, but could not have it by reason of some pressing necessity intervening to hinder it: such as was the case of Valentinian, who was slain suddenly before he had opportunity to receive it. The like interpretation must be put upon all such passages in St. Austin,[118] Chrysostom,[119] Cyril of Jerusalem,[120] or any others, who speak in general terms of the absolute necessity of baptism for catechumens or adult persons.

Sect. 22. The case of heretics returning to the unity of the church. How far charity in that case was thought to supply the want of baptism.

Cyprian also had a very charitable opinion concerning all such heretics and schismatics, as forsook their errors, and returned to the unity of the catholic church. For though according to his principles [who denied the validity of their baptism] none of these could be really and truly baptized, unless they were rebaptized upon their return to the church; yet if any such died in the unity of the church without being rebaptized, he did not think their condition deplorable, [though in his opinion they died without baptism,] but charitably hoped they might find mercy and favour with the Lord. For he thus answers the objection that was made against his own opinion about rebaptization: Some man will say,[121] What then becomes

[109] Chrys. Hom. 11. in Ephes. p. 1107.

[110] Hieron. Com. in Rom. vi. t. 9. p. 277.

[111] Basil. de Spir. Sanct. c. 15. t. 2. p. 323.

[112] Nazianzen. Orat. 39. in S. Lumina. t. 1. p. 634.

[113] Cyril. Catech. 3. n. 7.

[114] Ambros. de Virginib. lib. 3. p. 118.

[115] Ambros. de Obitu Valentin. p. 12. Si quia solenniter non sunt celebrata mysteria, hoc movet: ergo nec martyres, si catechumeni fuerint, coronantur. Quod si suo abluuntur sanguine, et hunc sua pietas abluit et voluntas.

[116] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 4. c. 22. Etiam atque etiam considerans, invenio non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi id quod ex baptismo deerat, posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionemque cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi in angustiis temporum succurri non potest. Neque enim latro ille pro nomine Christi crucifixus est, sed pro meritis facinorum suorum; nec quia credidit passus est, sed dum patitur credidit. Quantum igitur valeat etiam sine visibili sacramento baptismi quod ait apostolus, corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem, in illo latrone declaratum est: sed tunc impletur invisibiliter, cum ministerium baptismi non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis excludit.

[117] Ambros. de Abrah. Patriarch. lib. 2. c. 10. Nemo ascendit in regnum cœlorum, nisi per sacramentum baptismatis.

[118] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 4. c. 21.

[119] Chrys. de Sacerdot. lib. 3. c. 5. It. Hom. 3. in Philip. p. 1224. Hom. 3. in 1 Cor. p. 347.

[120] Cyril. Catech. 3. n. 7.

[121] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 208. Sed dicet aliquis: Quid ergo fiet de his qui in præteritum de hæresi ad ecclesiam venientes, sine baptismo admissi sunt? Potens est Dominus misericordiâ suâ indulgentiam dare, et eos qui ad

of all those, who in times past came over from heresy to the church, and were admitted without baptism? The Lord, says he, is able of his mercy to grant them indulgence, and not exclude them from the gifts of his church, who are simply admitted into the church, and die in the communion of it. Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, delivers himself much after the same manner in answer to the same objection: What shall become of those[122] who, returning from heretics, are admitted without the baptism of the church? If they depart out of the world, says he, in that condition, we reckon them in the number of such catechumens among us as die before they are baptized. So that in his opinion two sorts of persons might be saved without baptism, that is, catechumens in the church, and such heretics as returned to the peace and unity of the church, though, according to his sentiments, they were not baptized. St. Austin often mentions and approves this opinion of Cyprian;[123] nay, and urges it in favour of the church against the Donatists: for supposing the catholics did err in admitting heretics without baptism, yet they were in the number of those, whom Cyprian presumed capable of pardon for the sake of unity and charity, which covers a multitude of sins. St. Basil also, as Vossius[124] has rightly observed, seems to have been of Cyprian's opinion, that God in his mercy was able to save such schismatics as returned to the peace and unity of the church, even without baptism. For though he thought their baptism null and void, as Cyprian did, yet he advises men to comply with the custom of receiving[125] such to communion in those churches which received their baptism, rather than break the peace and unity of the church upon it. Which advice he would hardly have given, had he not thought such men in such circumstances capable of salvation by God's mercy without baptism.

Sect. 23. The case of persons communicating with the church without baptism. How far that was thought to supply the want of baptism.

I find one case more in which some of the ancients made an allowance for the want of baptism; and that was, when the church, presuming a person to have been truly baptized, (he himself *bona fide* presuming so too,) admitted him to communicate constantly at the altar for many years, though it appeared at last that either he had not been baptized at all, or at least with a very doubtful and suspicious baptism; yet in this case constant communicating with the church was thought to supply this defect or want of baptism. A single act of communicating, indeed, in a child, or a catechumen, happening only by some surprise or mistake, was not deemed sufficient to compensate for baptism; for in that case the canons provided, that whenever any such thing happened the party should be immediately baptized. Thus in the canonical determinations of Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, the question being put, What should be done in case a youth of seven years old, or a man that was only a catechumen, being present at the oblation, had communicated through ignorance or mistake? the answer[126] is, Let him be baptized. And so the author of the Apostolical Constitutions brings in the apostles making this decree,[127] That if any unbaptized person should, through ignorance, partake of the eucharist, they should immediately instruct and baptize him, that he might not go away a despiser. But in case a man, upon presumption of his being truly baptized, when he was not so, had been allowed to communicate with the church for many years, his communicating at the altar was thought to supersede the necessity of baptism, and such a one was allowed to continue in the church without rebaptizing. There is a famous instance in Eusebius of such a case that happened at Alexandria in the time of Dionysius, which Eusebius relates out of an epistle of Dionysius to Xystus, bishop of Rome, where he asks the bishop of Rome's advice upon it. A certain person, who for many years had assembled and communicated[128] with the church, both in his own time, and in the time of his predecessor, Heraclas, happening to be present at the baptism of some who were lately baptized, upon hearing the interrogatories and answers that are usually made in that solemnity, came to me weeping and lamenting himself, and falling down at my feet, confessed, with a most solemn protestation, that the baptism which he had received among heretics, was not like this, nor had any thing common with it, for it was full of blasphemy and impiety; and therefore he said his soul was full of trouble, and he had not confidence to lift up his eyes unto God, being initiated with such impious words and ceremonies. He prayed, therefore, that I would give him our sincere baptism, and admit him to the adoption and

ecclesiam simpliciter admissi, in ecclesia dormierunt, ab ecclesiæ suæ muneribus non separare.

[122] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cyprian. p. 226. Quid ergo, inquiunt, fiet de his qui ab hæreticis venientes, sine ecclesiæ baptismo admissi sunt? Si de sæculo excesserunt, in eorum numero, qui apud nos catechizati quidem, sed priusquam baptizarentur obierunt, habentur.

[123] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 2. c. 13. Cum arbitraretur eos qui extra ecclesiæ communionem baptizarentur, baptismum non habere, credidit eos tamen in ecclesiam simpliciter admissos, propter ipsius unitatis vinculum posse ad veniam pervenire. It. lib. 5. c. 2. Bene quidem præsumpsit, quod charitas unitatis possit cooperire multitudinem peccatorum.—Nos autem si ad ecclesiam sine baptismo admittimus, in eo numero sumus quibus Cyprianus propter unitatis custodiam ignosci posse præsumpsit. It. lib. 5. c. 28. It. cont. Crescon. lib. 2. c. 33 et 35.

[124] Voss. de Baptismo, Disput. 11. p. 156.

[125] Basil. Can. Epist. c. 1.

[126] Timoth. Respons. Canon. qu. 1. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2.

[127] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. c. 25.

[128] Dionys. Epist. ad Xystum, ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 9.

grace of the church. Which thing I durst not do, but told him, his communicating for so long time at the altar was sufficient to this purpose. For I durst not rebaptize one who had so often heard the solemn thanksgiving, and joined with the rest in saying Amen to it; who had stood at the Lord's table, and stretched forth his hand to receive the holy food; who had taken it and been so long used to participate of the body and blood of Christ. But I bid him be of good courage, and with a firm belief, and a good conscience, continue to partake of the holy mysteries. This was a nice resolution of a rare and singular case, and we scarce meet with such another instance in ancient history; but I have mentioned this and all the preceding cases, to show, that the ancients had not generally that rigid opinion of the absolute necessity of baptism (barring the neglect and contempt of the sacred institution) which some would father upon them; since they thought the bare want of it might be dispensed with and supplied so many several ways; either, 1. By martyrdom; or, 2. By faith and true conversion; or, 3. By an immense charity, and love of unity and peace; or, 4. By a constant partaking of the eucharist in the bosom of the church.

Sect. 24. The case of infants dying unbaptized. The opinion of the ancients concerning it.

But it is to be observed, that these allowances were chiefly made to adult persons, who could exhibit faith and repentance, the essential parts of religion, to make some compensation for the want of the external ceremony of baptism; but as to infants, the case was thought more difficult, because there was no personal faith or repentance could be pleaded in their behalf, so that they were destitute both of the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace, of baptism. Upon this account, they who spoke the most favourably of them, would only venture to assign them a middle state, neither in heaven nor hell. As Gregory Nazianzen,[129] who says, That such children as die unbaptized without their own fault, shall neither be glorified nor punished by the righteous Judge, as having done no wickedness, though they die unbaptized, and as rather suffering loss than being the authors of it. Severus, bishop of Antioch, follows Nazianzen in this opinion; for, first, he says,[130] That if children die unbaptized, without partaking of the laver of regeneration, they are certainly excluded from the kingdom of heaven; but then he adds, that forasmuch as they have committed no sin, they shall not undergo any punishment or torment, but be consigned to a sort of middle state, which he describes as a state betwixt the glory of the saints and the punishment of the damned. But this opinion of a middle state never found any acceptance among the Latins. For they make but two places to receive men after the day of judgment, heaven and hell; and concluded, that since children, for want of washing away original sin, could not be admitted into heaven, they must of necessity be in hell, there being no third place between them. St. Austin frequently insists upon this against the Pelagians, who distinguish between the kingdom of God and eternal life, asserting, that children dying unbaptized might be admitted to eternal life and salvation, though not to the kingdom of God: whom he opposes after this manner in his books about the Merits and Remission of Sin: Though, he says, the condemnation[131] of those shall be greater, who to original sin add actual sins of their own; and every man's condemnation so much the greater, by how much greater sin he commits; yet original sin alone does not only separate from the kingdom of God, whither children, dying without the grace of Christ, cannot enter, as the Pelagians themselves confess; but also it excludes them from eternal life and salvation, which can be no other than the kingdom of God, into which our communion with Christ alone can introduce us. A little after[132] he says plainly, that children dying without baptism are under condemnation, though theirs be the mildest of any other. But he is very much deceived, and deceives others, who teaches that they are in no condemnation at all, whilst the apostle declares, that "judgment was by one offence to condemnation." And again, that "by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation." He tells us,[133] upon this account the Punic Christians were used to call baptism by the name of salvation, and the sacrament of the body of Christ, life. And therefore, since no one could hope for salvation and eternal life without baptism and the body and blood of the Lord, it was in vain to promise children salvation without them. In the same book[134] he de-

[129] Naz. Orat. 40. t. i. p. 653.

[130] Sever. Catena in Joh. iii. p. 83.

[131] Aug. de Peccat. Meritis, lib. 1. c. 12. Quamvis condemnatio gravior sit eorum, qui originali delicto etiam propria conjunxerunt, et tanto singulis gravior, quanto gravius quisque peccavit: tamen etiam illud solum quod originaliter tractum est, non tantum a regno Dei separat, quo parvulos sine accepta gratia Christi intrare non posse, ipsi etiam confitentur; verum et a salute ac vita æterna facit alienos, quæ nulla alia esse potest præter regnum Dei, quo sola Christi societas introducit.

[132] Ibid. c. 16. Potest proinde recte dici, parvulos sine baptismo de corpore exeuntes in damnatione omnium mitissima futuros. Multum autem et fallit et fallitur, qui eos in damnatione prædicat non futuros, dicente apostolo, Judicium ex uno delicto in condemnationem. Et paulo post, Per unius delictum in omnes homines ad condemnationem.

[133] Ibid. c. 24. Optime Punici Christiani baptismum ipsum nihil aliud quam salutem, et sacramentum corporis Christi, nihil aliud quam vitam vocant.—Si ergo nec salus, nec vita æterna sine baptismo, et corpore et sanguine Domini cuiquam speranda est, frustra sine his promittitur parvulis.

[134] Ibid. c. 28. Nec est ullus ulli medius locus, ut possit

clares peremptorily against the doctrine of a middle state for infants or any other. There is no middle place for any, says he; he must be with the devil, who is not with Christ. For our Lord himself, intending to take away this opinion of a middle state, which some erroneously endeavour to assign to children dying unbaptized, as if by virtue of their innocence they might be in eternal life, though not with Christ in his kingdom, so long as they wanted baptism, pronounced this definitive sentence to stop the mouths of these men, saying, "He that is not with me, is against me." He argues against this middle state in many other places[135] against the Pelagians, and urges the necessity of baptism to take away original sin in children, and bring them by regeneration to eternal life: Therefore, he says, men ran with their children to be baptized, because they verily believed they could not otherwise be made alive in Christ. Fulgentius[136] is rather more peremptory and severe than St. Austin: he says, It is to be believed, without all doubt, that not only men, who are come to the use of reason, but infants, whether they die in their mother's womb, or after they are born, without baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are punished with everlasting punishment in eternal fire, because though they have no actual sin of their own, yet they carry along with them the condemnation of original sin from their first conception and birth. The author under the name of Justin Martyr,[137] also speaking of infants, says, There is this difference between those that die baptized, and those that die unbaptized, that the one obtain the benefits that come by baptism, which the other do not obtain. And the author of the Hypognostics,[138] under the name of St. Austin, who is supposed by learned men to be either Marius Mercator, or Sixtus, bishop of Rome, disputing against the Pelagians, treads exactly in the steps of St. Austin; for he says, There is no middle state between heaven and hell; a third place for unbaptized infants is no where mentioned in Scripture. This was only an invention forged in the shop of the Pelagians, to find out a place where infants might have rest and glory without the grace of Christ. These are pretty severe expressions, and yet, considering the state of the controversy between the catholics and Pelagians, there seems to have been pretty good reason for them. For Pelagius said, There was no original sin, nor any need of baptism to wash away the guilt of it, but children might obtain salvation and eternal life, distinct from the kingdom of God, without it. In opposition to this, the catholics maintained the necessity of baptism for infants, as well as adult persons, to purge away original sin, and procure eternal life for them. But they have not so plainly told us, whether there be any excepted cases as to what concerns infants, as they have concerning adult persons; whether a bare want of baptism in the child, when there was no contempt or neglect of baptism in the parent, but an unavoidable necessity and sudden death intervening, debars the child from the kingdom of heaven? Among all the ancients, only Fulgentius has declared absolutely against the salvation of infants dying before the birth in the mother's womb. But others seem to speak more favourably, except where the parents were guilty of a contempt or neglect of baptism, in not bringing their children to be baptized when they had time and opportunity to do it, in which case the child might fail of salvation for the parents' fault, and there be no impeachment of God's justice or mercy in the punishment. This seems to have been the judgment of that excellent author, who wrote the book De Vocatione Gentium, which goes under the name of Prosper or St. Ambrose. For he gives this reason, why this doctrine about the necessity of baptism for the salvation of infants was so earnestly pressed upon men, That parents might not be remiss or negligent in bringing their children to baptism; which they certainly would be, if they were once possessed with an opinion that there was no necessity of baptism to salvation. We ought not to believe, says he,[139] in general terms, that they who obtain not the sacrament of regeneration, can appertain to the society of the blessed. For every

esse, nisi cum diabolo, qui non est cum Christo. Hinc et ipse Dominus volens auferre de cordibus male credentium istam nescio quam medietatem, quam conantur quidam parvulis non baptizatis tribuere, ut quasi merito innocentiæ sint in vita æterna, sed quia non sunt baptizati, non sint cum Christo in regno ejus, definitivam protulit ad hæc ora obstruenda sententiam, ubi ait, Qui mecum non est, adversum me est.

[135] Aug. de Anima, lib. 1. c. 9. lib. 2. c. 12. lib. 3. c. 13. It. Epist. 28. ad Hieron.

[136] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, c. 27. Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites, non solum homines jam ratione utentes, verum etiam parvulos, qui sive in uteris matrum vivere incipiunt et ibi moriuntur, sive cum de matribus nati, sine sacramento sancti baptismatis, quod datur in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, de hoc sæculo transeunt, ignis æterni sempiterno supplicio puniendos: quia etsi propriæ actionis peccatum nullum habuerunt, originalis tamen peccati damnationem carnali conceptione et nativitate traxerunt. Vid. Fulgent. de Baptismo Æthiopis, c. 8.

[137] Justin. Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox. qu. 56.

[138] Aug. Hypognostic. lib. 5. c. 5. Primum locum fides catholicorum divina authoritate regnum credidit esse cœlorum, unde, ut dixi, non baptizatus excipitur; secundum, Gehennam, ubi omnis apostata, vel a Christi fide alienus, æterna supplicia experietur. Tertium penitus ignoramus, imo nec esse in Scripturis Sanctis invenimus. Finge, Pelagiane, locum ex officina perversi dogmatis tui, ubi alieni a Christi gratia vitam requiei et gloriæ possidere parvuli possint.

[139] Prosper. de Vocat. Gentium, lib. 2. c. 8. Neque credi fas est, eos qui regenerationis non adepti sunt sacramentum, ad ullum beatorum pertinere consortium.——Non latet quantum cordibus fidelium desidiæ gigneretur, si in baptizandis parvulis nihil de cujusquam negligentia, nihil de ipsorum esset mortalitate metuendum.

one must be sensible, how easily sloth and negligence would creep into the hearts of the faithful, if in the business of baptizing infants nothing was to be feared from the parents' carelessness, or the mortality of their children. This author presses the necessity of baptizing infants, as all good Christians do, upon supposition of some benefit which the parents' care may bring to the child; and contrariwise, an irreparable damage and loss which the child may sustain by the parents' default and negligence. And this is sufficient to quicken the care and watchfulness of parents, though it be allowed, that in cases of extreme necessity children may be saved without baptism. Nor is it improbable, that the ancients intended no more, though their expressions run in severe and general terms, without standing precisely to make exceptions. For it cannot be denied but that infants may be martyrs as well as adult persons; such were the children which Herod slew at Bethlehem: parents may likewise desire baptism for their children, vowing faith and repentance in their name, when some extreme necessity only, and not any culpable neglect, hinders the obtaining of it. And in such cases, if adult persons may be saved without baptism, [as all the ancients agree,] there seems to be a parity of reason to extend the same charity and indulgence to little children. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, a man of great reputation and learning in his time, and one well versed in the writings of the ancients, gives this solution of the whole matter upon a remarkable case that happened in his time. A certain bishop of the same country, Hincmar, bishop of Laon, had for some unjust cause hindered the baptism of infants in his diocese, when their parents or godfathers desired they might be baptized; by which means many children died without baptism. Now, the question was concerning the future state of these infants, whether the parents' desire and presenting them to baptism was sufficient for the salvation of their children? This, without any scruple, Hincmar[140] resolves in the affirmative, That as children, who are subject to original sin, which is the sin of other men, are saved by the faith of others, that is, their godfathers, answering for them in baptism; so those infants, who, by the command of that perverse bishop, were denied baptism, might be saved by the faith and faithful desire of their parents or godfathers, who had required both in heart and words that their children might be baptized; and this by the gift of him, whose Spirit, that is the author of regeneration, bloweth where it listeth. If we thus interpret the sense of the ancients with Hincmar, then all those passages which condemn infants dying without baptism, must be understood not of the bare want of baptism, when it could not be had, but of the parents' contempt or neglect in not desiring or procuring baptism for their children, when it was in their power to do it. I have been the longer in explaining and confirming the truth of these points concerning the necessity of baptism both for infants and adult persons, because the ancients are mistaken by some, and accused by others, as too severe in urging the necessity of baptism; when yet it appears their sentiments about it were exact enough as to what concerned the case of catechumens, and also capable of a favourable interpretation in the case of infants, if we do not over-rigidly force their general expressions beyond the true design and intentions of the authors.

I should here have put an end to this discourse concerning the institution and discipline of the catechumens, but only that there are two things that may seem to require a little more distinct handling than has been allowed them above: 1. Concerning the original, nature, and use of the ancient creeds of the church, which were chiefly drawn up for the institution and service of the catechumens, and therefore are most proper to be considered in this place. 2. Concerning that part of their discipline, which consisted in concealing from them for some time the distinct and full knowledge of some of the higher doctrines and mysterious rites of the church. The consideration of which things shall be the subject of the following chapters.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE ORIGINAL, NATURE, AND NAMES OF THE ANCIENT CREEDS OF THE CHURCH

Sect. 1. Why the creed is called *symbolum*.

In speaking of the creed, it will be proper to say something, in the first place, of its several ancient names, and the reasons of them, because some of them are a little obscure, and liable to be mistaken. The most usual name of the creed was *symbolum*; but why it was called so, is not agreed among learned men. Baronius[1] assigns three reasons of the name: 1. He supposes every apostle cast in his *symbola*, his article or part, to the composition of it; and therefore it might be called their symbol or collation. But if the foundation of this supposition be

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[140] Hincmar. Opusc. 55. Capit. c. 48. Sicut parvulis naturali, id est, alieno peccato, obnoxiis, aliorum, id est, patronorum fides pro eis respondentium in baptismate sit ad salutem: ita parvulis, quibus baptismum denegari jussisti, parentum vel patronorum corde credentium, et pro parvulis suis fideli verbo baptisma expetentium, sed non impetrantium, fides et fidelis postulatio prodesse potuerunt, dono ejus cujus Spiritus, quo regeneratio fit, ubi vult spirat.

[1] Baron. an. 44. n. 15.

uncertain, (as we shall see hereafter that it is,) this could not be the reason of the name. 2. He thinks it might be so called, because it was like the *tessera militaris* among the Roman soldiers, a sort of mark or badge, by which true Christians might be distinguished from infidels, or heretics. 3. Because it was a collation or epitome of the Christian doctrine. Suicerus[2] adds to these a fourth reason of the name. It might be so called, he thinks, not from the military badge, but the military oath or contract, which soldiers made with the emperor, when they entered into his service. For the creed is a token of the contract which we make with God at our baptism. For this he alleges the testimony of St. Ambrose,[3] who calls the creed, the oath or bond of our warfare; and Petrus Chrysologus,[4] who says, an agreement or covenant is called *symbolum* both in human and Divine contracts. This last signification is not improbable; but the second is more generally received and approved by modern[5] authors, and has also the countenance of some ancient writers. For Maximus Taurinensis[6] supposes it to be called the symbol, because it is a sign or mark by which believers are distinguished from unbelievers and renegadoes. And Ruffinus[7] allows this signification, when he says, It was therefore called the sign or mark, because at that time (when, according to his opinion, it was made by the apostles) many of the circumcised Jews, as is related both by St. Paul, and in the Acts of the Apostles, did feign themselves to be the apostles of Christ; and to serve their own lucre or their belly, went forth to preach; naming indeed the name of Christ, but not preaching him according to the true lines of tradition. Therefore the apostles laid down this mark or test, whereby to discern him who preached Christ truly, according to the apostolical rules. It is further reported to be a customary thing in civil wars, that because their arms, language, methods, and manner of fighting are the same, therefore every general, to prevent fraud, should give his soldiers a distinct symbol, which in Latin is called a sign or token; that if one met another, of whom he had reason to doubt, by asking him the symbol, he might discover whether he was friend or foe. But this does not satisfy a late learned writer,[8] who thinks, "That this name was not derived from any military custom, but rather to be fetched from the *sacra*, or religious services of the heathens, where those who were initiated in their mysteries, and admitted to the knowledge of their peculiar services, which were hidden and concealed from the greatest part of the idolatrous multitude, had certain signs or marks, called *symbola*, delivered unto them, by which they mutually knew each other, and upon the declaring of them, were without scruple admitted in any temple to the secret worship and rites of that god whose symbols they had received." The use of these symbols among the heathens is abundantly proved by that learned author, both from heathen and Christian writers; but then he alleges no authority to prove that the Christians called their creed by the name of symbol, in imitation of that heathen practice: and it is some prejudice against it, that no such thing is said or hinted by any ancient writer. Neither is it very likely that the Christians would have so nice a regard to the abominable and filthy mysteries of the heathen, as to choose that signification of the name symbol for their creed, when with much more decency it might be fetched from the innocent and ordinary customs used in military affairs or civil contracts, from which it is with greater probability derived, both by ancient and modern writers.

Sect. 2. Why called *canon*, and *regula fidei*.

Another usual name of the creed was κανὼν, the rule, so called because it was the known standard or rule of faith, by which orthodoxy and heresy were examined and judged. As when the council of Antioch[9] says of Paulus Samosatensis, that he was an apostate from the rule, it is plain the meaning is, he had deviated in his doctrine from the creed, the rule of faith. Agreeably to this, it is commonly styled among the Greeks,[10] ὅρος and ἔκδοσις πίστεως, the determination or exposition of the faith; and sometimes simply πίστις, the faith;[11] which answers to the Latin name, *regula fidei*, the rule of faith, the common appellation of it in Irenæus,[12] Tertul-

[2] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce Σύμβολον.

[3] Ambros. de Veland. Virgin. lib. 3. Symbolum cordis signaculum, et nostræ militiæ sacramentum.

[4] Chrysolog. Hom. 62. Placitum vel pactum, quod lucri spes venientis continet, vel futuri, symbolum nuncupari, contractu etiam docemur humano, &c.

[5] Forbes, Instruct. Histor. Theolog. lib. 1. c. 1. n. 2.

[6] Maxim. Taurin. Homil. in Symbol. p. 239. Signaculum symboli inter fideles perfidosque discernit.

[7] Ruffin. Expos. Symboli ad calcem Cypriani, p. 17. Indicium autem vel signum idcirco dicitur, quia illo tempore, sicut et Paulus apostolus dicit, et in Actis Apostolorum refertur, multi ex circumcisis Judæis simulabant se esse apostolos Christi, et lucri alicujus vel ventris gratia ad prædicandum proficiscebantur; nominantes quidem Christum, sed non integris traditionum lineis nunciantes. Idcirco ergo istud indicium posuere, per quod agnosceretur is, qui Christum vere secundum apostolicas regulas prædicaret. Denique et in bellis civilibus hoc observari ferunt: quoniam et armorum habitus par, et sonus vocis idem, et mos unus est, atque eadem instituta bellandi, ne qua doli subreptio fiat, symbola discreta unusquisque dux suis militibus tradit; quæ latine vel signa vel indicia nominantur: ut si forte occurrerit quis de quo dubitetur, interrogatus symbolum, prodat si sit hostis, an socius.

[8] Critical History of the Creed, p. 11.

[9] Epist. Conc. Antioch. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. Ἀποστὰς τοῦ κανόνος.

[10] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 39 et 40. lib. 5. c. 4.

[11] Theodoret. Hist. lib. 1. c. 7. [12] Iren. lib. 1. c. 19

lian,[13] Novatian,[14] and St. Jerom,[15] where they speak of heretics, and their deviations from the common articles of the Christian faith contained in the creeds of the church.

Sect. 3. Why called *mathema.*

Another ordinary appellation of the creed in the ancient Greek writers is μάθημα, the lesson, so called from the obligation the catechumens were under to learn it. This may easily be mistaken by an unwary reader for a lesson in the Bible, unless where some note of distinction is added to it. Therefore when we read in the council of Constantinople, under Mennas, that after the reading of the Gospel, in time of the communion service, the holy lesson[16] was read according to custom, we are not to understand it of any other lesson out of the Bible, but of the creed, which was then made part of the communion service. And so Socrates[17] sometimes uses the word: and Valesius[18] has observed, that in two manuscripts of that author, where the Nicene Creed is recited, the title of *mathema* is set before it. But Leontius Byzantinus[19] speaks more explicitly, and calls it by way of distinction, the decree or lesson of faith, speaking of the creed which the fathers of the council of Chalcedon were about to make.

Sect. 4. Why called γράμμα and γραφή.

Valesius[20] has also observed out of Socrates, that it is sometimes styled simply and absolutely γραφὴ and γράμμα· which words, though they are usually taken to signify the Holy Scripture, yet here they must have another meaning; for the creed, properly speaking, is not an inspired writing, unless in that sense as it may be said to be collected out of the inspired writings: but here those words signify only, in a common sense, letters or learning, and so are used, as the foregoing word, *mathema,* with a peculiar reference to the learning of the catechumens. Some also allege Cyprian for another name, as if he called the creed peculiarly the sacrament of faith.[21] But I am not satisfied that Cyprian's meaning is so to be restrained. For he is rather speaking in general against profaning the mysteries of religion, which include the sacraments, or any other religious rites, as well as the creed; applying that text of Scripture to his purpose, "Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they tread them under their feet, and turn again and rend you." Or if it be limited to any particular mystery, it should rather signify baptism than the creed: for baptism is sometimes called the sacrament of faith by St. Austin,[22] and the sacrament of faith and repentance, by Fulgentius[23] and others, as I shall more particularly show, when I come to treat of baptism. For which reason, I do not take this to be any particular name given to the creed by any ancient writer; but the creed is the faith itself, (the *credulitas,* as some middle-age writers[24] call it,) and the sacrament of faith is baptism.

Sect. 5. Whether that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, was composed by the apostles in the present form of words.

The next inquiry is into the original and nature of the ancient creeds; which will admit of three questions: 1. Whether that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, was composed by the apostles in the same form of words as now it is used in the church? 2. Whether the apostles made or used any creeds at all for the institution of catechumens, or the administration of baptism? 3. If they did, what articles were contained in them? The first question is now generally resolved in the negative by learned men, though many both of the ancients and moderns have been of a different opinion. Some have thought that the twelve apostles in a full meeting composed the creed in the very same form of words as now it is used in the church; and others have gone so far as to pretend to tell what article was composed by every particular apostle. Dr. Comber is so positive in the matter, as to say, "We have no better medium to prove the books[25] were written by those authors whose names they bear, than the unanimous testimony of antiquity; and by that we can abundantly prove the apostles were the authors of this creed." For this he cites Clemens Romanus, Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian, Ruffinus, Ambrose, Austin, Jerom, Pope Leo, Maximus Taurinensis, Cassian, and Isidore. But none of these writers, except Ruffinus,

[13] Tertul. de Præscript. c. 13. Regula est autem fidei, qua creditur unum omnino Deum esse, &c. It. de Veland. Virgin. c. 1. Regula autem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, &c.

[14] Novatian. de Trinit. c. 1 et 9. Regula veritatis.

[15] Hieron. Ep. 54. ad Marcellam, cont. Errores Montani. Primum in fidei regula discrepamus, &c.

[16] Conc. C. P. sub Menna, Act. 5. t. 5. p. 181. Τοῦ ἁγίου μαθήματος κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες λεχθέντος.

[17] Socrat. Hist. lib. 3. c. 25. Τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ μαθήματος. Usser. de Symbolis, p. 20, shows the same out of Justinian, Maxentius, and Photius.

[18] Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. 1. c. 8.

[19] Leont. de Sectis. Act. 6. p. 515. Ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὥστε ὅρον πίστεως καὶ μάθημα ποιῆσαι.

[20] Vales. Not. in Theodor. Hist. lib. 1. c. 8.

[21] Cypr. Testim. ad Quirin. lib. 3. c. 50. Sacramentum fidei non esse prophanandum.——Ne dederitis sanctum canibus, &c.

[22] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Sicut secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est.

[23] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, c. 30. Per sacramentum fidei et pœnitentiæ, id est, per baptismum liberatus.

[24] Vid. Herardi Turonensis Capitul. 140. ap. Wharton. Auctarium Historiæ Dogmaticæ Usserii, p. 368. Gloria Patri, ac sanctus, atque credulitas, et Kyrie Eleison a cunctis reverenter canatur. It. Edictum Reccaredi Regis ad calcem Concilii Toletani tertii.

[25] Comber's Companion to the Temple, p. 132.

speak home to his purpose; but only say, the creeds in general are of apostolical institution: which, for the substance, no one denies; for they speak of several forms, and yet ascribe them all to the apostles; which is an argument they did not mean this particular form any more than others. For the Nicene Creed is often called the Apostles' Creed; and yet no one believes that that Creed was composed *totidem verbis* by the apostles. Ruffinus indeed seems to say, there was an ancient tradition, that the apostles, being about to depart from Jerusalem,[26] first settled a rule for their future preaching; lest, after they were separated from one another, they should expound different doctrines to those whom they invited to the Christian faith. Wherefore being all assembled together, and filled with the Holy Ghost, they composed this short rule of their preaching, each one contributing his sentence, and left it as a rule to be given to all believers. And for this reason, he thinks, it might be called the symbol, because that word in Greek signifies both a test and a collation of opinions together. The author[27] under the name of St. Austin is a little more particular in the story; for he pretends to tell us what article was put in by each particular apostle: Peter said, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty." John, "Maker of heaven and earth." James, "and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord." Andrew added, "who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." Philip said, "suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried." Thomas, "He descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead." Bartholomew, "He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty." Matthew, "From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." James, the son of Alphæus, added, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church." Simon Zelotes, "the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins." Jude, the brother of James, "the resurrection of the body." Matthias, "life everlasting."

But now there is an insuperable difficulty lies against this tradition, which is this, that there are two or three articles here mentioned, which are known not to have been in this Creed for three or four ages at least. For Ruffinus himself tells us, The descent into hell was neither in the Roman[28] Creed, which is that we call the Apostles' Creed, nor yet in any creed of the Eastern churches; only the sense of it might be said to be couched in that other expression, he was buried. Bishop Usher and Bishop Pearson have demonstrated the truth of this observation by a particular induction from all the ancient creeds, and showed this article to be wanting in them all for four hundred years, except the Creed of Aquileia, which Ruffinus expounds, and the Creed of the council of Ariminum, mentioned in Socrates.[29] Others have made the same observation upon the article concerning the communion of saints, which is not to be found either in the Creed of Aquileia, or any ancient Greek or Latin creed for above the space of four hundred years. Nor is the article of "the life everlasting" expressly mentioned in many creeds, but only inclusively contained in "the resurrection of the body;" which is the concluding article in many ancient creeds. These are plain demonstrations, without any other argument, that the creed, as it stands in the present form, could not be composed in the manner as is pretended by the apostles. The silence of The Acts of the Apostles about any such composition, is a collateral evidence against it. The silence of ecclesiastical writers for above three whole centuries, is a further confirmation. The variety of creeds, in so many different forms, used by the ancients, yet extant in their writings, some with omissions, others with additions, and all in a different phrase, are no less evident proofs, that one universal form had not been pitched upon and prescribed to the whole church by the apostles. For then it is scarce to be imagined, that any church should have received any other form in the least tittle varying from it. These reasons do now generally satisfy learned men, that no such precise form was composed, according to that pretended tradition, by all the apostles. The reader may find dissertations in Vossius,[30] Bishop Usher,[31] Hammond L'Estrange,[32] Basnagius,[33] Suicerus,[34] and the learned author of the late Critical History of the Creed,[35] to this purpose. And it is much to be

[26] Ruffin. Expos. Symboli, ad calcem Cypriani, p. 17. Discessuri itaque ab invicem, normam prius futuræ sibi prædicationis in commune constituunt: ne forte alius ab alio abducti, diversum aliquid his qui ad fidem Christi invitabantur, exponerent. Omnes ergo in uno positi, et Spiritu Sancto repleti, breve istud futuræ sibi, ut diximus, prædicationis indicium, conferendo in unum quod sentiebat unusquisque, componunt; atque hanc credentibus dandam esse regulam statuunt. Symbolum autem hoc multis et justissimis caussis appellare voluerunt. Symbolum enim Græce et indicium dici potest, et collatio, hoc est, quod plures in unum conferunt.

[27] Aug. de Tempore, Ser. 115. al. 92. in Append. t. 10. p. 675.

[28] Ruffin. Expos. Symboli, p. 22. Sciendum sane est, quod in ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habetur additum, Descendit ad inferna, sed neque in Orientis ecclesiis habetur hic sermo; vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus dicitur.

[29] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 37.

[30] Voss. de tribus Symbolis.

[31] Usser. de Symbolo Romano.

[32] L'Estrange, Alliance of Divin. Offic. chap. 3. p. 80.

[33] Basnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 471.

[34] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce Σύμβολον. t. 2. p. 1092.

[35] Critical Hist. of the Creed, chap. 1. p. 27. See also Bishop Bull's Judicium Ecclesiæ Cathol. &c. cap. 5. n. 3, where he refers to Vossius as having abundantly proved this thesis.

wondered at, that any knowing person, against such convincing evidence, should labour to maintain the contrary, upon no better grounds than only this, that the ancients agree in calling the creed apostolical. For they do not always intend this particular form, but call all other forms apostolical, the Nicene Creed, the Constantinopolitan Creed, the Eastern Creeds, the Western Creeds, and all others which agree with this in substance, though not in method or expression, and are all equally apostolical, as being all derived from the apostles' preaching, and for substance composed by them, and some of them perhaps left in the churches where they preached, as the first rudiments of this creed seem to have been in the Roman church. So far all the ancient catholic creeds may be said to be apostolical, as being in substance the same with the creeds used in baptism by the apostles.

Sect. 6. That probably the apostles used several creeds differing in form, not in substance.

By all, then, that has hitherto been said, I intend not to insinuate, that the apostles used no creeds at all, but rather that they used many, differing in form, but not in substance, from one another. All that I contend for, is only this, that none of the present forms are exactly the same in expression with those of the apostles, which is demonstrated from the variety of creeds used in several churches, and from the addition of some words to that creed which pretends most to be apostolical. But though the apostles composed no one creed to be of perpetual and universal use for the whole church, yet it is not to be doubted but that they used some forms in admitting catechumens to baptism. There are many expressions in Scripture that favour this, particularly Philip's questions to the eunuch before he baptized him, and St. Peter's interrogatories, or the answer of a good conscience towards God, which was used in baptism: and the constant practice of the church, in imitation of the apostles, admitting none to baptism but by answer to such interrogatories, is a sufficient demonstration of the apostolical practice. But then, as the church used a liberty of expression in her several creeds, so it is not improbable the apostles did the same, without tying themselves to any one form, who had less need to do it, being all guided by inspiration. And hence it came to pass, that there being no one certain form of a creed prescribed universally to all churches, every church had liberty to frame their own creeds, as they did their own liturgies, without being tied precisely to any one form of words, so long as they kept to the analogy of faith and doctrine at first delivered by the apostles: which seems to be the true reason of so many ancient forms, differing in words, not in substance.

Sect. 7. What articles were contained in the apostolical creeds.

But now the grand question still remains, concerning the nature, substance, and extent of the apostolical creeds, that is, what articles were contained in them? Some there are who would confine these to very narrow bounds, making them at first to be no more than what is contained expressly in the form of baptism, "I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." So Episcopius[36] and his followers, who would persuade the world, that for the three first ages, the doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity was no necessary article of the Christian faith. But the learned Bishop Bull,[37] and Dr. Grabe,[38] have judiciously refuted these pretences; the one, by showing from all the ancient creeds, that this doctrine was a necessary article before the Nicene council; and the other, by evincing from Scripture, that the lineaments of the Apostles' Creed used in the administration of baptism, were at the first much larger than what Episcopius pretended; and that in the apostles' age, either by their authority or permission, the creed consisted of all the present articles, except only those two, of the descent into hell, and the communion of saints, which are owned to be of later admission. Mr. Basnage[39] indeed has a peculiar opinion, that the creed was composed and the chief articles inserted only in the second century, in opposition to several heresies, which then began to infest the church. The Gnostics brought in the doctrine of a two-fold deity, the one good, the other evil: against this pestilent heresy, the church put that article into her creed, "I believe in God," or, in one God. Menander, the disciple of Simon Magus, asserted, that the world was not created by God, but by angels: this occasioned the church to insert those words, "Maker of heaven and earth." Carpocrates taught, that Jesus was a mere man, and begotten of both sexes, as other men: in opposition to whom, it was inserted, that Christ was "conceived by the Holy Ghost." The Basilidians did not believe Jesus was crucified by the Jews, but only Simon of Cyrene: to confute whom, they put in those words, "He was dead and buried." Carpocrates rejected the resurrection of the flesh: and upon that, "I believe the resurrection of the flesh," was added to the creed. Thus, if we will hearken to this learned person, there was no creed at all made by the apostles, but it was composed entirely by the church, and gradually augmented, only as the rise of sects and heresies required some opposition to be made to them. The learned author of the late Critical History of the Creed goes the same way, only with this difference, that he supposes (what Mr. Basnage does not) that some articles were inserted by the apostles themselves, and others su-

[36] Episcop. Institut. lib. 4. sect. 2. cap. 34.
[37] Bull. Judic. Eccles. Cathol. &c. cap. 6.
[38] Grabe, Annotata ad cap. 5, 6, et 7. ejusd. p. 61.
[39] Basnag. Exercitat. in Baron. p. 476.

peradded by the church, as the occasion of heresies required. But when he speaks of the particular articles, he falls in with Mr. Basnage's notion about the chiefest; for he supposes the first article, "I believe in one God," not to be made against the polytheism of the Gentiles by the apostles, but only by the church, upon the rise of the heresies of the Valentinians, Cerdonians, Marcionites, and others in after ages. Which in effect is to say, the creed was made, and not made by the apostles; for if the principal articles were not composed by them, I see not what else can entitle them to have been the authors of it. And therefore I much more readily subscribe to the opinion of the learned Dr. Grabe, which he maintains against this learned person, that the article of "one God the Father, Maker of heaven and earth," was originally inserted into the creed by the apostles, against the capital error of the Gentiles, who made one god to have power over heaven, another over the earth, another over the sea, &c., and divided the divine honour among them. For so the vulgar among the heathen practised their idolatry; however, the philosophers among them might be a little more refined in their theology, and have more agreeable notions of the unity of the supreme God. Therefore it is reasonable to believe this first article was inserted, to make men renounce in their baptism this erroneous opinion of the Gentiles.

The opinion of Episcopius, that nothing more was originally in the creed about our Saviour, but only the bare title of the Son, is solidly refuted by Dr. Grabe, who proves from Scripture, that he had always this title with the addition of his being the Son of God: and that those other articles, "He was crucified, dead, and buried; that he rose again, and ascended into heaven, and sat at the right hand of God, and from thence should come to judge the quick and dead," were all original articles of the creed; being such doctrines as the apostles chiefly taught their catechumens, and such as the Jews and Gentiles either denied or ridiculed: and therefore it was proper to make all new converts, at their entrance on Christianity, make a particular profession of such articles, in opposition to their former errors, whether they came over from the Jews or Gentiles. Upon this account he also rejects the opinion of the author of the Critical History, who supposes the article of the ascension of Christ into heaven, to have been added to the creed only in the second century, and that in opposition to Apelles, one of Marcion's disciples, who denied the ascension of Christ's flesh into heaven. But if it had been designed against him, it would no doubt have been more particularly expressed, that his flesh ascended into heaven, as Dr. Grabe observes it is in Irenæus, and not barely that Christ ascended into heaven. For the same reason he concludes, that the following articles, of his session at God's right hand, and his coming to judge the quick and the dead, could not be inserted into the creed in opposition to the Marcionites and Gnostics, as the forementioned author supposes; for then they would have been more precisely worded against their reigning tenets, which were, that Christ's flesh was void of sense in heaven, and that Christ was not the Son of that God who is the Judge of the world: wherefore it is more reasonable to suppose those articles were originally inserted by the apostles, to correct the ignorance and errors of the Jews and Gentiles.

As to those two articles, "He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary," Dr. Grabe makes some question whether they were as ancient as the former, because they do not appear in the common catechetical discourses of the apostles, but he thinks, before St. John's death they were inserted against the heresies of Carpocrates, Ebion, and Cerinthus, who denied both articles, and asserted, that Christ was born of Joseph and Mary, after the common way of mankind.

The article of the Holy Ghost was always a part of the Apostles' Creed, by the confession of Episcopius himself. And therefore the opinion of those who maintain, that nothing more was required of catechumens before baptism, but only the profession of their faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God, is wholly to be rejected.

The article of "remission of sins" was also originally in the apostolical creeds, because it always appears to have been one principal point of their catechetical institutions. And therefore the opinion of the learned author of the Critical History, that it was only in some creeds, but not in all, till the rise of the Novatian heresy, is also to be rejected; because it appears from Cyprian, that it was in the creed which the Novatians themselves made use of in baptism.

The articles of "the resurrection of the dead, and life everlasting," are also concluded to have been in the Apostles' Creed, if not from the very first, yet at least when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Hebrews, because he there mentions "the resurrection of the dead," and "eternal judgment," among the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, Heb. vi. 2.

The article of "the church," Dr. Grabe thinks, was not originally in the creed, but added in the latter end of the first century, or beginning of the second, upon occasion of heretics and schismatics separating from the church. At least it appears from Tertullian's book De Baptismo,[40] that the profession of it

[40] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 6. Cum sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pignorentur necessariò adjicitur ecclesiæ mentio; quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est.

was required in his time, of catechumens at their baptism. For he says, after they had testified their faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they also added the church, because where those three were, there was the church, and it was the body of the three.

The article of "the communion of saints," he readily acknowledges, was never in any creed before the fourth century. And that concerning the descent into hell, was not originally in the creed, but added upon occasion of heretics in after ages. But the precise time of its addition is not exactly agreed upon between the author of the Critical History and Dr. Grabe. The former (who is allowed to have explained the genuine sense of this article with as great exactness as the most consummate divine) supposes it to have been added against the Arians and Apollinarians, (who denied the soul or spirit of Christ,) because the fathers argued thus against them: Christ descended into hell either in his Divinity, or his soul, or his body: but it is absurd to ascribe the descent into hell either to his Divinity or his body; and therefore it must be his soul that descended; which proves the reality of his soul. But Dr. Grabe thinks this article was of earlier date, because it is to be found in some of the Arian creeds themselves, and others, more ancient than the Apollinarians: and that if it had been inserted against the Apollinarian doctrine, it would not have been barely said, "he descended into hell;" but rather, he descended by his soul into hell; which had been directly against that heresy. Therefore he rather supposes it to have been added to the creed in opposition to the Valentinians and Marcionites, who, according to the account given by Irenæus[41] and Tertullian,[42] pretended, that the souls of all that died of their sects went immediately to heaven; when yet Christ himself went into the state and place of separate souls for three days before his resurrection and ascension.

Upon the whole matter, Dr. Grabe concludes, that all the articles of the creed, except these three, the communion of saints, the church, and the descent of Christ into hell, were solemnly professed by the first Christians, in their confessions of faith in the apostles' days, by their authority, or at least, their approbation; for which reason, the creed, as to those parts of it, may properly be called apostolical. And it could hardly be, that all churches in the world should so unanimously agree in the common confession of so many articles of it, unless it had proceeded from some such authority as they all acknowledged. But the reason why the confessions of particular churches differed in words and phrases, he thinks was from hence, that the creed which the apostles delivered, was not written with paper and ink, but in the fleshy tables of the heart, as St. Jerom words it.[43] Whence every church was at liberty to express their sense in their own terms. But he will not undertake to vindicate the common tradition of Ruffinus, that it was made by joint consent of all the apostles, when they were about to separate from one another; and much less, that every one of the twelve apostles cast in his symbol to complete the number of twelve articles, as the other story is told by the author under the name of St. Austin, which he thinks is not in the least to be regarded. I have been a little more particular in representing the sense of this great man upon this point, both because his account of the original of the several articles of the creed seems to be most exact, and because the discourse where he delivers his opinion may not yet be fallen into the hands of every ordinary reader.

CHAPTER IV.

A COLLECTION OF SEVERAL ANCIENT FORMS OF THE CREED OUT OF THE PRIMITIVE RECORDS OF THE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. The fragments of the creed in Irenæus.

I shall now in the next place present the reader with several of the ancient forms of the creed, as we find them preserved in the most ancient writers, and the most authentic primitive records of the church. The use of these will be, not only to illustrate and confirm what has been said in the last chapter, but also to declare what was the ancient faith of the church, and show the vanity of modern heretics, especially the Arians, who pretend that the doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity was no necessary article of faith before the council of Nice. Bishop Usher, in his curious tract De Symbolo Romano, has already collected a great many of these ancient forms; but because that piece is written in Latin, and become very scarce, and some things more may be added to it, I will here oblige the English reader with a new account of them, beginning with the fragments of the creed which we have in Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Tertullian, and other private writers, which Bishop Usher gives no account of. Some fancy the creed may be found in the writings of Ignatius, Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, and Justin Martyr: but Bishop Pearson[1] has rightly observed, That these writers, however they may incidentally mention some articles of faith, do not formally deliver any rule of faith used in their own times. The

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41 Irenæus, lib. 5. c. 31.

42 Tertul. de Anima, cap. 55.

43 Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. c. 9.

1 Pearson's Exposition of the Creed, Article 5. Initio.

first that speaks of this is Irenæus, who calls it the unalterable canon[2] or rule of truth, which every man received at his baptism. And he immediately declares what it was in these words: The church, though it be dispersed over all the world,[3] from one end of the earth to the other, received from the apostles and their disciples the belief in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven, and earth, and sea, and all things in them; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who preached by the prophets the dispensations [of God], and the advent, and nativity of a virgin, and passion, and resurrection from the dead, and bodily ascension of the flesh of his beloved Son Christ Jesus our Lord into heaven, and his coming again from heaven in the glory of the Father, to recapitulate all things, and raise the flesh of all mankind; that, according to the will of the invisible Father, every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in the earth, and things under the earth, to Jesus Christ, our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, and that every tongue should confess to him; and that he may exercise just judgment upon all, and send spiritual wickednesses, and the transgressing and apostate angels, with all ungodly, unrighteous, lawless, and blaspheming men, into everlasting fire; but grant life to all righteous and holy men, that keep his commandments and persevere in his love, some from the beginning, others after repentance, on whom he confers immortality, and invests them with eternal glory. This faith, he says, was the same in all the world; men professed it with one heart and one soul: for though there were different dialects in the world, yet the power of the faith was one[4] and the same. The churches in Germany had no other faith or tradition than those in Iberia or Spain, or those among the Celtæ, that is, France, or in the East, or in Egypt, or in Libya, or in the middle parts of the world, by which he means Jerusalem and the adjacent churches, which were reckoned to be in the midst of the earth. But as one and the same sun enlightened all the world; so the preaching of this truth shined all over, and enlightened all men that were willing to come to the knowledge of truth. Nor did the most eloquent ruler of the church say any more than this, [for no one was above his Master,] nor the weakest diminish any thing of this tradition. For the faith being one and the same, he that said most of it, could not enlarge it, nor he that said least, take any thing from it.

The reader will easily perceive, that Irenæus, by this one faith, did not mean the express form of words now used in the Apostles' Creed; for his words differ much in expression from that, though in sense and substance it be the same faith, and that which was then preached and taught over all the churches.

Sect. 2. The creed of Origen.

There is another such form of apostolical doctrine collected by Origen in his books of Christian Principles,[5] where he thus delivers the rule of faith: The things which are manifestly handed down by the apostolical preaching, are these: first, That there is one God, who created and made all things, and caused the whole universe to exist out of nothing; the God of all the just that ever were from the first creation and foundation of all; the God of Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noe, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the twelve patriarchs, Moses and the prophets: and that this God, in the last days, as he had promised before by his prophets, sent our Lord Jesus Christ, first to call Israel, and then the Gentiles, after the infidelity of his people Israel. This just and good God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, gave both the law and the prophets, and the Gospels, being the God of the apostles, and of the Old and New Testament. The next article is, That Jesus Christ, who came into the world, was begotten of the Father before every creature, who, ministering to his Father in the creation of all things, ["for by him all things were made,"] in the last times made himself of no reputation, and became man: he who was God, was made flesh; and when he was man, he continued the same God that he was before. He assumed a body in all things like ours, save only that it was born of a virgin by the Holy Ghost.

[2] Iren. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 44.

[3] Ibid. cap. 2. p. 45.

[4] Ibid. c. 3.

[5] Origen. περὶ ἀρχῶν, in Præfat. t. 1. p. 665. Species vero eorum, quæ per prædicationem apostolicam manifeste traduntur, istæ sunt. Primo quod unus Deus est, qui omnia creavit atque composuit, quique ex nullis fecit esse universa; Deus a prima creatura et conditione mundi omnium justorum, Deus Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noe, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, 12 patriarcharum, Moysi et prophetarum: et quod hic Deus in novissimis diebus, sicut per prophetas suos ante promiserat, misit Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, primo quidem vocaturum Israel, secundo etiam Gentes post perfidiam populi Israel. Hic Deus justus et bonus, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, legem et prophetas et Evangelia dedit, qui et apostolorum Deus est, et Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Tum deinde quia Jesus Christus ipse qui venit, ante omnem creaturam natus ex Patre est. Qui cum in omnium conditione Patri ministrasset (per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt) novissimis temporibus seipsum exinaniens homo factus est: incarnatus est cum Deus esset, et homo mansit quod Deus erat. Corpus assumpsit nostro corpori simile, eo solo differens quod natum ex Virgine de Spiritu Sancto est. Et quoniam hic Jesus Christus natus, et passus est in veritate et non per imaginem communem hanc mortem, vere mortuus est; vere enim a mortuis resurrexit, et post resurrectionem conversatus cum discipulis suis, assumptus est. Tum deinde honore ac dignitate Patri et Filio sociatum tradiderunt Spiritum Sanctum, &c.

And because this Jesus Christ was born, and suffered death, common to all, in truth, and not only in appearance, he was truly dead; for he rose again truly from the dead, and after his resurrection conversed with his disciples, and was taken up into heaven. They also delivered unto us, that the Holy Ghost was joined in the same honour and dignity with the Father and the Son.

Thus far Origen speaks of the principal articles of the Christian faith, as handed down by the church from the preaching of the apostles. And there goes another book under his name, written by way of dialogue against the Marcionites, where he more succinctly delivers the catholic faith, in opposition to the false principles of those heretics: "I believe there is one God,[6] the Creator and Maker of all things; and one that is from him, God the Word, who is consubstantial with him and co-eternal, who in the last times took human nature upon him of the [Virgin] Mary, and was crucified, and raised again from the dead. I believe also the Holy Ghost, who exists to all eternity." It is true, learned men are not certainly agreed who was the true author of those dialogues: Westenius, who first published them in Greek, ascribes them to Origen; but Huetius makes one Maximus the author, who lived, as he conjectures, in the time of Constantine. But whoever was the author, they contain a form of a very orthodox creed, for which reason I have given it a place in this collection.

Sect. 3. The fragments of the creed in Tertullian.

Next after Origen, we find some parts of the ancient creed in Tertullian, who speaks of it as the rule of faith common to all Christians. There is, says he, one rule[7] of faith only, which admits of no change or alteration; that which teaches us to believe in one God Almighty, the Maker of the world, and in Jesus Christ his Son, who was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, the third day arose again from the dead, received into heaven, and sitteth now at the right hand of God, who shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead, by the resurrection of the flesh.

In his book of Prescriptions[8] against Heretics he has another form not much unlike this: The rule of faith is that whereby we believe one God only, and no other beside, the Maker of the world, who produced all things out of nothing, by his Word which he sent forth before all things. This Word was called his Son, who at sundry times appeared to the patriarchs, and always spake by the prophets, and at last descended into the Virgin Mary by the power and Spirit of God the Father, and was made flesh in her womb, and born of her a man, Jesus Christ; who preached a new law, and a new promise of the kingdom of heaven; who wrought miracles, and was crucified, and the third day arose again, and was taken into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; whence he sent the power of the Holy Ghost in his stead, to guide them that believe: who shall come again with glory, to take the saints into the possession and fruition of eternal life and the heavenly promises, and to condemn the profane to everlasting fire, having first raised both the one and the other by the resurrection of the flesh. This rule, he says, was instituted by Christ himself,[9] and there were no disputes in the church about it, but such as heresies brought in, or such as made heretics. To know nothing beyond this, was to know all things.

In his book against Praxeas he repeats the same creed, with a little variation of expression: We believe in one God,[10] yet under this dispensation, which we call the economy, That that one God hath a Son, which is his Word, who proceeded from him, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made. We believe that he was

[6] Origen, Cont. Marc. Dial. 1. p. 815. t. 2. Edit. Latin. Basil. 1571.

[7] Tertul. de Veland. Virgin. cap. 1. Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum Omnipotentem, mundi Conditorem, et Filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in cœlis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos, per carnis etiam resurrectionem.

[8] Id. de Præscript. advers. Hæreticos, cap. 13. Regula est autem fidei, illa scilicet qua creditur, unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit, per Verbum suum primo omnium emissum. Id Verbum Filium ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei varie visum patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex Spiritu Dei Patris et virtute in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, et ex ea natum hominem et esse Jesum Christum: exinde prædicasse novam legem, et novam promissionem regni cœlorum, virtutes fecisse: fixum cruci: tertia die resurrexisse: in cœlos ereptum sedere ad dexteram Patris: misisse vicariam vim Spiritûs Sancti, qui credentes agat: venturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ et promissorum cœlestium fructum, et ad prophanos judicandos igni perpetuo, utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis resurrectione.

[9] Ibid. cap. 14. Hæc regula a Christo instituta, nullas habet apud nos quæstiones, nisi quas hæreses inferunt et quæ hæreticos faciunt.—Nihil ultra scire, omnia scire est.

[10] Tertul. advers. Prax. cap. 2. Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam οἰκονομίαν dicimus, ut unici Dei sit et Filius Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum a Patre in virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum, Filium hominis et Filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum, et sepultum secundum Scripturas, resuscitatum a Patre, et in cœlos resumptum, sedere ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos. Qui exinde miserit secundum promissionem suam a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decucurrisse, &c. Confer. Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 6 et 11.

sent by the Father to be born of a virgin, both man and God, the Son of man and the Son of God, and that he was called Jesus Christ. That he suffered, and was dead and buried according to the Scriptures; that he was raised again by the Father, and taken up again into heaven, where he sits at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again to judge the quick and dead. From whence also he sent from his Father, according to his promise, the Holy Ghost the Comforter, who sanctifies the faith of those that believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This faith, he says, was the rule of believing from the beginning of the gospel, and the antiquity of it was sufficiently demonstrated from the novelty of heresies, which were but of yesterday's standing in comparison of it.

Now, it is easy to observe, that Tertullian here speaks not of any certain form of words, but of the substance of the faith: for some articles, as the descent into hell, and the communion of saints, are not here expressly mentioned, though they may be implied; but the articles of the Trinity, the incarnation, &c., are both expressed and carefully explained in such a manner, as shows the necessity of an explicit faith in those points, and how the doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity was a prime article of the creed from the very foundation of the church.

Sect. 4. The fragments of the creed in Cyprian.

Next after Tertullian we have some remains of the use of the creed in Cyprian: he says, Both the catholics and Novatians agreed in the same form of interrogatories, which they always proposed to catechumens at their baptism; some of which were these questions in particular, Whether they believed in God[11] the Father, and in Christ his Son, and in the Holy Ghost? And, whether they believed the remission of sins and life eternal was to be obtained by the holy church? For though, as he observes, the Novatians did but falsify and prevaricate, as it were, in these questions; there being no true church among them to grant remission of sins; yet, however, they observed the same form of words as the church did in her creed, and put the same questions to all that came to them for baptism. Cyprian repeats this in another epistle, which is written in the name of the council of Carthage[12] to the bishops of Numidia, where mention is made of the same interrogatories, as generally used in the administration of baptism. From whence it appears, that not only the articles of the Trinity, but those other which relate to the church, and remission of sins, and eternal life, were parts of the creed used in Cyprian's time in all the African churches. And except the descent into hell, and the communion of saints, (which are of later date in the creed than the times of Cyprian or Tertullian,) all the other articles are taken notice of by these two primitive writers.

Sect. 5. The creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus.

Not long after Cyprian lived Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea, commonly called Thaumaturgus. Among his works, published by Gerhard Vossius of Tongres, we have a creed which he composed for the use of his own church, or rather, as Gregory Nyssen reports in his Life, a creed which he received in the entrance on his ministry by a vision from heaven. The form is in these[13] words: "There is one God, the Father of the living Word, the subsisting Wisdom and Power, the eternal express image of God, who is a perfect begetter of a perfect, a Father of an only begotten Son. And one Lord, One of One, God of God, the character and image of the Godhead, the Word of power, the Wisdom that comprehends the whole system of the world, the Power that made every creature. The true Son of the true Father, invisible of invisible, incorruptible of incorruptible, immortal of immortal, eternal of eternal. And one Holy Ghost, who has his existence from God, who was manifested to men by the Son, the perfect image of the perfect Son, the living Cause of all living, the Fountain of holiness, essential sanctity, who is the Author of holiness in all others. In whom God the Father is manifested, who is above all and in all, and God the Son, whose power runs through all things. A perfect Trinity, whose glory, eternity, and dominion is no way divided or separated from each other. In this Trinity, therefore, there is nothing created or servile, nothing adventitious or extraneous, that did not exist before, but afterward came into it. The Father was never without the Son, nor the Son without the Spirit, but the Trinity abides the same, unchangeable and invariable for ever."

This creed is not a complete summary of the faith, but only so far as relates to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, of which it is one of the most convincing

[11] Cypr. Ep. 69. al. 76. ad Magnum, p. 183. Quod si aliquis illud opponat, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam catholica ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo quo et nos baptizare; eundem nôsse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare: sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, primum non esse unam nobis et schismaticis symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem: nam cum dicunt, Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam, mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant ecclesiam.

[12] Cypr. Ep. 70. ad Episc. Numid. p. 190. Sed et ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in baptismo, testis est veritatis. Nam cum dicimus, Credis in vitam æternam, et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam? Intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari, &c.

[13] Gregor. Neocæsar. Oper. p. 1. et ap. Greg. Nyss. t. 3. p. 546. Εἷς Θεὸς, πατὴρ Λόγου ζῶντος, σοφίας ὑφεστώσης, καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ χαρακτῆρος ἀϊδίου, τέλειος τελείου γεννήτωρ, Πατὴρ Υἱοῦ μονογενοῦς· εἷς Κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μόνου, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ, &c.

testimonies that is to be met with in any of the ante-Nicene fathers; it being particularly designed against the two opposite heresies of the Samosatenians and Sabellians, the one of which denied the Divinity of our Saviour, and the other his personal subsistence. Some modern Arians, following Sandius, have objected against it, as not genuine; but the learned Bishop Bull has abundantly vindicated the credit of it[14] from the undeniable evidences of Gregory Nyssen and St. Basil, to whose excellent Dissertation I refer the reader.

Sect. 6. The creed of Lucian the martyr.

In the same age with Gregory Thaumaturgus lived Lucian the martyr, who suffered in the last persecution under Diocletian. He was presbyter of the church of Antioch, where he wrote a confession of faith in opposition to the Sabellians. The form is recorded both by Athanasius,[15] and Socrates,[16] and Hilary, who comments upon it, and vindicates it from the objections which some made against it, because it was produced by the Arians, in the council of Antioch, under Constantius, anno 341, as if it had favoured their opinion, which Hilary shows it did not, though there were some expressions in it against the Sabellians, that might be wrested to an heretical sense, [as any catholic words may be,] contrary to the mind of the author. The form, as delivered by St. Hilary, runs thus: "We believe,[17] according to the tradition of the Gospels and apostles, in one God the Father Almighty, Creator, and Maker, and Governor of all things, of whom are all things: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, who is God, by whom are all things, who was begotten of the Father, God of God, Whole of Whole, One of One, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord, the Word, the Wisdom, the Life, the true Light, the true Way, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Gate, the incommutable and unchangeable image of the Divine essence, power, and glory, the First-born of every creature, who was always from the beginning God the Word with God, according to what is said in the Gospel, 'And the Word was God, by whom all things were made, and in whom all things subsist;' who, in the last days, descended from on high, and was born of a virgin, according to the Scriptures, and being the Lamb of God, he was made the Mediator between God and men, being fore-ordained to be the Author of our faith and life: for he said, 'I come not from heaven to do my own will, but the will of him that sent me.' Who suffered and rose again for us the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and he shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, which is given to believers for their consolation, and sanctification, and consummation, according to what our Lord Jesus Christ appointed his disciples, saying, 'Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Whence the properties of the Father are manifest, denoting him to be truly a Father, and the properties of the Son, denoting him to be truly a Son, and the properties of the Holy Spirit, denoting him to be truly the Holy Ghost: these names not being simply put and to no purpose, but to express the particular subsistence, or hypostatic substance, as the Greeks term it, of each person named, so as to denote them to be three in hypostasis, and one by consonance."

This creed was anciently suspected by some as an Arian creed, because of the term three hypostases, or three substances, in Hilary's translation. But Hilary abundantly clears it from this suspicion, by showing, that these terms were only used to oppose the Sabellians, who made the three persons no more than three names; and that all other expressions in it are very full and significant against the Arian heresy. And therefore neither does he censure the council of Antioch as Arians, who only repeated and adopted this creed from Lucian, but he calls them a synod of ninety-five holy bishops,

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[14] Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. 2. cap. 12. n. 2.

[15] Athan. de Synod. Arimin. et Seleuc. t. 1. p. 892.

[16] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 10.

[17] Hilar. de Synodis, p. 107. Consequenter evangelicæ et apostolicæ traditioni credimus in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, cunctorum quæ sunt ædificatorem et factorem et provisorem, ex quo omnia: et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium ipsius unigenitum, Deum per quem omnia, qui generatus est ex Patre, Deum ex Deo, Totum ex Toto, Unum ex Uno, Perfectum de Perfecto, Regem de Rege, Dominum de Domino, Verbum, Sapientiam, Vitam, Lumen verum, Viam veram, Resurrectionem, Pastorem, Januam, inconvertibilem et incommutabilem, Divinitatis essentiæque et virtutis et gloriæ incommutabilem imaginem, primum editum totius creaturæ, qui semper fuit in principio apud Deum Verbum Deus, juxta quod dictum est in evangelio: et Deus erat Verbum, per quem omnia facta sunt, et in quo omnia constant, qui in novissimis diebus descendit de summis, et natus est ex virgine secundum Scripturas, et Agnus factus est Mediator Dei et hominum, prædestinatus fidei nostræ et dux vitæ; dixit quippe, Non enim descendi de cœlo, ut facerem voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem ejus qui me misit. Qui passus est, et resurrexit pro nobis tertia die, et ascendit in cœlos, et sedet in dextera Patris, et iterum venturus cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos. Et in Sanctum Spiritum, qui in paraclesin et sanctificationem et consummationem credentibus datus est, juxta quod et Dominus Jesus Christus ordinavit discipulis, dicens, Pergite et docete universas gentes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti. Manifesta utique Patris, vere Patris, certaque Filii, vere Filii, notaque Spiritûs Sancti, vere Spiritûs Sancti; hisque nominibus non simpliciter, neque otiose propositis, sed significantibus diligenter propriam uniuscujusque nominatorum substantiam et ordinem et gloriam, ut sint quidem per substantiam tria, per consonantiam vero unum. *Τῇ ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἕν.* So the Greek in Socrates and Athanasius.

who intended thereby to establish the catholic faith against the Sabellians chiefly, though not without a sufficient guard against the Anomœans, or Arians. His words are these:[18] The holy synod intending to destroy the impiety of those heretics, who eluded the true faith of a Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the equivocation of three names only, that by a triple appellation, without any real subsistence belonging to each name, they might, under the false shadow of three names, introduce such a unity, as that the Father alone, though but one and the same, should have the name of the Holy Spirit and of the Son also: therefore the synod used the term, three substances or hypostases, meaning by substances, subsisting persons, and not intending to introduce such a division of substance in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as implies a dissimilitude and diversity of essence: [which was the heresy of the Arians, who made the Father only God, and the other two persons only creatures, so dividing the substance by a diversity of nature or essence: which this council did not:] and therefore Hilary says, They were not to be blamed, though they spake of the Divine persons as of three substances or hypostases, and one by consent, because they meant no more than real subsisting persons, in opposition to the Sabellians. Yet notwithstanding this just defence and apology made by St. Hilary for this council, it is condemned by Baronius, Binnius, Hermantius, and many other modern writers, as an Arian council. But the learned Schelstrate has written an accurate dissertation in favour of this council, wherein he answers[19] all the objections made by Baronius and his followers, either against this council or the creed of Lucian the martyr; which is also done by our learned Bishop Bull,[20] to whose Dissertations I refer the curious reader.

Sect. 7. The creed of the Apostolical Constitutions.

About the time of Lucian the martyr, in the latter end of the third century, Cotelerius supposes the author or compiler of the book called, The Apostolical Constitutions, to have lived; which I think more probable than either the opinion of those, who thrust him down to the fifth century, or the opinion of Mr. Whiston, who will needs have this book not only to be the genuine work of Clemens Romanus, but the work of a Divine and inspired writer. For this reason I speak of him in this place next after Lucian, as one that has left us the form of an ancient creed, then most probably used in some of the Eastern or Greek churches. For he brings in the catechumen making his profession in these words: "I believe[21] and am baptized in one Unbegotten, the only true God Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, of whom are all things: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, the First-born of every creature, who before all ages was begotten, not made, by the good will of the Father, by whom all things were made in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, who in the last times came down from heaven, and taking flesh upon him, was born of the holy Virgin Mary, and lived a holy life according to the laws of God his Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and the third day after he had suffered, rose again from the dead and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and shall come again with glory in the end of the world, to judge both the quick and dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And I am baptized into the Holy Ghost, that is to say, the Comforter, which wrought effectually in all the saints from the beginning of the world, and was afterward sent to the apostles by the Father, according to the promise of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and after the apostles to all others, who, in the holy catholic church, believe the resurrection of the flesh, the remission of sins, the kingdom of heaven, and the life of the world to come."

Some have suspected this author of Arianism, but there is nothing of it appears in this creed: for though he gives the title of *ἀγέννητον* only to the Father, yet that is no more than what Alexander and Athanasius, and all the opposers of Arius, always did, who never asserted *δύο ἀγέννητα*, as those words signify, two absolute, co-ordinate, unbegotten principles, which is the proper notion of two Gods; but always reserved the title of *ἀγέννητον*, unbegotten, to the Father only, as the eternal principle and fountain of the Deity, and styled the Son *μονογενῆ Θεὸν*, the only begotten God, which is the proper notion of the Son of God, who is neither created nor unbegotten, but eternally begotten of the substance of the Father, and this title of *μονογενὴς Θεὸς*, the only begotten God, is the same as this very author of the Constitutions elsewhere ascribes to

[18] Hilar. de Synodis, p. 108. Volens igitur congregata sanctorum synodus impietatem eam perimere, quæ veritatem Patris, Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti nominum numero eluderet, ut non subsistente causa uniuscujusque nominis, triplex nuncupatio obtineret sub falsitate nominum unionem, ut Pater solus atque unus idem atque ipse haberet et Spiritûs Sancti nomen et Filii: idcirco tres substantias esse dixerunt, subsistentium personas per substantias edocentes, non substantiam Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti diversitate dissimilis essentiæ separantes. Quod autem dictum est, ut sint quidem per substantiam tria, per consonantiam vero unum, non habet calumniam, &c.

[19] Schelstrat. Sacrum Concilium Antiochenum restitutum, Dissert. 3. c. 2. p. 109.

[20] Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. 2. c. 13. n. 6.

[21] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. c. 41. *Πιστεύω καὶ βαπτίζομαι εἰς ἕνα ἀγέννητον, μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κτιστὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἁπάντων, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἰς τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, οὐ κτισθέντα*, &c.

the Son,[22] whom he makes to be no creature, but God, in this only differing from the Father, that he is not unbegotten; which is necessary to the notion of a Son; for it were a contradiction to say, he is the Son of God, and yet unbegotten also. I observe this, to show how little advantage the modern Arians have from this author, if we allow him but that favourable interpretation, which in justice ought to be allowed to all ancient catholic writers.

We may further observe, that though this creed be the same in substance with the Roman Creed, which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, yet it differs from it very much in phrase and expression, and comes nearer the creeds of the Eastern church; and though it be as perfect as any of that age, yet it has neither the article of the descent into hell, nor the communion of saints, expressly mentioned in it; which shows that these articles were not *totidem verbis* inserted into the first creeds of the church.

Sect. 8. The Creed of Jerusalem.

Thus far I have collected the scattered remains of the ancient creeds, which were composed before the Nicene Creed, for the use of several churches, as they are still upon record in private writers. But we have some more perfect forms also remaining, as those of Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, by comparing which together, the reader may easily perceive, how the unity of the faith was exactly agreed upon, and preserved, with some variety of expression. The Creed of the church of Jerusalem we have imperfectly in St. James's Liturgy, and more perfect in the Catechetical Discourses of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, which are an exposition upon it. In St. James's Liturgy we have only the beginning of the creed: "I believe in one God the Father Almighty,[23] Maker of heaven and earth, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God." But the remaining articles are not inserted, as being vulgarly known without reciting. However, in Cyril's catechisms the articles are rehearsed at full length, and when collected together they run in this form:

"I believe in one God[24] the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, the true God, by whom all things were made, who was incarnate and made man, who was crucified and buried, and the third day he rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and shall come to judge the quick and dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And in the Holy Ghost the Comforter, who spake by the prophets. In one baptism of repentance, in the remission of sins, in one catholic church, in the resurrection of the flesh, and in life everlasting."

That this creed was neither the Nicene Creed, nor the Constantinopolitan, is evident, because it wants the word consubstantial, and other titles, which are given to the Son in the Nicene Creed: nor has it the full explication of the character of the Holy Ghost, which was afterward made in the Constantinopolitan Creed: which is not to be wondered at, because Cyril's catechisms were written some years before the council of Constantinople was held. Therefore it must be the ancient Creed of Jerusalem, as learned men[25] have rightly concluded, and hence also observed, that the Oriental creeds had originally the articles that follow the Holy Ghost, viz. the catholic church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life. Only the communion of saints, and descent into hell, are wanting in it.

Sect. 9. The Creed of Cæsarea in Palestine.

And so we find in the Creed of Cæsarea in Palestine, in the profession of which Eusebius says he was baptized, and catechised; the descent into hell is not mentioned in it. But it differs in expression from the Jerusalem Creed, and comes up the nearest to the Nicene Creed of any other. The form, as it was proposed by Eusebius himself to the council of Nice, is in these words: "We believe in one God the Father[26] Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, his only begotten Son, the First-born of every creature, begotten of the Father before all ages, by whom all things were made; who for our salvation was incarnate, and conversed among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended unto the Father, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. We believe also in one Holy Spirit. Every one of these we believe to be and exist; we confess the Father to be truly a Father, the Son truly a Son, the Holy Ghost truly a Holy Ghost, according to what our Lord, when he sent his disciples to preach, said, 'Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'"

The articles that follow the Holy Ghost, are here omitted only for the same reason, as I shall show hereafter, they were omitted in the Nicene Creed, because then no dispute was made about them, and only so much of the Creed was now produced as was necessary to be mentioned in opposition to the Arian heresy.

Sect. 10. The Creed of Alexandria.

The Creed of Alexandria was somewhat shorter than this, and is supposed by learned men to be that which

[22] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 43. lib. 8. c. 7, 11, 12, 17.
[23] Jacobi Liturg. in Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 7.
[24] Cyril. Cateches. 6, &c.
[25] Bull. Judic. Eccles. Cathol. &c. cap. 6. n. 5.
[26] Euseb. Epist. ad Ecclesiam Cæsar. ap. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 8.

Arius and Euzoius delivered in to Constantine, when they made a sort of feigned recantation before him. The form is recorded in Socrates[27] in these words: "We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his Son our Lord, God the Word begotten of him before all ages, by whom all things were made that are in heaven and in earth; who came down from heaven, and was incarnate, and suffered and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life of the world to come, and in the kingdom of heaven, and in one catholic church of God extended from one end of the earth to the other."

Sect. 11. The Creed of Antioch.

The Creed of the church of Antioch seems to be that which is recorded in Cassian, who delivers it as it was probably received in that church from the time of the apostles, only with the addition of the word consubstantial, inserted from the time of the council of Nice. "The text and faith of the Creed of Antioch," says he, "is this:[28] I believe in one only true God the Father Almighty, Maker of all creatures visible and invisible: and in Jesus Christ our Lord, his only begotten Son, the First-born of every creature, born of him before all ages, and not made, very God of very God, consubstantial with the Father, by whom the world was framed and all things made. Who for our sakes came and was born of the Virgin Mary, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried, and the third day rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead."

Cassian here repeats not the whole creed, but only those articles that were proper to be urged against Nestorius, who had been baptized into this faith, and by this creed, at Antioch, from which he shows his prevarications, and how he had started from the profession which he himself had made in the words of this creed both at his baptism and ordination, leaving the remaining articles unrecited.

Sect. 12. The Roman Creed, commonly called the Apostles' Creed.

The reader may easily perceive, by comparing the forementioned creeds, that the articles of the communion of saints, and the descent into hell, are not expressly mentioned in any of them. Nor were they originally in the Roman Creed, which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, as appears not only from the testimony of Ruffin, but from some ancient copies of this creed still remaining. Bishop Usher[29] met with two copies here in England, which wanted these additions, and also that of life everlasting. The one was in Greek, though written in Saxon characters, at the end of King Athelstan's Psalter, about the year 703; and the other in Latin; but both exactly in the same form of words: "I believe in God the Father Almighty; and in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried, and the third day rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost, the holy church, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the flesh. Amen."

The variations of these ancient forms from the present form of the Apostles' Creed, in the want of several words that have since been added, are noted by Bishop Usher, who also observes, that this creed is delivered by several ancient authors with some variety of expression. For in some authors, which use this creed, life everlasting is added after the resurrection of the flesh. As in the homilies of Petrus Chrysologus,[30] bishop of Ravenna, where he expounds this creed. And in the author of the book de Symbolo ad Catechumenos, in the ninth tome of St. Austin's works. And in the creed which Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, presented to Pope Julius, which is recorded in Epiphanius.[31] But others conclude this creed with the resurrection of the flesh, and make no express mention of life everlasting; not that they supposed it to be no article of faith, but because it was included in the other article of the resurrection, as they rightly expound it. St. Jerom says plainly,[32] that the creed was concluded with the resurrection of the flesh. And Maximus Taurinensis,[33] who expounds every article of it distinctly, says the same. And St. Austin also[34] concludes the creed with the resurrection of the flesh, but then he includes eternal life in the exposition

[27] Socrat. lib. 1. c. 26.

[28] Cassian. de Incarnat. lib. 6. p. 1272. Textus ergo et fides Antiocheni Symboli hæc est: Credo in unum et solum verum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Creatorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium creaturarum. Et in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unigenitum, et primogenitum totius creaturæ, ex eo natum ante omnia sæcula, et non factum, Deum verum ex Deo vero, homousion Patri, per quem et sæcula compaginata sunt et omnia facta. Qui propter nos venit et natus est ex Maria Virgine, et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus, et tertia die resurrexit secundum Scripturas, et in cœlos ascendit, et iterum veniet judicare vivos et mortuos. Et reliqua

[29] Usser. de Symbolis, p. 6.

[30] Petrus Chrysol. Homil. 57, &c.

[31] Epiph. Hær. 72. Marcel. n. 3.

[32] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. In symbolo fidei—post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem ecclesiæ, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione concluditur.

[33] Maxim. Taurin. Hom. 1. de Diversis, p. 239. Hic religionis nostræ finis, hæc summa credendi est.

[34] Aug. de Fide et Symbolo, t. 3. p. 66. Qua corporis resurrectione facta, a temporis conditione liberati, æterna vita ineffabili charitate et stabilitate sine corruptione perfruemur.

of it. For, says he, when the resurrection of the body is effected, we shall be freed from the conditions of time, and enjoy eternal life with ineffable charity and stability without corruption. And so the author of the sermons De Tempore[35] under his name: The resurrection of the flesh is the end of all, but it is an end without end. For there is no death after that. Therefore they made it the conclusion of the creed, because it was the conclusion of all things in this world.

Sect. 13. The Creed of Aquileia.

And thus it was in the Creed of the church of Aquileia, which differed in other points both from the Roman and Oriental creeds. For Ruffinus, who wrote an exposition upon it, concludes it with the article of the resurrection, and neither mentions nor expounds the article of eternal life, but only tacitly, as it is implied in the resurrection. In other articles some additions were made to this creed, which were not in the Roman: for here the descent into hell is particularly mentioned; and not only the resurrection of the flesh in general, but the resurrection of this flesh in particular; and in the first article, after the word Almighty, were added, impassible and invisible, as peculiar appellations of God the Father. For it was thus conceived: "I believe in God the Father Almighty, invisible and impassible;[36] and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried; he descended into hell, and the third day rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of this flesh."

The reason of adding the words "invisible and impassible" to this creed, which were not in the Roman, was to obviate the Sabellian or Patripassian heresy, which asserted that God the Father was born of the virgin, and so made visible and passible in the flesh. In opposition to which impiety, Ruffinus says,[37] their forefathers seem to have added those words, professing the Father to be invisible and impassible, that is, that he never was incarnate, as the Son only was, and not the Father. The descent into hell is also almost peculiar to this creed: for excepting this and the creed of the council of Sirmium or Ariminum, mentioned by Socrates,[38] this article was not expressly mentioned in any other creed of this age; though Ruffinus thinks it was always implied in the word "buried," which he reckons of the same importance. When it first came into the Roman Creed, the reader may find a particular account in Bishop Pearson, who speaks of it as done about the year 600.

Sect. 14. The Nicene Creed, as first published by the council of Nice.

I have hitherto given an account of all such creeds as might be reckoned of use in the church before the time of the Nicene council. I shall now give the like account of the first forming of the Nicene Creed, and how it was afterward completed, and put into a new form, by the council of Constantinople. The Creed, as first published by the council of Nice, was in these words: "We believe in one God Almighty,[39] Maker of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things both in heaven and earth were made. Who for us men and our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate and made man, and suffered, and the third day rose again, and ascended into heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost. And those who say, there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that he did not exist before he was made, because he was made out of nothing, or of another substance or essence, or that he was created or mutable, the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes them."

This Creed often occurs in the writings of the ancient fathers and councils in this very form; as in Athanasius, Epist. ad Jovian. t. 1. p. 247; Hilar. de Synodis, p. 114; Leo, Ep. 95, ad Leonem Imperat.; the Council of Rome, under Julius, an. 337; the Council of Ephesus, Epist. ad Nestor.; the Council of Chalcedon, Act. 2; the Council of Hippo; the sixth Council of Carthage; the Preface to the African Code; the third Council of Bracara; the third and thirteenth of Toledo; the fifth General Council of Constantinople, Act. 17; and many others.

Now, some learned persons have been of opinion, that the ancient creeds before the council of Nice, had none of the articles which follow after the Holy

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[35] Aug. Serm. 119. De Tempore, t. 10. p. 306. Iste jam finis est. Sed finis erit sine fine resurrectio carnis, &c.

[36] Ruffin. Expos. Symboli ad calcem Cypriani, p. 19. Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, invisibilem et impassibilem. Et in Christum Jesum unicum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus, descendit ad inferna: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Patris: inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, remissionem peccatorum, hujus carnis resurrectionem.

[37] Ruffin. ibid. p. 19. Sciendum quod duo isti sermones in ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habentur: constat autem apud nos additos hæreseos causa Sabellii, illius profecto quæ a nostris Patripassiana appellatur; id est, quæ Patrem ipsum vel ex virgine natum dicit, et visibilem factum, vel passum affirmat in carne.

[38] Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 37.

[39] Ap. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 8.

Ghost, but all ended as that does, with those words, "and in the Holy Ghost." This was the opinion of Vossius and Erasmus; and Bishop Usher says, he was once inclined to think so himself, but upon better consideration, he professes[40] he found it necessary to alter his judgment. For it plainly appears from most of the forms before recited, that several of the articles which follow after the Holy Ghost, were always a part of the creed: and the reason why the council of Nice repeated them not, was only because there was then no dispute about them, and they only rehearsed so much of the former creeds as there was then occasion for, to oppose the heresy of the Arians, leaving the rest to be supplied from the former creeds, then generally received in the church. This is evident, both from the creeds used by the Arians, and those that were used by the church, before the council of Constantinople had settled and new-modelled the form of the Nicene Creed that was afterwards generally received in the church. Thus in the creed of the separating bishops in the council of Sardica, related by St. Hilary[41] and others, after the article of the Holy Ghost there follows, "We believe in the holy church, and in remission of sins, and eternal life;" or, as it is more perfectly in his Fragments,[42] "the holy church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life." So again, the Eusebians in their first creed, which they published in the council of Antioch, mentioned both by Athanasius and Socrates,[43] after the article of the Holy Ghost, add, "We believe the resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life." Now, it were absurd to think the Arians should retain these articles in their creeds, and in the mean time the church reject or neglect them. Therefore it is plain the Nicene Creed was only one part of the ancient creed, that was used at full length in baptism, though not here so recited. And what has been observed before out of Cyril's catechisms, is a manifest proof of it.

Sect. 15. The creeds of Epiphanius.

This is further evident from the two creeds, a shorter and a longer, recited in Epiphanius, who wrote his Anchorate some years before the council of Constantinople. The shorter creed, which he says every catechumen repeated at his baptism from the time of the council of Nice to the tenth year of Valentinian and Valens, anno 373, was in these words: "We believe[44] in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, that is, of the substance of his Father, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made which are in heaven and in earth. Who for us men and our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and the third day rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets. And in one catholic and apostolic church. We confess one baptism for the remission of sins, and we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. But they who say, there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that he was not before he was begotten, or that he was made out of nothing, or of any other substance or essence, or that he is mutable or changeable, those the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes."

This, says Epiphanius, is the faith which was delivered by the holy apostles, and received by the church in the council of Nice, where three hundred and eighteen fathers were present. By which he does not mean that these articles were delivered in this very form either by the apostles or the council of Nice, but that the church agreed upon this form to be used at baptism, in pursuance of the doctrine delivered by the apostles and the Nicene fathers. And afterwards, upon occasion of the Apollinarians and other heretics, which infested the church about the tenth year of Valentinian and Valens, and the sixth of Gratian, and the ninetieth year of the Dioctetian account, that is, anno 373, she enlarged her creed with a more particular explication of some certain articles in opposition to those heresies. And then the form appointed to be used in baptism was in these terms, as he informs us in the same place:

"We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of God the Father, the only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, as well in heaven as in earth, visible and invisible. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate, that is, was born in perfect manner of the holy Virgin Mary, by the Holy Ghost, and was made man, that is, took upon him perfect man, soul and body and mind, and whatsoever is in man, sin only

[40] Usser. de Symbolis, p. 17.
[41] Hilar. de Synodis, p. 108.
[42] Hilar. Fragmenta, p. 140.
[43] Socrat. lib. 2. c. 10. Athanas. De Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. t. 1. p. 892.
[44] Epiphan. Anchorat. n. 120. t. 2. p. 122.

excepted; not by the seed of man, nor merely by existing in man, but by framing flesh to himself into one holy unity; not after the manner as he inspired the prophets, and spake and wrought in them, but by being perfectly made man. For the Word was made flesh, not by undergoing any change, or transforming the Godhead into manhood, but by making one perfect and Divine union. For there is but one Lord Jesus Christ, not two, the same God, the same Lord, the same King. Who suffered in the flesh and rose again, and ascended with his body into heaven, and sitteth in glory at the right hand of the Father; whence he shall come with glory in the same body to judge the quick and dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. We believe in the Holy Ghost, who spake in the law, and preached by the prophets, and descended at Jordan; who spake by the apostles, and dwells in the saints: and thus we believe of him, that he is the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, the perfect Spirit, the Comforter, uncreated, proceeding from the Father, receiving from the Son, in whom we believe. We believe in one catholic and apostolic church, in one baptism of repentance, in the resurrection of the dead, in the just judgment of body and soul, in the kingdom of heaven, and life everlasting. And those that say, there was a time when the Son or the Holy Ghost was not, or that they were made out of nothing, or of another substance or essence; that say, the Son of God, or the Holy Ghost, are mutable or changeable; those the catholic and apostolic church, the mother of us and you, anathematizes. And again, we anathematize those that confess not the resurrection of the dead, and all heresies which accord not to this holy faith."

Now, if these creeds were in use in the church at the time which Epiphanius mentions, then it is certain the Nicene Creed was completed by the church for the use of her catechumens long before the general council of Constantinople: and what was done by that council, was rather to contract the form, than to augment or lengthen it, as any one may easily perceive, that will compare the Constantinopolitan Creed with either of those that have now been recited out of Epiphanius.

Sect. 16. The Nicene Creed, as completed by the council of Constantinople, anno 381.

For the creed that was drawn up in the second general council of Constantinople, is no other but the Nicene Creed, with the addition of such articles as were always used by the church in the interrogatories of baptism, though not inserted in the particular form used by the Nicene council. I need not here repeat the form, because it is the same with that which is commonly called the Nicene Creed in our liturgy. Only the word *Filioque*, expressing the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and Son together, was added afterward by the Latin church. For the first copies of this Creed in the council of Constantinople,[45] and the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon,[46] have it only, proceeding from the Father, *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον*, without any mention of the Son: but in the Latin councils, the word *Filioque* is commonly added, as in the first council of Bracara, anno 411, and the third council of Toledo,[47] anno 589, where the Constantinopolitan Creed is recited.

Sect. 17. Of the use of the Nicene Creed in the ancient service of the church. And when first it was taken in to be a part of the liturgy in the communion office.

As to the use of the Nicene Creed, it is certain, it was used in the Greek church much after the same manner as the Apostolical and other creeds were used in the Latin church; first in the office of baptism; afterward it was taken in to be a part of the liturgy in the communion service. Some learned persons, I know, are of opinion, that the Nicene Creed was never used in the administration of baptism, but only the Apostolical Creed still throughout the whole church. But this is a very plain mistake. 1. Because it does not appear, that the Apostolical Creed, which is the Roman Creed, was ever used in the Greek church, even before the Nicene Creed was made: for they had several creeds of their own, agreeing indeed with the Roman Creed in substance, but differing from it in words and expression; and those creeds were used by the Greek or Eastern church in the administration of baptism. 2. When the Nicene Creed was formed, it is very evident, that very form was used by many churches in the East as the creed of baptism. For the fathers of the council of Constantinople under Mennas, anno 536, do frequently call it the creed in which both they themselves were baptized,[48] and also baptized others. And so it is said in the synodical epistles of the councils of Tyre and Jerusalem, which are related[49] in the acts of the same council. As also in the acts of the general councils of Ephesus[50] and Chalcedon,[51] in the former of which an order was made that catechumens should be taught the Nicene Creed, and no other. The like may be observed in the edict of the emperor Basiliscus mentioned by Evagrius,[52] who, speaking of the Nicene Creed, calls it the creed in which both he and all his ancestors were baptized. And it is remarked by Epiphanius,[53] of the two creeds which he recites, that they were the creeds which every catechumen repeated at his baptism; which were nothing but the Nicene

[45] Conc. Constantin. Conc. t. 2. p. 953.
[46] Conc. Chalcedon. Act. 2. t. 4. p. 341.
[47] Conc. t. 5. p. 1001.
[48] Vid. Con. C. P. sub Menna, Act. 5. Con. t. 5. p. 166, 171, 179.
[49] Ibid. p. 190 et 199.
[50] Conc. Ephes. Act. 6. t. 3. p. 690.
[51] Conc. Chalced. Act. 2. t. 4. p. 341.
[52] Evagr. lib. 3. c. 4 et 7.
[53] Epiphan. Anchorat. n. 120. t. 2. p. 120.

Creed, with the addition of such articles as the church supplied, to make it a complete summary of the faith. So that nothing can be more evident, than that the Nicene Creed was the creed then generally made use of in all the Eastern churches for the instruction of catechumens at their baptism.

But as yet it was not made a part of the common liturgy of the church, to be repeated daily in Divine service. St. Ambrose[54] indeed speaks of it as used in private devotion, and gives directions to the holy virgins so to use it in their morning retirements, and upon other proper occasions. And Habertus[55] thinks it was also required of bishops at their ordination; which is not improbable, because they were obliged to make a profession of their faith. But all this did not yet make it a part of the daily liturgy of the church. For it is agreed among learned men, both of the Romish and protestant communion, that the creed was not used to be repeated in the daily service till about the middle of the fifth century in the Greek church, and not till some time after in the Latin church. So Valesius,[56] Cardinal Bona,[57] Schelstrate,[58] Pagi,[59] Christianus Lupus,[60] Hamond L'Estrange,[61] and Vossius.[62] Theodorus Lector[63] observes, that Peter Fullo, who was bishop of Antioch about the year 471, was the first that ordered the creed to be repeated in that church, *ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει*, in every church assembly. And the same author reports,[64] that Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople, anno 511, was the first that brought in this custom into that church; which he did in hatred to his predecessor Macedonius, and with an intent to represent him as disaffected to the Nicene Creed, which before that time was used to be rehearsed in the church only once a year, on the *parasceue*, or great day of preparation before the passover, now called Maundy Thursday, when the bishop was wont to catechise such as were to be baptized at Easter. From the Oriental churches, the custom was brought into the West, first in Spain and Gallicia, at the petition of King Recaredus, by the order of the third council[65] of Toledo, about the year 589, when those churches were newly recovered from the inundation of the Arian heresy, this practice was then thought a proper antidote to preserve them from relapsing into their ancient error. Lupus and Pagi say, it was not brought into the French churches till the time of Charles the Great, and then Pope Leo III. advised them to lay it aside again, because it was not yet the custom of the Roman church. They concluded yet further, that in the time of Pope John VIII., anno 870, it was not yet the practice of the Roman church. But at last, in the days of Benedict VIII., anno 1014, as is collected from Berno Augiensis, the custom was admitted into the Roman church; for this reason, to give it in the words of Lupus, since the Roman church could not bring over the French and Spanish churches to her own way, she resolved at last to comply with their custom, that there might be no disagreement among them; and so the Nicene Creed came to be universally read throughout the whole church.

Sect. 18. Of the Athanasian Creed.

There is but one creed more, which I need to stand to give any account of, and that is the creed which is commonly received under the name of the Athanasian Creed. Baronius[66] is of opinion, that it was composed by Athanasius when he was at Rome, and offered to Pope Julius as a confession of his faith. Which circumstance is not at all likely, for Julius never questioned the faith of Athanasius. However, a great many learned men have so far embraced the opinion of Baronius, as to believe this creed to be of Athanasius's composing; as Cardinal Bona,[67] and Petavius,[68] and Bellarmine,[69] and Rivet,[70] with many others of both communions. Scultetus leaves the matter in doubt. But the best and latest critics, who have examined the thing most exactly, make no question, but that it is to be ascribed to a Latin author, Vigilius Tapsensis, an African bishop, who lived in the latter end of the fifth century, in the time of the Vandalic Arian persecution. The learned Vossius[71] and Quesnel[72] have written particular dissertations upon this subject. Their arguments are, 1. Because this creed is wanting in almost all the manuscripts of Athanasius's works. 2. Because the style and contexture of it does not bespeak a Greek, but a Latin author. 3. Because neither Cyril of Alexandria, nor the council of Ephesus, nor Pope Leo, nor the council of Chalcedon, have ever so much as mentioned it

[54] Ambros. de Virgin. lib. 3. p. 115. Symbolum quoque specialiter debemus, tanquam nostri signaculum cordis, antelucanis horis quotidie recensere. Quod etiam, cum horremus aliquid, animo recurrendum est.
[55] Habert. Archieratic. p. 499.
[56] Vales. Not. in Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 566.
[57] Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. 2. c. 8. n. 2.
[58] Schelstrat. Concil. Antiochen. cap. 6. p. 210.
[59] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 325. n. 18.
[60] Lupus, Scholia in Concil. t. 1. cap. 4. p. 13.
[61] Alliance of Divine Offices, chap. 3. p. 79. chap. 6. p. 170.
[62] Vossius de Symbolis.
[63] Theodor. Lector. Hist. lib. 2. p. 566.
[64] Ibid. p. 563.
[65] Conc. Tolet. 3. c. 2. Petitione Reccaredi regis constituit synodus, ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniæ et Galliciæ, secundum formam Orientalium ecclesiarum, concilii Constantinopolitani symbolum fidei recitetur: et priusquam Dominica dicatur oratio, voce clara populo prædicetur, &c.
[66] Baron. an. 340. n. 11.
[67] Bona de Psalmodia.
[68] Petav. Not. in Epiphan. Hær. 72.
[69] Bellarmin. de Scriptor. Eccles. p. 81.
[70] Rivet, Critic. Sacr. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 240.
[71] Voss. de Symbolis, Dissert. 2.
[72] Quesnel. Dissert. de variis Fidei Symbolis in antiquo codice Romano.

in all that they say against the Nestorian or Eutychian heresies. 4. Because this Vigilius Tapsensis is known to have published several others of his writings under the borrowed name of Athanasius, with which this creed is commonly joined. These reasons have persuaded such men as Bishop Pearson,[73] Archbishop Usher,[74] Hamond L'Estrange,[75] Dr. Cave,[76] Schelstrate,[77] Pagi,[78] and Du Pin, critics of the best rank, to come in to this opinion, that this creed was not composed by Athanasius, but by a later and a Latin writer. Dr. Cave thinks, the first that mentions it under the name of Athanasius, is Theodulphus Aurelianensis, who lived about the year 794, in the reign of Charles the Great: but in this he is a little mistaken; for the council of Autun, which was held above a hundred years before, anno 670, not only mentioned it under that name, but ordered every presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, &c., to read it together with the Apostles' Creed,[79] or be liable to the bishop's censure for his omission; which implies, that it was then esteemed the genuine work of Athanasius, and as such had for some time been received in the church. But whoever was the author of it, there never was any question made of its orthodoxy, except by the Samosatenians and Arians in these later ages of the church. Only, as Bishop Usher and others have observed, the modern Greeks now use it with some additions and alterations. For, whereas it is said in the Latin copies, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son; the Greeks now read it, from the Father, or the Father only; as Paræus[80] has remarked in his exposition of this creed. And in the Greek copy lately brought out of the East, and published by Bishop Usher, there is a long interpolation by way of addition and explication of those words, "He was man of the substance of his mother, perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting." With some other additions of lesser note, which the curious reader may find marked out in the fore-mentioned tract[81] of that learned author.

To all the creeds that have been related in this chapter, I think it not improper to add the short account which Eusebius gives of the first preaching of St. Thaddæus to King Agbarus and the people of Edessa, which I had from the information of my learned and judicious friend Mr. Lowth, to whose useful conversation I owe many other curious remarks and observations, that lie scattered throughout the Antiquities of the Church. This is not indeed properly a creed, but a summary of his first sermon, or the heads of his first catechetical institution to the people. "Concerning the coming of Jesus into the world, after what manner it was; and concerning his mission, for what reason he was sent by the Father; concerning his power, and the mysteries which he spake in the world, and by what power he did these; then of his new way of preaching; of his meanness and abject estate, and the humility of his outward appearance as a man; after what manner he humbled himself, and submitted to death, and made a diminutive[82] appearance of his Divine nature; what things he suffered of the Jews, and how he was crucified, and descended into hell, and brake down the partition that had been kept up in former ages; how he arose from the dead, and raised with himself those that slept in preceding generations; how he descended [from heaven] alone, but ascended with a mighty company to his Father; how he sits at the right hand of God the Father, and shall come again with glory and power to judge both the quick and the dead." Here are two things very remarkable in this ancient account of the first principles of Christian doctrine, viz. the Divinity of our Saviour, and the descent into hell, both which are here expressed in terms, for which reason I thought it might deserve a place among the creeds of the church. Eusebius says, he had the account in the Syriac tongue, as it was preserved in the archives of the church of Edessa, signed in the year 340, which (according to the computation of time then used by the Syrians of Edessa, reckoning from the first year that Seleucus began to reign in Asia) falls in with the same year that Christ suffered and arose from the dead, as Valesius, and Pagi[83] after him, have rightly computed in their observations upon this passage of Eusebius.

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[73] Pearson. in Symbol. Artic. 8. p. 570. Edit. Lat.

[74] Usser. de Symbol. Rom. p. 1.

[75] L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, chap. 4. p. 99.

[76] Cave, Hist. Literar. vol. 1. p. 146.

[77] Schelstrat. Conc. Antioch. Dissert. 3. c. 2. p. 109.

[78] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 340. n. 6. Du Pin, vol. 2. p. 35.

[79] Conc. Augustodun. Can. ult. Con. t. 6. p. 536. Si quis presbyter, diaconus, subdiaconus, vel clericus, symbolum, quod inspirante Sancto Spiritu apostoli tradiderunt, vel fidem sancti Athanasii præsulis irreprehensibiliter non recensuerit, ab episcopo condemnetur

[80] Paræus, Not. in Symbol. Athanas. ad calcem Ursin. Catech. p. 124.

[81] Usser. de Symbolis, p. 29.

[82] Euseb. lib. 1. cap. 13, Ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτȣ̃ τὴν θεότητα.——Κατέβη εἰς τὸν ἅδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν, &c. It is worth our observation to compare the apostle's expression, Phil. ii. 7, ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, "He made himself of no reputation," or, he emptied himself, with this expression of Thaddæus, ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτȣ̃ τὴν θεότητα, He lessened, or made a diminutive show and appearance of his Godhead. For these places mutually explain one another, and are a solid proof that the divinity of Christ in the apostolical age was one of the principal articles of the Christian faith.

[83] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 41. n. 3.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ORIGINAL, NATURE, AND REASONS OF THE ANCIENT DISCIPLINE, IN CONCEALING THE SACRED MYSTERIES OF THE CHURCH FROM THE CATECHUMENS.

Sect. 1. The errors and pretences of the Romanists upon this point.

THAT which makes this inquiry a little more necessary, is the several vain pretences of the Romanists concerning the original and reasons of this discipline. Bellarmine and others urge it as a mighty argument for transubstantiation in particular, as if the concealing the mystery of the eucharist from the catechumens, was an indication of the belief of the church concerning the real presence of Christ's body and blood, which they were so studiously careful to hide from the knowledge of the catechumens. But this is abundantly refuted by a more accurate observation of Albaspinæus, a learned bishop of the same communion, who in his book of the Ancient Polity of the Church relating to the Eucharist,[1] as I find him cited by others,[2] rejects this as an incompetent proof of the Romish doctrine of the real presence. For he rightly observes, that the ancients concealed not only the mystery of the eucharist, but also the sacrament of baptism from the catechumens; yea, and almost all other their sacred rites and ceremonies, which in a large sense are called sacraments, as the oil of chrism or confirmation, and the ordination of priests, which were as studiously concealed from the knowledge or inspection of the uniniated, as the elements of the holy eucharist were. So that the bare concealing that mystery from the catechumens, could no more be an argument of transubstantiation in the bread and wine in the eucharist, than it was in the waters of baptism, or any other ceremony where the same silence and caution was used.

The learned Schelstrate, with a subtle invention, has made a more general use of this ancient practice, to palliate and excuse all the novel doctrines and practices of his own church. He wrote a book which he entitled Disciplina Arcani, a book highly magnified by Pagi and others of his own communion,[3] as stopping the mouths of the protestants, when they ask the Romanists, why no footsteps of their modern doctrines and practices appear in the earliest writers of the church; the answer is ready upon all occasions, from this Disciplina Arcani, that it was because these doctrines and practices were kept secret, and only handed down by tradition, not committed to writing, lest they should come to the knowledge of the uninitiated Jews and Gentiles, and the catechumens of the church. This is the reason, he tells us, why there is no account of the seven sacraments, nor of the worship of saints or images, in the first writers of the church. The things were really believed and practised from the days of the apostles, as he will have it, but kept secret, as the hidden mysteries of religion, which were not to be divulged to any but such as were initiated and prepared to know them.

This is an artifice that would justify as many errors and vanities as any church could be guilty of: it is but working a little with this admirable instrument and tool, called *disciplina arcani*, and then all the seeming contradictions between the ancient doctrines and practices of the church universal, and the novel corruptions of the modern church of Rome, will presently vanish and disappear. So that we need not wonder, why men, whose interest it serves so much, should magnify this as a noble invention. When yet in truth it is only a veil and a mist cast before the reader's eyes, which may be easily dispelled by giving a true account of that ancient piece of discipline and practice, first in its original, and then in the nature, use, and reasons of it.

Sect. 2. This discipline not strictly observed in the very first ages of the church.

As to its original, the learned Albaspinæus has rightly observed, That in the apostolical age, and some time after, they were not so very strict in this discipline of concealing their sacred mysteries from the knowledge of the catechumens. For he thus argues against the antiquity of the book called the Apostolical Constitutions: The last words, says he,[4] which forbid the publication of those eight books, do plainly show, that they were not written in the first age; for the Christians of the first age did never make any scruple of publishing their mysteries, as appears from the writings of Justin Martyr. Mr. Aubertine observes[5] the same out of Athenagoras and Tatian. And Daille[6] joins in opinion with Albaspinæus, and cites his authority with approbation. And Basnage is[7] so far from thinking, that the apostles concealed their mysteries from the catechumens, that he rather supposes they administered the sacraments in their presence. Upon which supposition, the whole

[1] Albaspin. Police de l'ancienne Eglise, &c. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 47.

[2] Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. 2. p. 703.

[3] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 118. n. 4.

[4] Albaspin. Observat. lib. 1. c. 13. p. 38. Postrema verba, quibus cavetur, ne octo libri Constitutionum Apostolicarum publicentur, aperte indicant, eas primis sæculis factas non esse, cum primi sæculi Christiani sua lubentes mysteria, ut vel ex Justino constat, enuntiarent.

[5] Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. 2. p. 709.

[6] Dallæus de Scriptis Ignatii, lib. 1. c. 22. p. 142.

[7] Basnag. Exercitat. in Baron. p. 419. Alta de mysteriis silentia non agebant apostoli, nec catechumenos arcebau a sacramentorum conspectu.

fabric which Schelstrate builds upon the *disciplina arcani*, is ruined at once. For then it is certain, the apostles had no such fear or caution upon them, lest the catechumens should come to the knowledge of the Christian rites or doctrines, as is pretended. And indeed any one that looks into the writings of the apostles, may perceive with half an eye, that they were far enough from concealing their opinion about the worship of angels, saints, and images; for they expressly write against it. And when they speak of the mysteries of baptism and the eucharist, they do it with the greatest freedom, without any fear or apprehension of giving offence to the catechumens.

Sect. 3. But introduced about the time of Tertullian, for other reasons than what the Romanists pretend.

Nay, and when this discipline was first introduced into the Christian church, it is very evident, it was done for different reasons than those which the Romanists pretend. The first beginning of it seems to have been about the time of Tertullian; for he is the first writer that makes any mention of it. He says,[8] There was a secrecy and silence observed in all mysteries. And he blames the heretics of his own times for not regarding something of this discipline. They made no distinction, he says,[9] between believers and catechumens; they all met together, they all heard together, they all prayed together. And if heathens chanced to come in upon them, they gave that which was holy to dogs, and cast their pearls, such as they were, before swine. Here it is plain, the church now made several distinctions between catechumens and believers, which heretics did not. The place of the catechumens was now in a separate part of the church; they heard sermons, but not all that believers were allowed to hear; they had prayers for themselves, but were not admitted to hear the prayers of the faithful, which were peculiar to the celebration of the eucharist, from which catechumens were excluded. But all this was, and might be done, without favouring in the least the vain pretences of the modern Arcanists; for in all this there was no design to conceal such mysteries as the worship of saints, and angels, and images, from the knowledge of the catechumens; but on the contrary, Tertullian speaks openly of these kinds of worship, and with indignation condemns them as superstitious practices, belonging only to heathens or heretics, and not to the mysteries of the church.

Sect. 4. This proved from a particular account of the things which they concealed from the catechumens. Which were, 1. The manner of administering baptism.

And in the following ages, no writer that mentions this discipline, among all those that give us a more particular account of what things were concealed from the knowledge or inspection of the catechumens, ever so much as intimates, that the worship of saints and images was in the number of the mysteries of the church which they concealed from them. But the mysteries which they were so careful in some measure to hide from them, were, 1. The manner of administering baptism. 2. The unction of chrism or confirmation. 3. The ordination of priests. 4. The manner of celebrating the eucharist. 5. The liturgy or Divine service of the church. 6. And for some time, the mystery of the Trinity, the creed, and the Lord's prayer, till they became greater proficients, and were ready for baptism. In the first place, that they were careful to conceal from them the manner of administering baptism, appears from this, that catechumens were never so much as suffered to enter[10] or look into the baptistery, or place where baptism was administered, according to the order of the first council of Orange. St. Basil therefore says,[11] Baptism, the eucharist, and the oil of chrism, were things that the uninitiated were not allowed to look upon. And St. Austin,[12] putting the question, What things were kept secret, and not made public in the church? answers, The sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the eucharist. For even pagans may see our good works, but the sacraments are kept hidden from them. And as they did not admit catechumens to see baptism administered, so neither did they ordinarily discourse of it before them in plain terms, but in a mystical way, or else wholly excluded them from such discourses, as incompetent hearers. We do not speak openly, says St. Cyril,[13] of the sacraments before the catechumens, but deliver many things covertly, that the faithful who know them, may understand us, and they who know them not, may receive no harm. So Theodoret,[14] We discourse of mysteries obscurely because of the unbaptized; but when they are gone, we speak plainly before the initiated. In like manner Nazianzen,[15] speaking of baptism, You have heard, says he, so much of the mystery as we are allowed to speak publicly in the ears of all, and the rest you shall hear privately, which you must retain secret within yourself, and keep under the seal of baptism. A great many other passages may be read

[8] Tertul. Apol. c. 7. Ex forma omnibus mysteriis silentii fides adhibetur.

[9] Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæretic. cap. 41. In primis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est: pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant: etiam ethnici si supervenerint, sanctum canibus, et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt.

[10] Conc. Arausican. can. 19. Ad baptisterium catechumeni nunquam admittendi.

[11] Basil. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 27. Ἃ οὐδὲ ἐποπτεύειν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀμυήτοις, t. 2. p. 352.

[12] Aug. Com. in Psal. ciii. Concio. 1. t. 8. p. 484. Quid est quod occultum est, et non publicum in ecclesia? Sacramentum baptismi, sacramentum eucharistiæ. Opera nostra bona vident et pagani, sacramenta vero occultantur illis.

[13] Cyril. Catech. 6. n. 16.

[14] Theodor. Quæst. 15. in Numer. t. 1. p. 149.

[15] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. t. 1. p. 672.

in Chrysostom,[16] Theodoret,[17] Cyril of Alexandria,[18] the author under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite,[19] and the Apostolical Canons,[20] with many others to the same purpose. From all which we learn, that though the ancients acquainted the catechumens with the doctrine of baptism so far as to make them understand the spiritual nature and design of it, yet they never admitted them to the sight of the outward ceremony, nor so much as to hear any plain discourse about the manner of its administration, till they were fitted and prepared for the actual reception of it.

Sect. 5. Secondly, The manner of administering the holy unction or confirmation.

And they observed the same discipline in reference to the holy unction or chrism, which the Latins call imposition of hands, or confirmation. St. Basil,[21] speaking of the oil which was used to be consecrated and used in this ceremony, says, It was one of those things which the uninitiated were not allowed to look upon. And Pope Innocent I., writing to another bishop about confirmation, and the form of words used in the administration of it, says, He could[22] not repeat the words, lest he should seem to disclose the mystery, rather than answer the question proposed.

Sect. 6. Thirdly, The ordination of priests.

A third thing which they concealed from the catechumens, was the ordination of priests. The council of Laodicea[23] has a canon to this purpose, That ordinations shall not be performed in the presence of the hearers, that is, the catechumens. And Chrysostom, speaking of this office, and the solemn prayers used at the consecration, delivers himself in an obscure and covert way, because of the catechumens. He that ordains, says he, requires the prayers of the church,[24] and they then join their suffrage, and echo forth those words which the initiated know. For we may not speak them openly before the uninitiated catechumens.

Sect. 7. Fourthly, The liturgy or public prayers of the church, such as the prayers for the energumens, penitents, and the faithful.

A fourth thing which they concealed from the catechumens, was the public liturgy or solemn prayers of the church. For one rank of the catechumens, the *audientes* or hearers, were only permitted to stay and hear the sermon, but not any prayers of the church. Another sort, called kneelers or prostrators, had the prayers of the church particularly for themselves, but no others. And the *competentes* stayed only to hear the prayers offered up for themselves and the energumens, and then were dismissed. They might not stay to hear so much as the prayers for the penitents, much less the prayers for the church militant, or any others preceding the communion. But before all these, the usual word of command was given by the deacons, or sacred heralds of the church, *Ne quis audientium*, or, *Ite, missa est*, Catechumens, depart. From whence it is easy to collect further, that the solemn office of the absolution of penitents was never performed in the presence of the catechumens. For the time of absolution was not till all others were dismissed, except the penitents themselves who were to be absolved, which was immediately before their going to the altar to begin the communion service. As seems to be clear from those words of Optatus, where he speaks of it as the common custom, both in the church and among the Donatists,[25] to give imposition of hands for absolution, immediately before their going to say the Lord's prayer at the altar. All these things therefore were kept secret from the catechumens; for they were never suffered to be hearers or spectators of any part of them.

Sect. 8. Fifthly, The manner of celebrating the eucharist.

But as the eucharist was the highest mystery in the Christian service, so they were most careful to conceal the manner of its celebration from the catechumens. And in this they made a difference between one sort of penitents and the catechumens. For the highest class of penitents, called *consistentes* or co-standers, were allowed to be present at the communion prayers, and see the oblation offered and received by the faithful, though they might not partake with them. But catechumens of all ranks were wholly excluded from all this. They were always dismissed before these prayers began, and the doors of the church were locked and guarded by proper officers, to the intent that no uninitiated person should indiscreetly rush in upon them. We shut the doors, says Chrysostom,[26] when we celebrate the holy mysteries, and drive away all uninitiated persons. This was one of the secrets of the church, as we heard St. Austin before[27] speak of it; one of the things which a catechumen might not look upon, according to St. Basil.[28] Therefore the author of the Apostolical Constitutions[29] makes it part of the deacon's office, not only to command their absence, but also to keep

[16] Chrys. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688. Hom. 46. in Act. p. 868. t. 4. Ed. Savil.

[17] Theodor. Hæret. Fabul. lib. 5. c. 18.

[18] Cyril. adv. Julian. lib. 7. t. 6. p. 247.

[19] Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. c. 2. p. 251.

[20] Canon. Apost. c. 85.

[21] Basil. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 27.

[22] Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decentium Eugubin. c. 3. Verba vero dicere non possum, ne magis prodere videar, quam ad consultationem respondere.

[23] Conc. Laodic. can. 5. *Μὴ δεῖν τὰς χειροτονίας ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ ἀκροωμένων γίνεσθαι.*

[24] Chrysost. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 872. *Ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖν, τὰς ἐκείνων εὐχὰς καλεῖ τότε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιψηφίζονται, καὶ ἐπιβοῶσιν, ἅπερ ἴσισιν οἱ μεμυημένοι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θέμις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐκκαλύπτειν ἅπαντα.*

[25] Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. 2. p. 57. Inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis et delicta donatis, mox ad altare conversi, Dominicam orationem prætermittere non potestis. Vid. Constitut. Apost. lib. 8. cap. 6—9.

[26] Chrys. Hom. 23. in Mat. p. 236.

[27] Aug. in Psal. ciii.

[28] Basil. de Spir. Sanct. c. 27.

[29] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 57. lib. 8. c. 11.

the doors, that none might come in, during the time of the oblation. Epiphanius[30] and St. Jerom[31] bring it as a charge against the Marcionites, that they despised this discipline, and admitted catechumens indiscriminately with the faithful to all their mysteries. And Palladius[32] forms a like charge against the enemies of Chrysostom, that in the tumult they raised against him, they gave occasion to the uninitiated to break into the church, and see those things which it was not lawful for them to set their eyes upon. Nay, so strict was the church then in the observation of this discipline, that Athanasius convicted the Meletians of false witness against him, when they pretended to prove, by the testimony of some catechumens, that Macarius, one of his presbyters, had overturned the communion table in the time of the oblation: he argued, that this could not be so, because,[33] if the catechumens were present, there could then be no oblation.

Nor did they only exclude catechumens from the sight of these mysteries, but also from all discourses which treated plainly about them. They made a distinction between moral and mysterious subjects, and admitted the catechumens to the one, but not to the other, as I have had occasion formerly to show[34] from the testimonies of Theodoret,[35] St. Austin,[36] and St. Ambrose.[37] To which we may here add that of St. Cyril of Jerusalem: You was once, says he, a catechumen, and then we[38] did not discourse of mysteries to you: and now that you have attained by experience to the height of those things which we teach, you will easily perceive that catechumens are not worthy to be hearers of such things. And that of Gaudentius, bishop of Brixia, who in his sermon to the neophites,[39] or persons newly baptized, tells them, he would now open to them those mysteries, which could not be explained in the presence of the catechumens. Sometimes indeed they spake of the eucharist before the catechumens in their popular discourses; but then they did it in such obscure and figurative terms as were understood only by communicants, and not by the catechumens: according to that of St. Chrysostom;[40] I would speak plainly, but I dare not because of the unbaptized. For they make our expositions to be more difficult, they compel us to speak obscurely, or else we must reveal what is not to be revealed unto them. Upon this account Epiphanius, speaking of the words of institution before the catechumens, would not say, This bread is my body, this wine is my blood; but *Hoc meum est hoc et hoc*, This is my that and that,[41] to let the initiated know his meaning, and not the catechumens. And hence it was they so often used that phrase, *Ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι*, *Et nōrunt fideles*, The initiated know what we say; which phrase Casaubon[42] has observed to occur no less than fifty times in the writings of St. Chrysostom. Casaubon makes another good observation upon this matter, which the learned Albertinus takes from him,[43] and strenuously defends: That whereas there are three things in the eucharist; 1. The symbols, or sacred elements of bread and wine; 2. The things signified by them; and, 3. The rites of celebration; that which the ancients laboured chiefly to conceal from the catechumens, was not the things signified, but only the symbols or outward signs, and the rites and manner of celebration. For they made no scruple to call the eucharist by the name of Christ's body and blood before the catechumens, at the same time that they would not call it bread and wine, or speak particularly of the form and manner of administering it, as Albertinus proves out of Theodoret and many others. Which shows, that the reason of concealing the mystery from the catechumens was not the belief of transubstantiation, as the Romanists pretend; for then they would have chosen rather to conceal the names of Christ's body and blood, than the names of the outward symbols, and the mystical rites of celebration, the latter of which they studiously concealed, but not the former. He that would see more of this, may consult the elaborate discourse of that most acute and learned writer, where he answers all the objections of Coffetellus against the present assertion.

Sect. 9. Sixthly, The mystery of the Trinity, the creed, and the Lord's prayer, from the first sort of catechumens.

The last sort of things which they for some time concealed from the more imperfect catechumens, were the sublimer doctrines of Christianity, such as the mystery of the Trinity, and hypostatic union, together with the creed itself and the Lord's prayer, which the catechumens did not learn till immediately before their baptism. For so Theodoret tells us,[44] that they did not teach this prayer to the uninitiated, but to the baptized, or immediate candidates of baptism. For no one that was not baptized could presume to say, "Our Father which art in heaven;" not having yet received the

[30] Epiphan. Hæres. 42. n. 3.

[31] Hieron. Com. in Galat. vi. t. 9. p. 199.

[32] Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. c. 9. The same complaint is made by Chrysostom himself in his first epistle to Pope Innocent, t. 4. p. 681. Edit. Front. Ducæi.

[33] Athan. Apol. 2. t. 1. p. 747.

[34] Book I. chap. 4. sect. 8.

[35] Theodor. Quæst. 15. in Numer.

[36] Aug. Serm. 1. ad Neophytos, in Append. t. 10. p. 845.

[37] Ambros. de Initiatis, c. 1. [38] Cyril. Catech. Præf. n. 7.

[39] Gaudent. Serm. 2. ad Neophytos, Bibl. Patr. t. 2. p. 14. Ea solum aperienda neophytis, quæ præsentibus catechumenis explanari non possunt.

[40] Chrys. Hom 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688.

[41] Epiphan. Anchorat. n. 57.

[42] Casaub. Exercit. 16. in Baron p. 490.

[43] Albertin. de Euchar. lib. 2. p. 708.

[44] Theod. Epitom. Divin. Decret. lib. 5. Hæret. Fabul. c. 28. *Ταύτην τὴν προσευχὴν οὐ τοὺς ἀμυήτους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μυσταγωγουμένους διδάσκομεν.*

gift of adoption. But he that was made partaker of baptism might call God his Father, as being adopted among the sons of grace. St. Chrysostom[45] speaks after the same manner: This prayer belongs only to the faithful, as both the rule of the church and the beginning of the prayer itself teach. For an unbaptized person cannot yet call God his Father. This prayer was then peculiar to the communion service, and never used in the church, but only at the altar, where none of the catechumens could be present, but only the faithful. Whence it was called, εὐχὴ πιςῶν, the prayer of the faithful. And one petition in it was thought to refer more particularly to the eucharist, "Give us this day our daily bread," ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον, our super-substantial or super-celestial bread, as many of the ancients render it. For these reasons they never taught the Lord's prayer to any of the catechumens but the highest rank of them, the *competentes*, a few days before their baptism. As we learn from those words of St. Austin,[46] Now learn the Lord's prayer, which ye must repeat eight days hence, when ye are to be baptized. So they received it only on Saturday before Palm Sunday, in order to repeat it on Saturday before Easter, which was the day of their baptism.

They observed the same discipline in reference to the creed, which they taught to the catechumens at the same time only as they did the Lord's prayer, a little before their baptism. This they did not always commit to writing, but kept it, as St. Jerom[47] words it, in tables of the heart, and delivered it by word of mouth, that it might not come to the knowledge of the uninitiated and unbelievers. Which is the reason that Sozomen gives,[48] why he did not insert the words of the Nicene Creed into his history, because probably many uninitiated persons might read his book, who ought not to read or hear the creed. They were as careful not to communicate to new beginners the profound mysteries of the Trinity and incarnation, till they had first prepared them by proper preceding instructions for the reception of them. Therefore, as St. Jerom observes,[49] it was the custom of the church to put off this part of the instruction of catechumens to the last, and not acquaint them with these doctrines till about forty days before they were to be baptized, though the catechetical instruction had continued perhaps for two or three years before.

This was the whole of that discipline we read so much of among the ancients, of concealing the sacred mysteries from the catechumens. Among all which we have never the least intimation given, that the practice of image-worship, or the adoration of saints and angels, or the doctrine of seven sacraments, were the mysteries they intended to conceal from them. For in those days there were no such mysteries in the Christian church. And therefore the late invention of Schelstrate is a mere fiction and sophism, to cover the nakedness of the present Roman church. And the pretence of Bona,[50] concerning the prohibition of images in churches made by the council of Eliberis, that it was only to conceal the secrets of religion from the knowledge of the heathen, is an absurd supposition, which neither Albaspinæus nor Petavius could digest, as I have showed more fully in another place,[51] where I speak of the ornaments of the ancient churches.

Sect. 10. Reasons for concealing these things from the catechumens. First, That the plainness and simplicity of them might not be contemned.

As to those things which they really concealed from the catechumens, the true reasons were, first, That the plainness and simplicity of the Christian rites might not be contemned by them, or give any occasion of scandal or offence to them, before they were thoroughly instructed about the nature of the mysteries. For both Jews and Gentiles, out of whom Christian converts were made catechumens, were apt to deride the nakedness and simplicity of the Christian religion, as void of those pompous ceremonies and sacrifices, with which those other religions abounded. The Christian religion prescribed but one washing in water, and one oblation of bread and wine, instead of that multitude of bloody sacrifices which the other religions commanded. Therefore, lest the plainness of these few ceremonies should offend the prejudiced minds of catechumens, before they were well instructed about them, the Christian teachers usually adorned these mysteries with great and magnificent titles, such as would convey noble ideas to the minds of men concerning their spiritual effects, but concealing their other names, lest the simplicity of the things should offend them. When they spake of the eucharist, they never mentioned bread and wine, but the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ; and styled baptism, illumination and life, the sacrament of faith and remission of sins, saying little in the mean time of the outward element of water. This was one plain reason, why they denied catechumens the sight of their sacraments, and always spake in mystical terms be-

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[45] Chrysos. Hom. 20. al. 19. in Matt. p. 200. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740.

[46] Aug. Hom. 42. ex 50. t. 10. p. 195. Tenete ergo hanc orationem, quam reddituri estis ad octo dies.——Ad octo dies ab hodierno die reddituri estis hanc orationem, quam hodie accepistis.

[47] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. c. 9. p. 173. Symbolum fidei et spei nostræ, quod ab apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus.

[48] Sozomen. lib. 1. c. 20.

[49] Hieron. Epist. 61. ad Pammach. c. 4. p. 167. Consuetudo apud nos istiusmodi est, ut his qui baptizandi sunt, per quadraginta dies publice tradamus sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem.

[50] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 16. n. 2.

[51] Book VIII. chap. 8. sect. 6.

fore them. We shut the doors, says Chrysostom,[52] when we celebrate our mysteries, and keep off all uninitiated persons from them, not because we acknowledge any imperfection in the things themselves, but because many are weakly affected toward them. And so St. Cyril,[53] in the place mentioned above, We speak not openly of our mysteries before the catechumens, but say many things mystically and obscurely, that they who know them may understand us, and they who know them not may receive no harm. In like manner the synod of Alexandria,[54] charging the Meletians for publishing the mystery of the eucharist before the catechumens, and what was worse, before the heathens, contrary to those rules of Scripture, "It is good to conceal the secrets of a king;" and, "Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine;" they add, that it is not lawful to bring mysteries upon the open stage before the uninitiated, lest the heathen, through their ignorance, should deride them, or the catechumens, by their curiosity, should be offended. Therefore there was an ancient rule in the church, That if any uninitiated person had by any mistake been admitted to partake of the eucharist, he should be immediately instructed and baptized, that he might not go forth a contemner or despiser, as the author of the Apostolical Constitutions[55] words it. And the fourth council of Toledo gives a like reason[56] why such Jews as had been baptized by force, should continue in the Christian profession, lest the name of God should be blasphemed, and the faith which they had received should be reputed vile and contemptible; though they made a severe decree against obliging any Jews to be baptized by force or compulsion for the future.

Sect. 11. Secondly, To conciliate a reverence for them.

Another reason assigned for this discipline of silence, was to conciliate a reverence in the minds of men for the mysteries which they kept so concealed from them. For, as St. Basil observes,[57] the veneration of mysteries is preserved by silence. And as things that are trite and obvious are easily contemned, so those that are uncommon and reserved are naturally adapted to beget in men an esteem and veneration. And therefore he thinks, the apostles and fathers of the church, who made laws about these matters, prescribed secrecy and silence, to preserve the dignity of the mysteries. St. Austin[58] gives the same reason for this practice, when he says, it was the honour that was due to the mysteries, which made him pass them over in silence, and not explain them.

Sect. 12. Thirdly, To make the catechumens more desirous to know them.

St. Austin adds to this a third reason, which is, that the mysteries of baptism and the eucharist were therefore chiefly concealed from the catechumens, to excite their curiosity, and inflame their zeal, and make them more earnest and solicitous in hastening to partake of them, that they might come to an experimental knowledge of them. Though the sacraments, says he, are not disclosed[59] to the catechumens, it is not always because they cannot bear them, but that they may so much the more ardently desire them, by how much they are the more honourably hidden from them. And again, The Jews acknowledge not the priesthood[60] according to the order of Melchisedeck. I speak to the faithful; if the catechumens understand it not, let them cast away their slowness and hasten to the knowledge of it. They that do not yet eat of this[61] banquet, let them hasten upon invitation. The feast of Easter is at hand. Give in your name to baptism. If the festival does not excite you, let curiosity draw you, that you may know that which is said, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him."

These were the reasons which engaged the ancients to conceal their mysteries from the catechumens: which, we plainly see, have no relation to such doctrines as that of transubstantiation, or the number of seven sacraments, or such superstitious practices as the worship of images, or saints and angels, which are mere novelties, and the modern inventions of the Romish church.

I have now gone through all things relating to the discipline of the catechumens in their preparation for baptism. We are next to take a view of baptism itself, and inquire into the manner how the church administered it, and what rites and customs were observed in the celebration of it.

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[52] Chrys. Hom. 23. in Mat. p. 236.

[53] Cyril. Catech. 6. n. 16.

[54] Apud Athanas. Apol. 2. t. 1. p. 731.

[55] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. c. 25.

[56] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 56. Oportet ut fidem etiam, quam vi vel necessitate susceperunt, tenere cogantur, ne nomen Domini blasphemetur, et fides, quam susceperunt, vilis ac contemptibilis habeatur.

[57] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, c. 27.

[58] Aug. Serm. 1. inter 40. Edit. a Sirmondo, t. 10. Non mirari debetis, fratres charissimi, quod inter ipsa mysteria de mysteriis nihil diximus, quod non statim ea quæ tradidimus interpretati sumus. Adhibuimus enim tam sanctis rebus atque divinis honorem silentii.

[59] Aug. Hom. 96. in Joh. Et si catechumenis sacramenta fidelium non produntur, non ideo fit quod ea ferre non possint, sed ut tanto ardentius ab eis concupiscantur, quanto eis honorabilius occultantur.

[60] Aug. Hom. in Psal. cix. Judæi non agnoscunt sacerdotium secundum ordinem Melchisedek. Fidelibus loquor, si quid non intelligunt catechumeni, auferant pigritiam, festinent ad notitiam.

[61] Id. de Verbis Domini, Hom. 46. Qui nondum manducant, ad tales epulas invitati festinent.—Ecce Pascha est, da nomen ad baptismum. Si non te excitat festivitas, ducat ipsa curiositas, ut scias quid dictum sit, Qui manducat carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum, manet in me, et ego in eo

BOOK XI.

OF THE RITES AND CUSTOMS OBSERVED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEVERAL NAMES AND APPELLATIONS OF BAPTISM IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. The names of baptism most commonly taken from the spiritual effects of it.

THERE are a great many questions relating to the doctrine of baptism, which I intend not to make any part of the subject of this Book, because they may be found in any didactical and polemical writers upon this head, and especially in Vossius his elaborate discourse De Baptismo, where he accurately canvasses all questions of this nature, and learnedly determines them from the doctrine of the ancients. Here the reader may find a satisfactory account of all questions relating to the mystical signification and spiritual effects of baptism; such as are, 1. Regeneration; 2. Adoption; 3. Reception into the covenant of grace. In which also is contained remission of sins, renovation of the spirit, and eternal life, which are the noble effects conferred on all those that rightly receive it. Here also he determines the questions, How it comes to pass, that though sins are forgiven in baptism, yet concupiscence, the fuel or incentive of sin, remains still in the regenerate? And whence it is, that after baptism, we are still afflicted with diseases, and that as well infants as adult persons? How it comes to pass, that the magistrate has power to punish those sins which are committed before baptism, even after they are purged away and forgiven in baptism? With many other questions of the like nature, which are not necessary to come into this discourse. I shall also omit the question about the indelible character of baptism, which is pretended to be impressed upon the soul; and the questions about the administrator of baptism, and lay baptism, and heretical baptism, because I have lately considered these distinctly and fully in a first and second part of the Scholastical History of Lay Baptism. What remains therefore to be considered in this place, is only such other matters in the practice of the ancient church relating to the administration of baptism, as have not yet been spoken to. And here, first of all, it will be proper to say something of the ancient names of baptism; some of which were taken from the internal and spiritual effects of it; others, from the nature and substance of the action; others, from the conditions required in the receivers; others, from the external circumstances and rites observed in the administration.

Sect. 2. Hence baptism called *indulgentia*, indulgence, or absolution.

From one of its noble effects, it was sometimes styled *indulgentia*, indulgence, or absolution and remission of sins. Thus, in the African council under Cyprian,[1] Privatianus a Suffetula terms it, the Divine indulgence. And in the Roman council mentioned by Cotelerius,[2] it is said, That at the Easter festival, remission of sins, meaning baptism, may be administered by either presbyter or deacon, in the presence of the bishop in the parish churches. But, forasmuch as absolution or remission of sins may not always necessarily accompany baptism, through some default in the administrator or the receiver, though the baptism be otherwise a true baptism; therefore St. Austin, in disputing with the Donatists, chooses rather to call it[3] the sacrament of grace, and the sacrament of absolution, rather than grace or absolution itself; because wicked men may receive the sacrament of baptism, but they cannot receive the grace of baptism, which is absolution, or remission of sins; for God grants that to none but those that turn to him with a sincere faith and true repentance. Whenever therefore the ancients call baptism by the name of abso-

[1] Conc. Carthag. ap. Cypr. n. 19. p. 234. Si hæresis a Deo est, habere et indulgentiam Divinam potest.

[2] Conc. Rom. can. 7. ap. Coteler. Not. in Const. Apost. lib. 3. c. 9. Paschæ tempore presbyter et diaconus per parochias dare remissionem peccatorum et ministerium implere consueverunt, etiam præsente episcopo.

[3] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 5. c. 21. Sacramentum gratiæ dat Deus etiam per malos: ipsam vero gratiam non nisi per seipsum vel per sanctos suos.—Baptismum vero, quod est sacramentum remissionis peccatorum, nulli dubium est habere etiam homicidas posse, &c.

lution or indulgence, they are to be understood with this limitation, that it is so only to those who are worthy receivers of it. And hence we may observe, that the true ancient proper notion of an absolution, or indulgence, is God's pardoning sin by the ministerial application of his sacraments, which are the seals of his covenant, granting remission of sins: whence baptism, entering men into that covenant of grace, was dignified with the name of the sacrament of absolution and indulgence.

Sect. 2. And παλιγγενεσία, regeneration, and χρίσμα, the unction.

Another noble effect of baptism, was regeneration, or a new birth from the death of sin to the life of righteousness. For every Christian was supposed to be born again by the waters of baptism, according to that of Tertullian,[4] *Nos pisciculi secundum ἰχθὺν nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur*, We fishes are born in water, conformable to the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, ἰχθὺς; which, as I have observed[5] in another place, was an acrostic, or technical name, made of the initial letters of our Saviour's several titles in Greek, Ἰησοὺς Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, Σωτὴρ, which put together, make up the name ΙΧΘΥΣ, which signifies a fish, and is alluded to not only by Tertullian, but by Prosper[6] and Optatus.[7] Hence baptism had the name of *παλιγγενεσία ψυχῆς*,[8] in Cyril's Catechism, The regeneration of the soul; and *ὕδωρ ζωῆς*, the water of life, in Justin Martyr;[9] and *fons Divinus*, in Cassiodore,[10] the Divine fountain, whence comes our English name, font; with many other titles of the same importance. And because this new birth was wrought by the power and influence of the Spirit, therefore it was called the spiritual birth, whereby those who were born carnally to the world before, were now born spiritually to God. And so, as Optatus words it,[11] God was hereby made Father of men, and the holy church their mother. For till men were baptized, they were not perfect members of Christ's body, the church, nor properly adopted into God's family, and consequently had as yet no right to call God their Father, or the church their mother. And because the Divine operations of the Holy Spirit in sanctifying grace, are sometimes in Scripture called the unction or anointing of the Spirit, therefore baptism had also the name of chrism or unction, from this noble effect attending it. Gregory Nazianzen takes notice of this among many other titles of honour: We call it, says he, the gift,[12] and grace, and baptism, and unction, and illumination, and garment of immortality, and laver of regeneration, and seal or character, and whatever else is precious or honourable. And in explaining these terms, he particularly notes, that it had the name of unction, because it was a sacred and a royal thing, as those things usually were that were anointed. Whence every man was in some sense made a king and a priest to God by Christ in his baptism, upon which account St. Jerom[13] styles baptism, *sacerdotium laici*, the layman's priesthood, in contradistinction to the clerical priesthood, which was only conferred by ordination.

Sect. 4. And φωτισμὸς, illumination.

Another effect of baptism, was the enlightening men's understandings with Divine knowledge. Hence baptism had the name of *φωτισμὸς*, illumination, as it frequently occurs in Chrysostom,[14] Nazianzen,[15] Dionysius the Areopagite,[16] the council of Laodicea,[17] and many others. The reason of which name seems to be partly from the preceding instruction of the catechumens in their preparation for baptism, according to that of Justin Martyr, This laver[18] is called illumination, because the minds of those who learn these things are enlightened. Then again, because it was the entrance on an enlightened state, and the introduction to Divine knowledge, which grew by degrees to greater perfection: for Justin's words may be understood of the knowledge consequent to baptism. And so the reason is given by Clemens Alexandrinus,[19] and the author under the name of Dionysius,[20] because it confers the first light, and is the introduction to all other Divine illuminating mysteries, therefore, from the effect, it was dignified with the name of illumination. Perhaps it might be so called in regard also that the baptized were now admitted to all the mysterious parts and recondite knowledge of religion, which by the discipline of the church were kept secret from them whilst they were catechumens. And perhaps some regard might be had to the plentiful effusion of the Spirit in the gift of tongues, knowledge, and prophecy, which in the apostolical age

[4] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 1. [5] Book I. chap. 1. sect. 2.

[6] Prosper. de Prædict. et Promissis, par. 2. cap. 39.

[7] Optat. lib. 3. p. 62. [8] Cyril. Catech. Præfat. n. 10.

[9] Justin. Dial. p. 231.

[10] Cassiodor. in Cantic. cap. 7.

[11] Optat. lib. 2. p. 52. Dum Trinitas cum fide concordat, qui natus fuerat sæculo, renascitur spiritualiter Deo. Sic fit hominum Pater Deus, sancta sic fit mater ecclesia.

[12] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 638. *Δῶρον καλȣμεν, χάρισμα, βάπτισμα, χρίσμα, φώτισμα, ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, λȣτρον παλιγγενεσίας, σφραγίδα, πᾶν ὅτι τίμιον.*

[13] Hieron. Dialog. advers. Lucifer. cap. 2. Sacerdotium laici, id est, baptisma. Scriptum est enim, Regnum quippe nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit. Et iterum, Gentem sanctam, regale sacerdotium, &c.

[14] Chrysost. Hom. 13. in Heb. p. 1818.

[15] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 638.

[16] Dionys. Hierar. Eccl. cap. 3. [17] Conc. Laod. can. 47.

[18] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 94. *Καλεῖται δὲ τȣ̃το τὸ λȣτρὸν φωτισμὸς, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων.*

[19] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 93.

[20] Dionys. Eccl. Hier. cap. 3. p. 283. *Ἐπειδὰν πρώτȣ φωτὸς μεταδίδωσι, καὶ πασῶν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῶν θείων φωταγωγιῶν, ἐκ τȣ̃ τελȣμένȣ τὴν ἀληθῆ τȣ̃ φωτίσματος ἐπωνυμίαν ὑμνȣ̃μεν.*

was immediately conferred at baptism, by the imposition of the hands of the apostles.

Sect. 5. And *salus*, salvation.

Another effect of baptism was eternal salvation, as it was the ordinary means, not only of obtaining remission of sins, but of bringing men by the grace and blood of Christ to the glory of the kingdom of heaven. Whence, as St. Austin observes,[21] it was very common among the Punic or African Christians to call baptism by the name of *salus*, salvation, as they did the sacrament of the body of Christ by the name of life, because these two sacraments were reputed necessary to the obtaining of salvation or eternal life. And upon this account Gregory Nazianzen, introducing a person pleading for liberty to delay his baptism, makes him speak after this manner: I stay only for my father, or mother, or brother, or wife, or children, or friends, or some near relations, and then I will be saved, *τηνικαῦτα σωθήσομαι*;[22] the meaning of which must needs be, that then he would be baptized, in order to obtain salvation. Such honourable titles and appellations did the ancients give to this sacrament of baptism, taken from the noble effects which it was supposed to confer on all those who were worthy partakers of it.

Sect. 6. From the nature and substance of it, it was called *mysterium, sacramentum*, and *σφραγίς*.

Next, from the nature and substance of it, it had the names of *mysterium, sacramentum*, and *σφραγίς*. The two first of which are so common, and so well known to every reader, that I need not here spend time to explain them. Only I shall note, that the terms, mystery and sacrament, are sometimes taken in a larger sense, to signify any sacred ceremony, or any part of religion that had any thing of spiritual or mystical signification in it. Of which there will be a more proper place to discourse, when we come to treat of confirmation. The name *σφραγὶς*, and *signaculum*, the seal of the Lord, is a little more uncommon, as applied to baptism, and therefore has occasioned some errors among learned men, who often mistake it either for the sign of the cross, or the consignation and unction that was used in confirmation. Thus in that famous discourse of Clemens Alexandrinus, entitled, *Quis Dives salvetur*, part of which is recorded in Eusebius,[23] and the whole published by Combefis,[24] it is said, that the bishop, to whose care St. John had committed a certain young convert, first instructed or catechised him, and then gave him the perfect phylactery or preservative against sin, namely, the seal of the Lord, *τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ Κυρίου*. Now, by the seal of the Lord, Christopherson, and Bellarmine, and others from him, understand confirmation: Mr. Seller,[25] and some others, will have it to be the sign of the cross; but Valesius,[26] and Daille,[27] more truly expound it of baptism, which was called the seal of the Lord, because in the very nature of it there is contained a covenant made between God and man; and baptism being the seal of this covenant, it was with the greatest propriety of speech styled, the seal of the Lord. In this sense the ancient author of the Acts of Paul and Thecla uses the name *σφραγὶς* for baptism. Give me, says Thecla to St. Paul, the seal of Christ,[28] and no temptation shall touch me. And Hermas Pastor, in like manner, speaking of some that were baptized and gone to heaven, uses the same dialect: They that are now dead, were sealed[29] with the seal of the Son of God, and are entered into the kingdom of God. For before a man receives the name of the son of God, he is consigned over to death; but when he receives that seal, he is freed from death, and consigned over to life. Now, that seal is water, into which men descend bound over to death, but rise out of it marked out or sealed unto life. This seal therefore was preached unto them, and they made use of it, that they might enter into the kingdom of God. In all this passage, there is no express mention made of baptism, but it is called the seal and name of Christ, because it sets the mark and name of Christians on us, and distinguishes us from Jews and Gentiles, and shows that we belong to the dominion and possession of Christ. Hence Tertullian frequently calls it *signaculum fidei*,[30] the signature of our faith; and says, We are distinguished from Jews by this signature in our bodies,[31] because their signature was circumcision, but ours baptism. In like manner, Gregory Nazianzen, accounting for the reason of this name, says, It was called the seal of the Lord, because it was an indication to whose dominion[32] we belong, and because it was the consignation of us to eternal

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[21] Aug. de Pec. Merit. lib. 1. c. 24 t. 7. p. 294. Optime Punici Christiani baptismum ipsum nihil aliud quam salutem et sacramentum corporis Christi, nihil aliud quam vitam vocant, &c.

[22] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 655. [23] Euseb. lib. 3. c. 23.

[24] Combefis, Auctarium Novissimum, p. 185.

[25] Seller, Life of Just. Martyr. p. 102.

[26] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 3. c. 23.

[27] Dallæus de Confirmat. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 110.

[28] Acta Theclæ, ap. Grabe, Spicileg. t. 1. p. 106. *Δός μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα, καὶ οὐχ ἅψεταί με πειρασμός.*

[29] Hermas Past. lib. 3. Simil. 9. n. 16. Illi igitur defuncti sigillo Filii Dei signati sunt, et intraverunt in regnum Dei. Antequam enim accipiat homo nomen Filii Dei, morti destinatus est: at ubi accipit illud sigillum, liberatur a morte, et traditur vitæ. Illud autem sigillum aqua est, in quam descendunt homines morti obligati, ascendunt verò vitæ assignati. Et illis igitur prædicatum est illud sigillum, et usi sunt eo ut intrarent in regnum Dei.

[30] Tertul. de Spectac. c. 4. Ad principalem auctoritatem convertar, ipsius signaculi nomen. It. c. 24. Hoc erit pompa diaboli, adversus quam in signaculo fidei ejeramus.

[31] Tertul. Apol. c. 21. Neque de ipso signaculo corporis, neque de consortio nominis cum Judæis agimus.

[32] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 639.

life. In which respect, Constantine, at the hour of death, desiring the benefit of baptism from the bishops that were about him, is said by Eusebius[33] to ask it in these words: "Now is the time for me to enjoy the seal of immortality; now is the time for me to obtain the seal of salvation." Whence it was also called, the seal of the Spirit, because every worthy receiver was supposed, together with the outward element, to receive the earnest of the Spirit in baptism: according to that of Chrysostom, As a mark is set upon[34] soldiers, so the Spirit is put upon true believers; and as the Jews had circumcision for their character, so we have the earnest of the Spirit. And this distinction between the internal and external seal of baptism was necessary to be made, because many men received the external seal of baptism, or the outward form of it, who by their own default could not receive the internal seal of the Spirit. Thus the author of the Apostolical Constitutions[35] observes, that even Simon Magus himself received the seal of the Lord, meaning the outward form of baptism; but neither he nor any other author ever said, that he received the internal seal or grace of the Holy Spirit. In like manner Optatus tells the Donatists,[36] that both they and the catholics were sealed with one and the same seal, which he explains to be the outward form of baptism, in which they both agreed and were both alike baptized. But both Optatus, and St. Austin, and all other ancient writers are agreed, that heretical and schismatical baptism, such as was that of the Donatists, could not confer the internal seal, or sanctifying graces of the Holy Spirit, because these were only conferred by the ministry of the holy catholic church, of which I have given a more ample account in another place.[37] So that in this respect it was always thought necessary to distinguish between the internal and external seal of baptism, because though they are commonly joined together, as in all true believers, yet they are sometimes separated, as in such hypocritical or unworthy receivers, as Simon Magus, and others of the like complexion.

Sect. 7. And *character Dominicus*, the mark or character of the Lord.

St. Austin commonly uses the names, *character regius*, and *character Dominicus*, the royal mark or character, and the character of the Lord. By which he does not mean any internal quality, or spiritual power, distinct from baptism, imprinted on the soul, as the modern school-men now love to word it; but only the external form of baptism, which is common to all receivers both good and bad, who are duly baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity; they are so far signed by the mark or character of the Lord, as thereby to be distinguished from unbaptized Jews and Gentiles, who never made any formal profession of Christianity, nor ever received so much as the external character or indication of it. And this character is allowed by St. Austin to be so far indelible also, as that an apostatizing Christian, though he turn Jew or pagan in profession, can never need a second baptism, but only repentance and absolution, to reinstate him in all the privileges of the Christian church. Of which, because I have spoken largely in a former Book, I need say no more in this place.[38]

Sect. 8. Why called the sacrament of faith and repentance.

Another sort of names given to baptism, were taken from the conditions required of all those that received it, which were, the profession of a true faith and a sincere repentance. Upon which account baptism is sometimes called the sacrament of faith, and the sacrament of repentance. St. Austin uses this name to explain how[39] children may be said to have faith, though they are not capable of making any formal profession by themselves: As the sacrament of the body of Christ is in some sort the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ, so the sacrament of faith is faith. And upon this account, when the answer is made, that an infant believes, who has not yet the habit of faith, the meaning is, that he has faith because of the sacrament of faith, and that he turns to God because of the sacrament of conversion. Fulgentius uses the same terms in speaking of the necessity of baptism: Firmly believe, and doubt not,[40] that excepting such as are baptized in their own blood for the name of Christ, no man shall have eternal life, who is not here first turned from his sins by repentance and faith, and set at liberty by the sacrament of faith and repentance, that is, by baptism. Whence we may observe, what the ancients mean, when they speak of penance

[33] Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. 4. c. 62. Ὥρα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ἀθανατοποιȣ̃ σφραγίδος· ὥρα τȣ̃ σωτηρίȣ σφραγίσματος μετασχεῖν.

[34] Chrysost. Hom. 3. in 2 Cor. in fine. Καθάπερ ϛρατιώταις σφραγὶς, ȣ̆τω καὶ τοῖς πιϛοῖς τὸ πνεύμα ἐπιτίθεται, &c.

[35] Constit. Apost. lib. 2. c. 14. Σίμων ὁ μάγος τὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ σφραγίδα ἔλαβε. Vid. Aug. de Bapt. lib. 6. c. 12.

[36] Optat. lib. 3. p. 72. Pares credimus, et uno sigillo signati sumus: nec aliter baptizati quam vos.

[37] Scholast. Hist. of Lay Baptism, part I. chap. 1. n. 21.

[38] Ibid. part II. chap. 6.

[39] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Sicut secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, et sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est.—Ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulus credere, qui nondum fidei habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum, &c.

[40] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, cap. 30. Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites, exceptis illis, qui pro nomine Christi suo sanguine baptizantur, nullum hominem accepturum vitam æternam, qui non hic a malis suis fuerit per pœnitentiam fidemque conversus, et per sacramentum fidei et pœnitentiæ, id est, per baptismum, liberatus, &c.

and absolution, or remission of sins, as a sacrament: for they themselves explain their own meaning to be baptism, which is a sacrament requiring repentance as a condition, and granting absolution as an effect and privilege to all worthy receivers.

Sect. 9. The notation of the names, baptism, tinction, laver, &c. That they do not universally denote immersion.

Lastly, From the ceremonies used in the act of administration it took the peculiar names of baptism, tinction, and laver of regeneration, which properly denote either an immersion in water, or such a washing or sprinkling, as was used among the Jews in some cases, and among Christians when they had occasion to baptize sick persons upon a death-bed. For then baptism was administered by sprinkling only, and not by dipping or immersion, as we shall see when we come to speak more particularly of clinic baptism. So that it must be noted, that baptism in the ancient style of the church, does not absolutely and necessarily import dipping or immersion, though that was the more usual ceremony practised heretofore as well upon infants as adult persons, but an exception was made for the time of sickness, and such other cases of necessity, as could not admit of a total immersion. In which cases, the substance of baptism was still supposed to be preserved, though some minuter circumstances were less regarded.

Sect. 10. Of some other names given to baptism.

Besides these names, which were taken from things that more immediately related to the administration of baptism, there were some others alluding to circumcision, and others respecting the great Author and Institutor of it, our Saviour Christ, and others taken from the more remote and distant effects of it, which, because we shall have no further occasion to speak of them, it will not be improper just to mention in this place. Because baptism succeeds in the room of circumcision, and is the seal of the Christian covenant, as that was the seal of the covenant made with Abraham, therefore it is, by way of analogy, sometimes styled the great circumcision. As when Epiphanius, comparing them both together, says, The carnal circumcision[41] served for a time, till the great circumcision came, that is, baptism; which circumcises us from our sins, and seals us in the name of God. So in regard that baptism had Christ for its author, and not man, it was anciently known by the name of *δῶρον*, and *χάρισμα Κυρίου*, the gift of the Lord. As in the ancient Acts of Paul and Thecla; when Thecla desired the seal of the Lord, Paul bids her wait with patience, and she should receive *δωρεὰν τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, the gift of Christ, which, as the learned editor observes,[42] is but another way of denoting baptism. Sometimes it was simply called *δῶρον*, without any other addition, by way of eminence, because it was both a gratuitous and a singular gift of Christ. We call it the gift, says Gregory Nazianzen,[43] because it is given to those who offer nothing for it. And St. Basil, *δέον ἐπιτρέχειν τῷ δώρῳ*, We ought to run to the gift,[44] meaning baptism. And Casaubon has also further observed,[45] that because the Spirit was likewise given in baptism, therefore the Holy Ghost had sometimes the name of *Munus*, The gift. And the eucharist also, or the sacramental oblation of the body and blood of Christ, both before and after consecration, commonly went by this name, *δῶρα* and *μύστικα δῶρα*, of which there are various instances collected out of the ancient rituals by that learned writer, which are not proper to be inserted in this place. Baptism had also the name of *ἐφόδιον*, or *viaticum*, as well as the eucharist, which denotes properly the preparation of all things necessary for a journey: in which respect both the sacraments were called *viatica*, because they were equally esteemed men's necessary provision, and proper armour, both to sustain and conduct them safe on their way in their passage through this world to eternal life. St. Basil, exhorting men of all ages and conditions to receive baptism, makes his address to them in these words:[46] Art thou a young man? Then secure thy youth by the bridle of baptism. Art thou past the flower of thy age? Then beware thou lose not thy *viaticum*, thy phylactery, which should keep and preserve thee in thy way to eternal life. In allusion to which name, Gregory Nazianzen,[47] speaking of the minister's act in baptizing, terms it *ἐφοδιάζειν*, giving to men their *viaticum*, or provision for their journey to another world. In reference to the making men complete members of Christ's body, the church, it had the name of *τελείωσις* and *τελετὴ*, the consecration and consummation; because it gave men the perfection of Christians, and a right to partake of the *τὸ τέλειον*, which was the eucharist, or Lord's supper. It had the name of *μύησις*, and *μυσταγωγία*, the initiation, because it was the admittance of men to all the sacred rites and mysteries of the Christian religion. And as the eucharist, from its representing the death of Christ by the outward elements of bread and wine, was called the sacred symbols, so baptism sometimes had the same name, as we find in Isidore of Pelusium, and the author of the Dispute with Arius in the Council of Nice, under the name of Athanasius. Though the priest[48] be an

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[41] Epiphan. Hær. 8. al. 28. Cerinth. n. 4. Vid. Just. Mart. Dial. c. Tryph. p. 261.
[42] Grabe, Spicileg. Patrum, t. 1. p. 106.
[43] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 638.
[44] Basil. Homil. 13. de Bapt. p. 411.
[45] Casaubon, Exercitat. 16. in Baron. n. 51.
[46] Basil. Homil. 13. de Bapt. p. 413. Μὴ ζημιωθῇς τὰ ἐφόδια, μὴ ἀπολέσῃς τὸ φυλακτήριον.
[47] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 644.
[48] Isidor. lib. 2. Ep. 37. Ὁ τελούμενος οὐδὲν παραβλάπτεται εἰς τὰ σωτηριώδη σύμβολα, εἰ ὁ ἱερεὺς μὴ εὖ βιοὺς εἴη, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν πάντως.

ill liver, says Isidore, the person initiated receives no harm by the symbols of salvation, but only the priest himself. And the other[49] thus argues for the Divinity of the Holy Ghost: If the Holy Spirit be not of the substance of the Father and the Son, why then did the Son of God join him together with them in the symbol of sanctification, when he said to his disciples, "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?" In both which places, it is plain, the symbols of sanctification and salvation can mean no other than baptism. And hence it appears, that the same honourable titles were given to the waters of baptism, as to the elements of bread and wine in the Lord's supper; and whatever change was supposed to be wrought in the one by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, was equally ascribed to the other also; and as noble effects derived from the font as the Lord's table, whilst the death of Christ was equally represented, and the benefits of it alike communicated to all worthy receivers in baptism and the Lord's supper. For which reason I have been a little the more curious in examining and explaining the several titles of honour which the ancients gave to baptism, that under these eminent characters we might see what apprehensions and ideas the church of Christ always had of this venerable mystery, which some now by way of contempt call water-baptism, as if the Spirit had no concern in it; whose doctrines may easily be perceived not to proceed from the general sense of the ancient catholic church, but from particular sects and heresies broken off from it, of which it may not be amiss to give a short account in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE MATTER OF BAPTISM, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SUCH HERETICS AS REJECTED OR CORRUPTED BAPTISM BY WATER.

Sect. 1. Baptism who lyrejected by the heretics called Ascodrutæ, and Marcosians, and Valentinians, and Quintilians.

Though the church always maintained an honourable opinion of baptism, as a Divine and heavenly institution, yet there wanted not sects and heresies, who in the earliest ages spake very diminutively and contemptibly of it; and either in whole or in part upon various reasons rejected or corrupted it. The Ascodrutæ, who were a sort of Gnostics, placed all religion in knowledge, and under pretence of spiritual worship, would admit of no external or corporeal symbols whatsoever. They asserted, as Theodoret[1] describes them, that Divine mysteries, being the images of invisible things, were not to be performed by visible things; nor incorporeal things by sensible and corporeal things. Therefore they never baptized any that were of their sect, nor celebrated any part of the mystery of baptism among them. For they said, the knowledge of all things was their redemption. Irenæus[2] and Epiphanius observe the same thing to be practised, upon the same principle of spiritual redemption by knowledge alone, among some of those who were called Marcosian heretics, whilst others of them, who retained a sort of baptism, invented strange forms of their own to corrupt it, of which I shall give an account in the following chapter, sect. 8. Irenæus[3] gives a like account of the Valentinians, some of which wholly rejected baptism, and others corrupted it with strange forms of their own inventing, as the Marcosians did, who seem to have been branches of the same heresy under different leaders. Tertullian[4] brings a like charge against one Quintilla, a woman preacher at Carthage a little before his time, who set up to decry water-baptism as useless, pleading, that faith alone was sufficient to save men, as it did Abraham, who pleased God without any other sacrament but the sacrament of faith. Against this heresy Tertullian wrote his book of Baptism, to establish the necessity of it from our Saviour's institution, and to answer the little sophisms whereby the libertines of this new sect pretended to destroy it.

Sect. 2. And by the Archontici.

The Archontici rejected baptism for another reason, as Epiphanius[5] and Theodoret[6] inform us. They had entertained a very monstrous and blasphemous opinion, that the world was not created by the supreme God of all things, but by certain powers, whom they called ἄρχοντες, rulers, whence they themselves had the denomination of Archontici; these rulers, seven or eight in number, they imagined to be in so many several orbs of the heavens one above another, with orders of angels and ministries under them: and to the chief of these they gave the name of Sabaoth. Now, they also pretended that baptism was only administered in the name of Sabaoth, and not in the name of the supreme God, and therefore they rejected both it and the eucharist as foreign institutions, given by Sabaoth, the God of the Jews

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[49] Athanas. Disp. contra Arium in Conc. Nic. t. 1. p. 141. *Τίνος ἕνεκεν συνηρίθμησεν αὐτὸ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ*, &c.

[1] Theodor. Hæret. Fabul. lib. 1. c. 10.

[2] Iren. lib. 1. c. 18.

[3] Iren. lib. 3. c. 2.

[4] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 1. Nuper conversata istic quædam de Caiana hæresi vipera venenatissima, doctrina sua plerosque rapuit, imprimis baptismum destruens, &c. It. cap. 13. Adeo dicunt, Baptismus non est necessarius, quibus fides satis est, &c.

[5] Epiphan. Hær. 40. de Archonticis, n. 2.

[6] Theodor. Hær. Fab. lib. 1. c. 11.

and the giver of the law, whom they blasphemously distinguished from the supreme God.

Sect. 3. And by the Seleucians and Hermians.

The Seleucians and Hermians refused the use of baptism by water, as St. Austin[7] describes them. And the ground of their refusal was a pretence, that baptism by water was not the baptism instituted by Christ, because St. John Baptist, comparing his own baptism with the baptism of Christ, says, "I baptize you with water, but he that cometh after me, shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire,"[8] they thought the souls of men consisted of fire and spirit, and therefore a baptism of fire was more suitable to their nature. But what kind of baptism that was, none of the ancients have told us; unless perhaps we may conjecture from what Clemens Alexandrinus[9] tells us out of Heracleon, of some, who, when they had baptized men in water, also made a mark upon their ears with fire; so joining water-baptism and, as they imagined, baptism by fire, together. Though this was far enough from the fiery baptism St. John speaks of, which some of the ancients understand of the ordinary operations of the Spirit, which consume our sins; and others, of that extraordinary effusion of the Spirit in the form of fiery tongues upon the apostles at the day of Pentecost; and others, of the fire of the last judgment. A particular account of which interpretations, the reader that is curious may find in Suicerus upon this subject.[10] I only note further out of the anonymous writer about heretical baptism, published by Rigaltius and Bishop Fell at the end of St. Cyprian, that there were a sort of heretics, who pretended, that baptism by water alone was of itself imperfect, because St. John had said, we were to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Therefore they boasted,[11] that theirs was the only complete and perfect baptism, and all others curtailed and given only by halves, because when they went down into the water to baptize, either by some curious art in philosophy, like that of Anaxilaus, or by some magical art, they made fire to appear upon the surface of the water, and this they called baptism by fire. Which they confirmed from an apocryphal writing of their own inventing, called, The Preaching of Peter or Paul, wherein it was said, that when Christ was baptized, fire so appeared upon the water. The censure which this author passes upon this kind of baptism, is, that it is adulterate, pernicious, and wholly evacuating the true baptism of Christ.

Sect. 4. And by the Manichees and Paulicians.

Another sect which rejected water-baptism, were the Manichees, who, among many other prodigious errors, maintained, that baptizing in water was of no efficacy to salvation, and therefore they despised it, and never baptized[12] any that entered into their society, as St. Austin and the author of the Prædestinatus,[13] published by Sirmondus, inform us. But whether they admitted any other kind of baptism, or upon what ground they rejected this, we are not told: only we may probably conjecture, that it was upon that general vile principle of theirs, that material things were the work of an evil god, and therefore to be abhorred as polluted and profane. One branch of this heresy were afterward called Paulicians, from one Paulus and Johannes, the first founders of it. Euthymius, out of Photius, gives a large account of them, where he tells us,[14] that though they really rejected and despised baptism, yet they pretended to receive it: but that was only with a deceitful equivocation; for they maintained that the word of the Gospel was baptism, because our Lord said, "I am the living water." The learned Vossius is of opinion,[15] that those words, *Ego sum aqua viva*, "I am the living water," was the form which these Paulicians used in baptism instead of the form of the church: but he plainly mistakes Euthymius, who does not say, that they used this as a form of words in their baptism; for they had no baptism at all, nor consequently any form of words for baptizing; but their opinion was, that believing in Christ, or the word or the truth of the Gospel, was all the baptism that was required of men, and that because Christ had said, "I am the living water." Yet sometimes, as Euthymius relates in the same place,[16] they would bring their

[7] Aug. de Hæres. c. 59. Seleuciani et Hermiani baptismum in aqua non accipiunt.

[8] Philastr. de Hæres. n. 8. Seleucus et Hermius hæretici animas hominum de igne et Spiritu esse existimantes, isto baptismo non utuntur, propter verbum hoc quod dixit Johannes Baptista: Ipse vos baptizabit in Spiritu et igne.

[9] Clem. Alex. Electa ex Scriptura, ap. Combefis Auctarium, t. 1. p. 202. *Ἔνιοι δὲ, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλέων, πυρὶ τὰ ὦτα τῶν σφραγιζομένων κατεσημηναντο.* Irenæus, lib. 1. c. 24, has something like this, of the Carpocratians.

[10] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. t. 1. p. 630.

[11] Anonym. de Baptismo Hæreticorum, ad calcem Cypriani, p. 30. Tentant nonnulli iterum tractare se solos integrum atque perfectum, non sicuti nos, mutilatum et decurtatum baptisma tradere. Quod taliter dicantur adsignare, ut quam mox in aquam descenderunt, statim super aquam ignis appareat, &c.

[12] Aug. de Hæres. cap. 46. Baptismum in aqua nihil cuiquam perhibent salutis adferre: Nec quenquam eorum quos decipiunt, baptizandum putant.

[13] Prædestinatorum Hæresis, c. 46.

[14] Euthym. Panoplia. Par. 2. Titul. 21. p. 48. Quin etiam cum baptismum aspernentur, illud tamen se fingunt suscipere: Nam Evangelii verba baptismum existimant, quoniam Dominus, Ego sum, inquit, aqua viva.

[15] Voss. de Baptismo, Disp. 1. Thes. 2. p. 28.

[16] Euthym. ibid. Liberos etiam suos ab ecclesiæ presbyteris salutari baptismo volunt aliquando lustrari; existimant enim crucem et baptismum corpori prodesse. Horum tamen vim ad animæ purgationem pervenire non putant, nec ullam aliam afferre utilitatem.

children to the presbyters of the church to be baptized after the catholic way, because they had an opinion that both baptism and the cross were of some advantage to the body for the cure of diseases, but of no other efficacy, benefit, or virtue to purge the soul. And such an opinion possessed the minds of many others, who had no further regard for baptism, but only as it was of use to free the body of some distemper or uncleanness. St. Austin[17] puts the question once or twice concerning some such persons, who desired to be baptized with no other view but this. And Matthew Blastares[18] mentions a famous case of the Agarenes, who compelled the Christian clergy that were under their dominion, to baptize their children before they would circumcise them, because they conceived this would contribute toward the prevention of those distempers and noisomenesses, which are occasioned by circumcision. Upon this case a question was made in the council of Constantinople under Lucas Chrysoberges, whether such persons, when they came over to the Christian faith, were to be rebaptized, or only anointed with chrism? And it was resolved, that they ought without controversy to be rebaptized, since the baptism with which they were washed, was not received with any pious intent, but only as an amulet or a charm. These instances make the account which Euthymius gives of the Paulicians seem very probable, that though they had no regard for baptism as a Christian sacrament, yet they might sometimes make use of it, as the Saracens did, as an enchantment, or a sort of magical spell; which appears to be the only use they ever made of it, and that not in their own assemblies, (where they had no sacraments at all, neither baptism nor the eucharist,) but fraudulently receiving it in the church at the hands of the Christian catholic priests. The reader may observe by the way, that these Paulicians were not the followers of Paulus Samosatensis, bishop of Antioch, who are commonly called Paulianists and Samosatenians [though Balsamon confounds them together]; but they had their denomination from another Paulus Samosatensis and one Johannes, who revived and enlarged the heresy of the Manichees, as appears plainly from Euthymius. And Justellus[19] and Vossius[20] have observed the same out of Cedrenus, Theophanes, Matthew Blastares, Nicephorus, and other modern Greeks, with which it would be needless in this place to trouble the reader.

Sect. 5. What opinion the Messalians or Euchites had of baptism.

Some add to the forementioned sects, who rejected baptism, the heresy of the Messalians, or Euchites, who were so called from the Greek word *εὐχὴ*, prayer, and Messalians, from the Syriac word *Metsalah*, which is much of the same signification, because they resolved all religion into prayer. But it does not appear that they wholly rejected the sacrament of baptism: for then the church would have ordered them upon their return to have been baptized, as Jews or pagans; which she never did, but only obliged them to anathematize their errors in order to be admitted to communion, as may be collected from the decree of the general council of Ephesus,[21] made with relation to such of the clergy or laity as returned from them. But their error was in denying the principal part of the spiritual efficacy of baptism: they said, indeed, it granted remission of sins that were past, but added no strength or ability from the Spirit to withstand sin for the future. This we learn from Theodoret, who comparing the doctrine of the catholic church and that of the Messalians upon this point together, delivers himself[22] to this purpose: Baptism, says he, is not like a razor only, as the Messalian enthusiasts call it, which takes away sins that are past; though it has this effect among many others: for if this were the only work of baptism, for what reason should we baptize infants, who have never yet tasted of sin? For the sacrament does not only promise this effect, but greater and more perfect things than that. It is the earnest of future good, the type of the resurrection to come hereafter, the communication of our Lord's passion, the participation of our Lord's resurrection, the garment of salvation, the clothing of joy, and the robe of light, or rather, light itself. So that we must allow Theodoret to be his own interpreter, when he seems to give a more harsh account of these Messalians in another place, describing them as men who taught, that no manner[23] of advantage accrued from Divine baptism to those who received it, but that it was only fervent prayer that expelled the indwelling devil out of men's minds. For this is to be understood with the forementioned exception, that they allowed baptism so far to be useful, as to wash away all former sins, but not to grant any further perfection. And so Harmenopulus[24] represents their doctrine, as teaching, that neither baptism nor participation of the eucharist could give a man the perfection of

[17] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifacium.

[18] Blastar. Syntagm. Can. Litera B. cap. 3. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. p. 42. Vid. Balsamon in Photii Nomocanon, Tit. 13. de Laicis, cap. 2. et Baron. an. 1148. p. 358. t. 12. It. an. 1145. p. 314.

[19] Justel. Not. in can. 19. Codicis Eccl. Universæ.

[20] Voss. de Baptismo, Disp. 20. p. 241.

[21] Conc. Ephes. Act. 7. t. 3. p. 809.

[22] Theod. Epitom. Divin. Decret. sive de Fabul. Hæret. lib. 5. cap. 18.

[23] Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. 4. cap. 10. *Μηδεμίαν ἐκ τοῦ θείου ϐαπτίσματος ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις γίνεσθαι· μόνην δὲ τὴν σπουδαίαν εὐχὴν τὸν δαίμονα τὸν ἔνοικον ἐξελαύνειν.*

[24] Harmenop. de Sectis, c. 18. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 1. p. 536. Τὸ *βάπτισμα μὴ τελειοῦν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μηδὲ τὴν μετάληψιν, ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐχήν.*

a Christian, but only such prayer as they pretended to. In like manner Euthymius[25] describes them, as maintaining, that baptism did not eradicate sin. They did not deny that it purged away former sins, but they would not allow any efficacy of the Spirit to be joined with it to resist or overcome sin for the future. Against which doctrine Euthymius thus argues: Our Lord Jesus Christ said, "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Now, the Holy Ghost is a Divine fire; for he descended in the form of fiery tongues upon the disciples, and the forerunner of Christ spake of this to the multitude, when he testified of the excellency of Christ, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." As therefore material fire, when it catches a wood, burns all things upon the surface of the earth, dries up the roots, and purges the place from filth; so the Holy Spirit does, and much more. For it is a fire consuming the iniquity of those who are baptized. And it not only purges and obliterates the spots, and scars, and filth of the soul, but also illuminates and endows it with many gifts, as the apostles, and especially St. Paul, teach us, where they speak of the distribution of the graces of the Holy Spirit, which are conferred on those who are baptized. From this account of the Messalians it appears, that they were neither Anabaptists nor Quakers; they neither rejected the baptism of adult persons nor infants: for the true state of the controversy between them and the church, was not about the use of the outward element of water in baptism, but about the internal and spiritual effects of it, which the Messalians confined to remission of sins, but the church extended to many other noble benefits, which were the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit. Upon which account the church never rebaptized the Messalians, that we read of, as she did the Manichees, and such other heretics, who rejected the use of water, which was the outward element which Christ had appointed. If this was either neglected, or any other element used instead of it, the baptism was esteemed not only irregular, but null, as wanting one necessary and essential part, which could not be supplied but by a new baptism. And therefore when a certain Jew had been baptized in sand, for want of water, in the wilderness, Dionysius, bishop of Ascalon, ordered him to be rebaptized, as Johannes Moschus[26] tells the story. And this was done, not because he was baptized by a layman in extreme necessity, but, as Archbishop Whitgift,[27] after the Centuriators,[28] has observed, because the baptism wanted water. Such was the church's opinion of the necessity of water-baptism, that, where it might be had, she never thought fit to dispense with the neglect or contempt of it; and therefore she urged the necessity of it against those ancient heretics who despised it, even whilst she judged favourably of such catechumens as died without baptism, not through contempt, but unavoidable necessity: of which I have given a particular account in the last Book, chap. 2. sect. 20, &c.

Indeed there is one exception against this in some collections of the canon law. For there we have a decree under the name of Pope Siricius,[29] which says, That if an infant is baptized in wine instead of water, in case of necessity, it is no crime, and the baptism shall stand good. But, as Antonius Augustinus and Baluzius have observed, this was no decree of Siricius, but of Stephen II., about the middle of the eighth century. So that it cannot be pleaded as a competent authority to show what was the ancient practice of the church. Antonius Augustinus is very positive, that the primitive church had never any such custom. And it seems pretty evident from that saying of St. Ambrose,[30] That if we take away water, the sacrament of baptism cannot stand. But among the moderns, Beza,[31] and some of the schoolmen, Tolet and Valentia, determine otherwise: against whose resolution I am not concerned to dispute, but only to declare what I take to have been the more current and received opinion of the primitive writers of the church.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE ANCIENT FORM OF BAPTISM, AND OF SUCH HERETICS AS ALTERED OR CORRUPTED IT.

Sect. 1. The usual form of baptizing in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

NEXT to the matter of baptism, it will be proper to consider the form of words in which it was anciently administered. And this was generally such a form of words as made express mention of every person of the blessed Trinity, according as our Saviour did at the first institution, when he command-

[25] Euthym. Panopl. Par. II. Tit. 22. p. 55. Negant divinum baptismum posse radices evellere peccatorum, &c.

[26] Moschus, Pratum Spirituale, cap. 176.

[27] Whitgift's Defence, Tract. IX. p. 519.

[28] Centur. Magdeburg. Cent. II. cap. 6. p. 82.

[29] Antonius Augustinus cites it out of a Spanish Collection of Canons, and Baluzius from one in France, under the name of Siricius. Presbyter qui in vino baptizat proxima necessitate, ut æger non periclitetur, pro tali re nulla ei culpa adscribatur. Si vero aqua aderat, et necessitas talis non urgebat, hic communione privetur. Infans vero ille, si in Sancta Trinitate baptizatus est, in eo baptismo permaneat. Vid. Anton. August. de Emendat. Gratiani, p. 200. et Baluz. Not. in Anton. p. 431.

[30] Ambros. de iis qui initiantur, cap. 4. Nec iterum sine aqua regenerationis mysterium est.

[31] Beza, Ep. 2. ad Tillium.

ed his disciples to baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Tnis the ancient author of the Recognitions[1] means, when he says, Men were baptized under the appellation of the triple mystery. And again,[2] By invocating the name of the blessed Trinity. Tertullian[3] refers this to the institution of Christ: The law of baptizing was imposed, and the form prescribed, "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." In another place[4] he says, Christ appointed baptism to be administered not in the name of one, but three, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Therefore we are dipped not once, but thrice, unto every person at the mention of each name. Cyprian derives this practice[5] likewise from the institution, saying, The Lord, after his resurrection, taught his disciples after what manner they should baptize, when he said, "Go, teach all nations," &c.; where he delivered the doctrine of the Trinity, unto which mystery or sacrament the nations were to be baptized. And he argues[6] further, against such heretics as baptized only in the name of Jesus Christ, from the same principle, that Christ commanded the nations to be baptized, not into one person, but a complete and united Trinity. Hence Optatus[7] calls baptism, the laver which Christ commanded to be celebrated in the name of the Trinity, and that holy water which flowed from the fountain of those three names. And to mention no more authorities, (which are innumerable,) St. Austin[8] observes, that this was not only the general practice of the catholic church, but of most heresies also. For one might more easily find heretics that did not baptize at all, than such as retained baptism without using those evangelical words, of which the creed consists, and without which baptism cannot be consecrated.

Sect. 2. This form of words generally thought necessary to be used in baptism.

And hence it appears, that St. Austin and these other writers thought this precise form of words necessary to be used in the administration of baptism, by virtue of the original appointment and institution. And this may be further evidenced to have been the general sense of the ancients, some one or two only excepted. The Apostolical Canons[9] order every bishop and presbyter, that shall presume to baptize any other way than according to the command of the Lord, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be deposed. And Athanasius[10] speaks of such baptism as null, that is any otherwise delivered: He that takes away any one person from the Trinity, and is baptized only in the name of the Father, or only in the name of the Son, or only in the Father and the Son, without the Spirit, receives nothing, but remains void and uninitiated; for in the Trinity alone initiation is given. He says in another place,[11] that baptism, which is as it were the compendium of our whole faith, is not given in the name of the Word, but of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Didymus of Alexandria[12] treads in the steps of Athanasius: I cannot suppose any one, says he, so mad and void of understanding, as to think that to be perfect baptism, which is given in the name of the Father and Son, without the assumption of the Holy Spirit; or in the name of the Father and Holy Ghost, omitting the name of the Son; or in the name of the Son and Holy Ghost, without first mentioning the name of the Father. For though any man should be of such a stony heart, as I may say, or so much beside himself, as to leave out one of the appointed names

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1 Clem. Rom. Recognit. lib. 6. cap. 9. Baptizantur sub appellatione triplicis sacramenti.

2 Id. lib. 3. cap. 67. Baptizabitur unusquisque vestrûm in aquis perennibus, nomine Trinæ Beatitudinis invocato super se.

3 Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 13. Lex tingendi imposita est, et forma præscripta, Ite, inquit, docete nationes, tingentes eas in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti.

4 Id. cont. Praxeam. cap. 26. Novissime mandans, ut tingerent in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Nam nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in singulas personas tingimur.

5 Cyprian. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 200. Dominus post resurrectionem discipulos suos mittens, quemadmodum baptizare deberent, instituit et docuit, dicens—Ite et docete gentes omnes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti. Insinuat Trinitatem, cujus sacramento baptizarentur.

6 Ibid. p. 206. Quomodo quidam dicunt, foris extra ecclesiam, imo et contra ecclesiam, modo in nomine Jesu Christi ubicunque et quomodocunque Gentilem baptizatum, remissionem peccatorum consequi posse; quando ipse Christus gentes baptizari jubeat in plena et adunata Trinitate?

7 Optat. lib. 5. p. 85. Lavacrum quod de Trinitate celebrandum esse mandaverat——aqua sancta quæ de trium nominum fontibus inundat.

8 Aug. de Bapt. lib. 6. c. 25. Quis nesciat, non esse baptismum Christi, si verba evangelica quibus symbolum constat, illic defuerint? sed facilius inveniuntur hæretici, qui omnino non baptizent, quam qui non illis verbis baptizent.

9 Canon. Apost. c. 49.

10 Athan. Epist. ad Serapion. t. 1. p. 204. Ὁ ὑφαιρούμενός τι τῆς τριάδος, καὶ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὀνόματι βαπτιζόμενος, ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ ὀνόματι Υἱοῦ, ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, οὐδὲν λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ κενὸς καὶ ἀτελὴς διαμένει, &c.

11 Id. Orat. 5. cont. Arian. p. 535. Οὐκ εἰς Λόγον, ἀλλ' εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα δίδοται.

12 Didymus de Spir. Sancto, lib. 2. Bibl. Patr. t. 9. p. 37. Non arbitror quenquam tam vecordem atque insanum futurum, ut perfectum baptisma putet, quod datur in nomine Patris et Filii, sine assumptione Spiritûs Sancti: aut rursus in nomine Patris et Spiritûs Sancti, Filii vocabulo prætermisso: aut certe in nomine Filii et Spiritûs Sancti, non præposito vocabulo Patris. Licet enim quis posset esse saxei, ut ita dicam, cordis, et penitus mentis alienæ, qui ita baptizare conetur, ut unum de præceptis nominibus prætermittat, videlicet contrarius legislator Christo; tamen sine perfectione baptizabit; imo penitus a peccatis liberare non poterit, quos a se baptizatos existimaverit.

in baptism, setting up himself a lawgiver in opposition to Christ, his baptism will be imperfect, and altogether insufficient to grant remission of sins to those whom he esteems baptized by him. Idacius Clarus[13] asserts the same, arguing thus against Varimundus the Arian, for the Divinity of the Holy Ghost: If the Holy Ghost be not equal to the Father and Son in the substance of the Deity, why then is that sacrament of baptism imperfect, which is given without him? St. Basil[14] has a whole chapter to the same purpose. The very title of it is against those, who asserted that it was sufficient to give baptism only in the name of the Lord. And whereas they urged, that in several passages of Scripture baptism was said to be given only in the name of Christ; he answers, that in all those places, though the name of Christ was only mentioned, yet the whole Trinity was understood. Which he confirms from the like expressions concerning the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. xii. 13, "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body;" and Acts i. 5, "Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence;" where the apostles seem only to make mention of the Holy Ghost in baptism. But, says he, no one may from hence conclude, that that baptism is perfect, wherein the Holy Ghost alone is named. For the tradition ought to remain inviolable, which was given by the quickening grace. He means the form of baptizing, given by the command of Christ, Matt. xxviii. Upon which he concludes, that as we believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, so we are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Therefore both Vossius[15] and Petavius[16] are greatly mistaken to allege St. Basil as one of those who asserted, that baptism in the name of Christ alone was allowable, when he so plainly and directly writes against it. Many other testimonies might here be inserted out of Theodoret,[17] Gregory Nazianzen[18] and Nyssen,[19] Theophylact,[20] and others, but I shall only add further the decree of Pope Vigilius, which shows both the practice of the church, and the severity of her censures against any one that should pretend to transgress this settled rule of baptizing. If any bishop or presbyter, says he, baptize not according[21] to the command of the Lord, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," but in one person of the Trinity, or in two, or in three Fathers, or in three Sons, or in three Comforters, let him be cast out of the church of God.

Sect. 3. Whether baptism in the name of Christ alone was ever allowed in the church?

Indeed, among all the writings of the ancients, I have never yet met with any but two, that plainly and directly allow or approve of any other form of baptism, save that which was appointed by Christ at the institution. Gennadius mentions one Ursinus, an African monk, who, he says, wrote a book [which is now lost] wherein he asserted, against such as were for rebaptizing all heretics, that it was not lawful to rebaptize those, who were baptized either simply[22] in the name of Christ, or in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: but it was sufficient for both sorts of them, upon confession of the Trinity, to receive the bishop's confirmation in order to obtain eternal life. This author plainly distinguishes betwixt the two forms of baptizing, one with explicit mention of the three persons of the Trinity, and the other in the name of Christ alone; both which he makes to be lawful, and equivalent in sense, though differing in words from one another. And St. Ambrose, I confess, seems to have been of the same opinion. For he takes all those expressions of Scripture, which speak of being baptized in the name of Christ, to mean, the using such a form as this, I baptize thee in the name of Christ, without any express mention of the three persons, though the whole Trinity was implied in it. He that is blessed in Christ, says he,[23]

[13] Idacius, lib. 3. contra Varimundum, Bibl. Patr. t. 4. p. 300. Si Spiritus Sanctus Deitatis substantia Patri et Filio non coæquatur, cur in sacramento sacri baptismatis nihil absque illo completur?

[14] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 12. Οὐ τέλειον ἄν τις εἴπῃ τὸ βάπτισμα, ᾧ μόνον τοῦ Πνεύματος ὄνομα ἐπεκλήθη· χρὴ γὰρ ἀπαράβατον μένειν τὴν ἐν τῇ ζωοποιῷ χάριτι δεδομένην παράβασιν, &c.

[15] Voss. de Bapt. Disp. 2. Thes. 5. p. 51.

[16] Petav. de Trin. lib. 2. cap. 14. n. 6.

[17] Theodor. Ep. 146. ad Johan. Œconom. t. 3. p. 1038.

[18] Naz. Orat. 24. p. 431.

[19] Nyssen. de Bapt. Christi, t. 3. p. 372.

[20] Theophylact. in Luc. xxiv. Fulgent. de Incarnat. c. 11. Cyril. Dial. 7. de Trin. t. 5. p. 633.

[21] Vigil. Ep. 2. ad Eutherium, cap. 6. Si quis episcopus aut presbyter juxta præceptum Domini non baptizaverit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti, sed in una Persona Trinitatis, aut in duabus, aut in tribus Patribus, aut in tribus Filiis, aut in tribus Paracletis, projiciatur de ecclesia Dei.

[22] Gennad. de Scriptor. Eccles. cap. 27. Ursinus monachus scripsit adversus eos, qui rebaptizandos hæreticos decernunt, docens, nec legitimum, nec Deo dignum rebaptizari illos, qui in nomine vel simpliciter Christi, vel in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, quamvis pravo sensu, baptizentur: Iis autem, post Sanctæ Trinitatis et Christi simplicem confessionem, sufficere ad salutem manûs impositionem catholici sacerdotis.

[23] Ambros. de Spir. Sancto, lib. 1. cap. 3. Qui benedicitur in Christo, benedicitur in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti, quia unum nomen, potestas una.—Denique et Æthiops eunuchus Candaces reginæ, baptizatus in Christo plenum mysterium consecutus est.—Quemadmodum si unum in sermone comprehendas, aut Patrem, aut Filium, aut Spiritum Sanctum, fide autem nec Patrem nec Filium nec Spiritum abneges, plenum est fidei sacramentum: ita etiam quamvis et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum dicas, et aut Patris aut Filii aut Spiritûs Sancti minuas potestatem, vacuum est omne sacramentum.——Qui unum dixerit, Trinitatem signavit. Si Christum dicas, et Deum Patrem a quo unctus est Filius, et ipsum qui unctus est Filium, et Spiritum quo unctus est, designâsti. Et si Patrem dicas; et Filium ejus, et Spiritum oris ejus pariter indicâsti; si tamen id etiam corde comprehendas.

is blessed in the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost; because the name is one, and the power one. The Ethiopian eunuch, who was baptized in Christ, had the sacrament complete. If a man names only a single person expressly in words, either Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, so long as he does not deny in his faith either Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, the sacrament of faith is complete: as, on the other hand, if a man in words express all the three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but in his faith diminishes the power either of the Father, or Son, or Holy Ghost, the sacrament of faith is void. He says further, He that names but one person, designs thereby the whole Trinity. He that names Christ only, intends both the Father by whom the Son is anointed, and the Son himself who is anointed, and the Spirit with which he is anointed. And he that names only the Father, does in like manner intend both his Son and the Spirit of his mouth, if he truly believe them in his heart. So that, according to St. Ambrose, it was a sufficient baptism, though only one person, Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, was expressly mentioned, because in one name by an orthodox believer all the rest were implied. But this appears to have been a singular opinion in St. Ambrose, contrary to the general stream and current of the ancient writers. For though Petavius joins St. Basil with him; and Vossius after Soto makes Cyprian and Athanasius, and the author of the Opus Imperfectum under the name of St. Chrysostom, to be abettors of the same assertion; yet it is clear from what has been alleged before out of Cyprian, Athanasius, and Basil, that they were of the contrary opinion, and esteemed it an error and transgression against the first institution, to give baptism only in the name of Christ. Whence it is also further evident, that they did not understand those passages of Scripture, which speak of baptizing in the name of Jesus, or the Lord, or Christ, as new forms of baptizing, different from the original form delivered by Christ; but as Eulogius in Photius[24] has explained them: To be baptized into Christ Jesus, signifies to be baptized according to the command and tradition of Jesus Christ; that is, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." According to which sense, it follows, that the form of baptizing delivered by Christ, was not changed, as some imagine, but precisely observed even by the apostles, and after them by the general consent and practice of the catholic church.

Sect. 4. Of alterations made in the form of baptism. 1st, By the Tritheists and Priscillianists.

It is true, indeed, as sects grew up and increased in the church, some innovations were made in this matter among them. For though, as St. Austin observes, the greatest part of heretics who retained any baptism at all, retained also the old form of the church; yet some there were who varied from it, and brought in new forms of their own, according as their fancies or the genius of their heresies led them. There were some very early that turned the doctrine of the Trinity into Tritheism, and, instead of three Divine persons under the economy of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, brought in three collateral, co-ordinate, and self-originated beings, making them three absolute and independent principles, without any relation of Father or Son, which is the most proper notion of three Gods. And having made this change in the doctrine of the holy Trinity, they made another change answerable to it in the form of baptism. For instead of baptizing in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they brought in an unheard-of form of baptizing in the name of three unoriginated principles, as we learn from one of those called the Apostolical Canons, which is directly levelled against them in these words: If any bishop[25] or presbyter baptize not according to the command of Christ, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but in three unoriginated principles, or in three Sons, or in three Paracletes, or Holy Ghosts, let him be deposed. This canon does not describe these heretics by any name, but we may conjecture from another canon of the first council of Bracara, that they were the Gnostics who first introduced this kind of Tritheism, or doctrine of three Gods, into the world, which was afterwards taken up by the Priscillianists, and both of them condemned together in that council. For so the canon words it: If any one shall introduce any strange names[26] of the Divinity beside the Holy Trinity, saying, that in the Godhead there is a Trinity of Trinities, as the Gnostics and Priscillianists maintain, let him be anathema. This was the consequence of asserting three unbegotten principles: for hereby they made three Fathers, and three Sons, and three Holy Ghosts, which was a Trinity of Trinities, as the council charges them. And in compliance with this grand error, they sometimes baptized in the name of three Fathers, or three Sons, or three Holy Ghosts. As seems pretty evident from that decree of Pope Vigilius made against all such heterodox innovations: If any bishop or presbyter[27] baptize not according to the command of the Lord, in the name of the Father, Son, and

[24] Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 280. p. 1608. Τὸ εἰς Χριϛὸν Ἰησοῦν βαπτισθῆναι σημαίνοι ἂν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ παράδοσιν τοῦ Χριϛοῦ Ἰησοῦ βαπτισθῆναι, τουτέϛιν, εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Vid. Aug. Cont. Maximin. lib. 3. cap. 17.

[25] Canon. Apost. c. 49. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διάταξιν μὴ βαπτίσῃ εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' εἰς τρεῖς ἀνάρχους, ἢ εἰς τρεῖς υἱοὺς, ἢ εἰς τρεῖς παρακλήτους, καθαιρείσθω.

[26] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 2. Si quis extra Sanctam Trinitatem alia nescio quæ Divinitatis nomina introducit, dicens, quod in ipsa Divinitate sit Trinitas Trinitatis, sicut Gnostici et Priscilliani dixerunt, anathema sit.

[27] Vigil. Ep. 2. ad Euther. cap. 6. Cited before, sect. 2.

Holy Ghost;" but in one person of the Trinity, or in two, or in three Fathers, or in three Sons, or in three Paracletes or Holy Ghosts, let him be cast out of the church.

Sect. 5. Secondly, By Menander and his followers.

Another corruption of the form of baptism was introduced by Menander, who was a disciple of Simon Magus, and to all his master's heresies added this of his own, That no one could be saved, except he was baptized in his name, as Tertullian informs us.[28] The reason of this innovation is assigned by Irenæus[29] and Epiphanius,[30] who tell us, that he took upon him to be the Messias: for he taught, that he was the person sent for the salvation of men; and to gather a church by mysteries of his own appointing, to deliver men from the dominion of the angels and principalities and powers that made the world. And Theodoret[31] gives the same account of him; for he says, He called himself the Saviour of the world, and taught that men were saved by being baptized in his name, by which means also they got power over the powers that made the world. But this was so absurd a heresy, that, as Epiphanius observes, it never prevailed much in the church. Menander had promised his proselytes, as Tertullian says,[32] That all who would be baptized in his name, should be immortal and incorruptible, and have the benefit of an immediate resurrection: but experience in a little time confuted this foolery; for in a hundred years' time none of his immortal apostles appeared, to convince any doubting Thomas of the truth of such a pretended resurrection. And so this vain attempt upon the baptism of Christ quickly sunk by its own absurdity.

Sect. 6. Thirdly, By the Elceseans.

A no less absurd innovation was made by the Elceseans, so called from their founder, one Elcesai, who taught them enchantments and invocation of demons, and to use baptisms[33] in the name or confession of the elements, or letters, as Theodoret represents them. Though what sort of baptism this was, is not very easy to conjecture, there being scarce any one besides Theodoret that gives any account of this heresy. But they were great admirers of astrology and magic, and upon that account perhaps might bring the elements into their baptism, by composition of certain letters and numbers used by them in their magical operations.

Sect. 7. Fourthly, By the Montanists and Sabellians.

The Montanists also, or Cataphrygians, introduced a new form of baptism. For Montanus, their founder, took upon him to be the Holy Ghost, and made himself two prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, who pretended to write books by inspiration. Therefore their followers, having them in great esteem, corrupted the old form of baptism, and administered it in the name of Father, Son, and Montanus, or Priscilla, as St. Basil acquaints us, who therefore judges their baptism to be null, and necessary to be repeated[34] when they came over to the catholic church. Theophylact[35] gives the same account of them, telling us, that their foul and stinking tongues baptized in the name of Montanus, and Priscilla, and Maximilla. By which he does not mean, that they used those three names instead of the Trinity, but that they added the name of Montanus, or Priscilla, or Maximilla, to the Father and Son, instead of the Holy Ghost. For which reason, most probably, the council of Laodicea[36] orders them to be rebaptized, notwithstanding that some of them had received a pretended ordination, and were advanced not only to the dignity of bishops, but to the title of patriarchs and *maximi* among them, as the council of Laodicea words it. And the same decree was made against them in the first general council of Constantinople,[37] and some others also. St. Jerom seems further to intimate, that these Montanists were, as to the doctrine of the Trinity, really Sabellians. For though they pretended to believe a Trinity of Divine persons, yet it was but equivocally, in the same way as Sabellius had done before, whose three persons were no more but three names, or different appearances of one and the same person. Therefore St. Jerom[38]

[28] Tertul. de Præscript. c. 46. Quicquid se Simon dixerat, hoc se Menander esse dicebat, negans habere posse quenquam salutem, nisi in nomine suo baptizatus fuisset.

[29] Iren. lib. 1. cap. 21.

[30] Epiphan. Hær. 22. *Ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν πεπέμφθαι εἰς σωτηρίαν δῆθεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ συνάγειν τινὰς εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μυστήριον*, &c.

[31] Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. 1. cap. 2. *Σωτῆρα ἑαυτὸν προσηγόρευσε.—Σώζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν βαπτιζομένους.*

[32] Tertul. de Anima, cap. 50. In hoc scilicet se a superna et arcana potestate legatum, ut immortales et incorruptibiles et statim resurrectionis compotes fiant, qui baptisma ejus induerint.—At ubi sunt illi quos Menander ipse perfudit, quos in Stygem suam mersit? Apostoli perennes veniant, assistant; videat illos meus Thomas, audiat, contrectet, et credat.

[33] Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. 2. c. 7. *Κέχρηνται βαπτίσμασιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμολογίᾳ.*

[34] Basil. Epist. can. 1. cap. 1.

[35] Theoph. in Luc. xxiv. p. 516.

[36] Conc. Laodic. can. 8.

[37] Conc. 1. Constant. can. 7.

[38] Hieron. Ep. 54. ad Marcellam adv. Montanum. Primum in fidei regula discrepamus. Nos Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum in sua unumquemque persona ponimus, licet substantia copulemus: illi Sabellii dogma sectantes, Trinitatem in unius personæ angustias cogunt.—— Aperta est convincenda blasphemia dicentium, Deum primum voluisse in Veteri Testamento per Moysem et prophetas salvare mundum: sed quia non potuerit explere, corpus sumpsisse de Virgine, et in Christo sub specie Filii prædicantem, mortem obiisse pro nobis. Et quia per duos gradus mundum salvare nequiverit, ad extremum per Spiritum Sanctum in Montanum, Priscillam et Maximillam insanas fœminas descendisse: et plenitudinem quam Paulus non habuerit—abscissum et semivirum habuisse Montanum.

says, The Montanists differed from the catholics in the very rule of faith. For we assert Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, every one distinct in his own person, though united in substance; but they, following the opinion of Sabellius, bring the Trinity to the narrow restraints of one person. That is, as he explains it a little after, they said, That God at first intended to save the world by Moses and the prophets; but because he could not effect his design that way, he assumed a body of the virgin, and preached in Christ under the species of a Son, and suffered death for our sakes. And because by these two degrees he could not save the world, at last he descended by the Holy Ghost into Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla; and made Montanus, who was a eunuch, and but half a man, have that plenitude of prophecy, which Paul himself could not pretend to have. From this account of St. Jerom, it is evident the Montanists in point of doctrine were really Sabellians, and believed but one person in the Godhead under different appearances, or manifestations of himself, which they called *πρόσωπα*, persons, in an equivocal sense, whereby they imposed upon many catholics, and among the rest upon Theodoret,[39] to make them believe them sound and orthodox men, when yet they asserted three persons in no other sense, than Simon Magus, and Praxeas, and Noetus, and Sabellius, and all the Patripassians had done before them. Now, it is very probable the Sabellians had introduced a new form of baptism, correspondent to their principles, for which reason all the councils that mention them order them to be rebaptized:[40] and the Montanists, following the doctrine of Sabellius, were liable to the same censure. So that upon all accounts it must be concluded, they had made innovations upon the form of baptism received in the catholic church.

Sect. 8. Fifthly, by the Marcosians.

Another very strange form was conceived by the Marcosians, or Marcites, so called from one Marcus, a sorcerer, who taught his disciples to baptize in the name of the unknown Father of all things;[41] in the name of truth, the mother of all things; and in Jesus, who descended (or, as Eusebius reads it,[42] in him who descended into Jesus) for the union, and redemption, and communion of the principalities or powers; or, in the union, and redemption, and communion of these powers. For it may be so understood, as if the names of these powers were taken into their form of baptism. But Irenæus, and Epiphanius from him, tell us, they had several forms of baptism, and some of them added certain hard Hebrew names to astonish their catechumens and converts, which the inquisitive reader may find in those writers. And some of them wholly rejected baptism as useless, because the mysteries of the ineffable and invisible power were not to be performed by visible and corruptible creatures, nor intellectual and incorporeal things by those that are sensible and corporeal: but the knowledge of the ineffable greatness was a perfect redemption. And in this they agreed with the Ascodrutæ, of whom we have spoken in the last chapter.

Sect. 9. Sixthly, by the Paulianists.

The Paulianists, or followers of Paulus Samosatensis, bishop of Antioch, who denied the Divinity of Christ, seem also to have been guilty of introducing a new form of baptism, though I do not remember any ancient writer, that tells us particularly what it was. But St. Austin concludes it must be so, because the council of Nice[43] made an order to receive them only by a new baptism into the church: which he takes to be an argument, that the Paulianists had not kept to the form or rule of baptism, which many other heretics, when they left the church, took along with them, and continued still to observe. Pope Innocent likewise[44] assigns this for the reason, why the council of Nice allowed the baptism of the Novatians, but not the Paulianists; because the Paulianists did not baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but the Novatians in their baptism always made use of those venerable names, as being, in point of the Divine power of the Holy Trinity, always asserters of the catholic faith.

Sect. 10. Seventhly, The Eunomians and others who baptized into the death of Christ.

Another sort of heretics there were, who instead of "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," used this form, "I baptize thee into the death of Christ." Among the Apostolical Canons, there is one that particularly reflects upon this as an unlawful practice:[45] If any bishop or presbyter use not three immersions in the celebration of baptism, but one only given in the death of Christ, let him be deposed.

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[39] Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. 3. cap. 2.

[48] Vid. Concil. Constantinop. 1. can. 7. Concil. Trull. can. 95.

[41] Theodor. Hæret. Fab. lib. 1. cap. 9. *Εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστου Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, εἰς ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα Ἰησοῦν, εἰς ἕνωσιν καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων.* So also in Irenæus, lib. 1. cap. 18. and in Epiphanius, Hæres. 34.

[42] Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 11, has it, *εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν.*

[43] Aug. de Hæres. cap. 44. Istos sane Paulianos baptizandos esse in ecclesia catholica Nicæno concilio constitutum est. Unde credendum est, eos regulam baptismatis non tenere, quam secum multi hæretici, cum de catholica discederent, abstulerunt, eamque custodiunt.

[44] Innocent. Ep. 22. ad Episcopos Macedon. cap. 5. Idcirco distinctum esse ipsis duabus hæresibus ratio manifesta declarat: quia Paulianistæ in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, minime baptizant: et Novatiani iisdem tremendis venerandisque nominibus baptizant, &c.

[45] Canon. Apost. c. 50. *Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος μὴ τρία βαπτίσματα μιᾶς μυήσεως ἐπιτελέσῃ, ἀλλὰ ἓν βάπτισμα, τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον, καθαιρείσθω,* &c.

For our Lord did not say, Baptize into my death; but, "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." St. Paul indeed sometimes speaks of being baptized into the death of Christ; but then, as Origen has rightly observed, this does not denote any new form of baptism; for no other form of baptism was ever thought lawful,[46] beside that which was given in the name of the Trinity, according to the command of Christ: and the apostle is not speaking of the manner of baptizing, but of Christ's death, and our conforming to it, as signified in baptism. Where it would not have been convenient to have said, As many of us as have been baptized in the name of the Father, or of the Holy Ghost, have been baptized into his death: and therefore the apostle in prudence omitted them in that place, because it was not proper to mention either Father or Holy Ghost, where he was speaking of death, which did not belong to them, but only to Christ incarnate. Notwithstanding this just observation of Origen's, Eunomius the Arian revived this irregular practice of those ancient heretics, and cast off the old form of baptism, to make way for others more agreeable to his damnable errors and opinions. For because he denied the Divinity of the Son and Holy Ghost, he would no longer use the trine immersion, nor baptize in the name of the Trinity, but only into the death of Christ, as Socrates[47] gives an account of his practice. Epiphanius[48] observes of the Anomœans, who were the peculiar followers of Eunomius, that they baptized also in another form, in the name of the uncreated God, and the name of the created God, and the name of the sanctifying Spirit, created by the created Son. And so stiff were they to this form of their own inventing, that they baptized not only the catholics, but all other sects, and even the Arians themselves who had been otherwise baptized before them. And Gregory Nyssen tells us from Eunomius his own books, that he perverted the law of Christ, the law or tradition of the Divine institution; and taught, that baptism was not to be given in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as Christ commanded his disciples when he first delivered the mystery, but[49] in the name of the Creator and Maker, and not Father only, but God of the only begotten. Upon which he charges him with adding to the word of God, and corrupting it, because no such words as Creator or Maker of the only begotten, or the Son's being a creature, or the servant of God, were to be found in the words of the first institution.

Sect. 11. Whether all the Arians were guilty of the same innovation.

But now this innovation was peculiar to the disciples of Eunomius, though Baronius[50] and some other learned men bring the charge against the Arians in general, upon the mistaken authority of Athanasius and St. Jerom. Athanasius says they baptized[51] in a Creator and a creature; and St. Jerom, that they believed in the Father, the only true God, in Jesus Christ, the Saviour[52] and a creature, and in the Holy Ghost, the servant of them both. But they do not say that the Arians used this form of baptism; but only that their baptism, though it was given in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was, in effect, no more than if it had been given in the name of a creature, because they believed the Son and Holy Ghost to be no more than creatures. The Arians corrupted the faith, but they still retained the catholic form of baptism, till Eunomius brought in another form among them. And that is the true reason why both the first general council of Constantinople,[53] and the council of Trullo,[54] ordered the Eunomians to be rebaptized, at the same time that they appointed the other Arians to be received by imposition of hands only, without a new baptism. And the second council of Arles made a like decree concerning the Bonosiaci, or followers of Bonosus, bishop of Sardica, who were a branch of the Arians, that because they retained baptism in the catholic form, as they there say the other Arians did,[55] therefore it should be sufficient, after the confession of a true faith, to receive them with chrism and imposition of hands, without a new baptism. Which is a demonstration, that neither the ancient Arians before Eunomius, nor the Bonosians after him, had made any alteration in this matter; but though they had corrupted the faith, yet they retained the ancient form of baptizing used in the catholic church. For had it been otherwise, there is no question to be made, but that (as Suicerus[56] out of Vossius[57] has rightly observed) the ancient councils would have rejected their baptism, as they did the Eunomians,

[46] Orig. Com. in Rom. vi. p. 540. Cum utique non habeatur legitimum baptisma nisi sub nomine Trinitatis, &c.

[47] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 24.

[48] Epiph. Hær. 76. Anomœan. p. 992.

[49] Nyssen. cont. Eunom. lib. 11. t. 2. p. 706. Μὴ εἰς Πατέρα τε καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα καθὼς ἐνετείλατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς παραδιδοὺς τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλ' εἰς δημιουργὸν καὶ κτίστην, καὶ οὐ μόνον Πατέρα τοῦ μονογενοῦς, ἀλλά τὸν Θεὸν.

[50] Baron. an. 325. n. 88.

[51] Athanas. Orat. 3. cont. Arian. t. 1. p. 413. Εἰς κτιστὴν καὶ κτίσμα, καὶ εἰς ποίημα καὶ ποιητήν.

[52] Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer. c. 4. Arrianus cum nihil aliud crediderit—nisi in Patre solo vero Deo, et in Jesu Christo salvatore creatura, et in Spiritu Sancto utriusque servo: quomodo Spiritum Sanctum ab ecclesia recipiet, qui necdum peccatorum remissionem consecutus est?

[53] Conc. Const. 1. can. 7. [54] Conc. Trull. can. 95.

[55] Conc. Arelat. 2. can. 17. Bonosiacos autem ex eodem errore venientes (quos, sicut Arianos, baptizari in Trinitate manifestum est) dum interrogati fidem nostram ex toto corde confessi fuerint, chrismate et manûs impositione in ecclesia recipi sufficit.

[56] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. t. 1. p. 638.

[57] Voss. de Bapt. Disp. 2. p. 54.

and ordered them to have been rebaptized upon their return to the catholic church. For the observation of the form of baptism was always esteemed so necessary a part of the institution, and so essential to the sacrament, that where it was wanting, the baptism was reputed an imperfect and void baptism, and to be repeated, by all the rules made against heretics in the catholic church.

Sect. 12. Whether any additions were made to the form of baptism in the catholic church.

There is one question more relating to the form of baptism, which it may not be improper to resolve in this place: that is, whether any additions were ever allowed to be made to the form of baptism in the catholic church? Some learned persons are of opinion, that such additions, when they were only by way of explication, and greater illustration, to confirm the truth against heretics, were used in the form of baptism, as well as in the creed. But I think Vossius, upon better grounds of reason and authority, more judiciously determines the contrary. Two authors are commonly alleged in favour of their assertion, viz. Justin Martyr and the author of the Constitutions, but neither of them comes fully up to the thing intended. For Justin Martyr, as Vossius observes,[58] is only giving a paraphrastical explication of the words used in baptism for the instruction of the heathens, to whom he is writing, when he tells them how the Christians baptized in the name of the Father of all things, who was Lord and God, and in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, and of the Holy Ghost. And the author of the Constitutions is yet more plain: for first of all, he tells every bishop and presbyter, that they ought to baptize[59] precisely in that form of words which our Lord enjoined us, when he said, "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things which I have commanded you." And then he goes on to explain the several names of the three persons concerned, viz. That the Father is the person who sent, Christ the person who came, and the Paraclete or Comforter the person who bears witness. So that this was plainly an explication or paraphrase of the form of baptism only, and not the very form that was then in use. Nor can it be made appear, that ever the catholic church varied from the form delivered by our Saviour, though Vossius thinks a form with such an orthodox addition would not destroy the essence of baptism, as those heretical forms certainly do which corrupt the truth of the catholic faith.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE SUBJECTS OF BAPTISM, OR AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT PERSONS WERE ANCIENTLY ALLOWED TO BE BAPTIZED. WHERE PARTICULARLY OF INFANT BAPTISM.

Sect. 1. Why the question about the administrators of baptism is here omitted.

Having spoken of the matter and form of baptism, I should now have considered the persons by whom this sacrament was anciently administered: but because I have lately had occasion to handle this subject fully in a scholastical way, in two distinct discourses,[1] it will be sufficient in this place to give this summary account of the matter. There I have showed, that bishops, as the apostles' successors, were the persons chiefly intrusted with this power; that they granted power to presbyters to baptize in ordinary cases; to deacons, sometimes in ordinary, and sometimes only in extraordinary cases; to laymen, only in extraordinary cases of extreme necessity: that the usurped baptism of laymen was allowed to be valid, so far as not to need repeating, though given irregularly; that the baptism of women was wholly prohibited; that the baptism of Jews and infidels was never allowed, though now accepted in the church of Rome; that the baptism of heretics and schismatics was disannulled by the Cyprianists, and some few others, who required a true faith, as well as a true form, to make a complete baptism; but that this opinion was rejected by the great body of the catholic church, who thought the defects of heretical baptism might be supplied by imposition of hands without rebaptizing; that yet it was agreed, both by the Cyprianists and all others whatsoever, that heretics and schismatics had not the power of priests, because some of them, as the Novatians, never had a just and legal call to the priesthood; and others were deprived of their power by the lawful authority of the church, which first committed that power to them; that thenceforward they were reputed, not true Christian priests, but wolves and antichrists, instead of true shepherds and governors of the flock of Christ; that the church had power, not only to suspend the execution of their office, but to cancel their commission, and wholly take away the power and authority of the priesthood from them, and then they were reduced to the state and condition of laymen; and sometimes they were not only degraded from the priesthood, but thrust down one degree below lay-

[58] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 107. Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, τὸ ἐν ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται.

[59] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. c. 22. Οὕτω βαπτίσεις, ὡς ὁ Κύριος διετάξατο ἡμῖν, λέγων, πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίσαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος——τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος Πατρὸς, τοῦ ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος Παρακλήτου.

[1] Scholastical History of Lay Baptism, 1st and 2nd part, 1712, and 1714.

men, by being anathematized and cast out of the communion of the church: and yet, notwithstanding all this, the church did not think fit to cancel or wholly disannul the baptisms given by such men, though given by usurpation and without any authority of the priesthood, so long as it appeared they were given in due form, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. All which things being abundantly proved in the two foresaid discourses, I think it not proper to repeat or insist any longer upon them; but shall now proceed, as the order of the discourse requires, to consider the persons on whom baptism was anciently conferred.

Sect. 2. Who were anciently reckoned the proper subjects of baptism. Where of the corrupt custom of baptizing inanimate things, as bells, in the Roman church.

And here, first of all, it is certain, that none but living persons, whether adult or infants, and that in their own personal capacity, were ever reckoned subjects capable of baptism in the primitive church. The ancients knew nothing of that profane custom of giving baptism to inanimate things, as bells and the like, by a superstitious consecration of them. The first notice we have of this is in the Capitulars of Charles the Great,[2] where it is only mentioned to be censured. But afterward it crept into the Roman offices by degrees, (as I have noted in another place[3] out of Baronius, Cardinal Bona, and Menardus,) till at last it grew to that superstitious height, as to be thought proper to be complained of in the Centum Gravamina of the German nation, drawn up in the public diet of the empire held at Norimberg, anno 1518, where (after having described the ceremony of baptizing a bell with godfathers, who make responses, as in baptism, and give it a name, and clothe it with a new garment, as Christians were used to be clothed, and all this to make it capable of driving away tempests and devils) they conclude[4] against it, as not only a superstitious practice, but contrary to the Christian religion, and a mere seduction of the simple people, and an exaction upon them. For which reason they declare, so wicked and unlawful a custom ought to be abolished. He that would see more of this, may consult Hospinian,[5] or Wolfius,[6] or Sleidan,[7] who describe the ceremony at large out of the old Romish Pontifical. For I must return to the primitive church.

Sect. 3. Baptism not to be given to the dead.

And here we meet with a practice a little more ancient, but not less superstitious, than the former; which was a custom that began to prevail among some weak people in Africa, of giving baptism to the dead. The third council of Carthage[8] speaks of it as a thing that ignorant Christians were a little fond of, and therefore gives a seasonable caution against it, to discourage the practice. And this is again repeated in the African Code.[9] Gregory Nazianzen[10] also takes notice of the same superstitious opinion prevailing among some who delayed to be baptized. In his address to this kind of men, he asks them whether they stayed to be baptized after death? And doubts upon this account whether to esteem them greater objects of pity or contempt. Philastrius also[11] notes it as the general error of the Montanists or Cataphrygians, that they baptized men after death. The practice seems to be grounded upon a vain opinion, that when men had neglected to receive baptism in their life-time, some compensation might be made for this default by receiving it after death. And for the same reason, they gave the eucharist also to the dead in the like circumstances, which is equally condemned in the forementioned African Canons, as proceeding from gross ignorance in some presbyters, and want of a due understanding of the true intent and meaning of those holy institutions; for whose information they order provincial councils to be held twice a year, that they might be better instructed.

Sect. 4. Nor to the living for the dead. Where of the apostle's meaning of being baptized for the dead, 1 Cor. xv. 29.

Another absurd practice prevailing among some of the ancient heretics, was a sort of vicarious baptism, which was, that when any one died without baptism, another was baptized in his stead. St. Chrysostom tells us[12] this was practised among the Marcionites with a great deal of ridiculous ceremony, which he thus describes: After any catechumen was dead, they hid a living man under the bed of the deceased; then coming to the dead man, they spake to him, and asked him whether he would receive baptism? And he making no answer, the other answered for him, and said, he would be baptized in his stead; and so they baptized the living for the dead, as if they were acting a comedy upon the stage, so great was the power of Satan in the minds of these vain men. Afterward, when any one challenged them upon this practice, they had the confidence to plead the apostle's authority for it, "Why are they then baptized for the dead?" Against which St. Chrysostom urges very well, That if this

[2] Capitular. Caroli Magni, cited by Durantus de Ritib. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 22. n. 2. Ut clocas non baptizent.

[3] See Book VIII. chap. 7. sect. 15.

[4] Centum Gravam. n. 51. in Fasciculo Rer. expetend. t. 1. p. 366. Quæ res non solum superstitiosa, sed etiam Christianæ religioni contraria, ac simpliciorum seductio, et mera est exactio.—Res igitur tam nefanda et illicita merito aboleri debet.

[5] Hospin. de Templis, lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 113.

[6] Wolfius, Lection. Memorabil. Centur. 16. an. 1550.

[7] Sleidan, Commentar. lib. 21. p. 388.

[8] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 6. Cavendum, ne mortuos baptizari posse fratrum infirmitas credat.

[9] Cod. Eccles. Afr. can. 18. Μὴ τοὺς ἤδη τελευτῶντας βαπτισθῆναι ποιήσῃ ἡ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἄγνοια.

[10] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 648. Ἢ καὶ σὺ μένεις νεκρὸς λουθῆναι; οὐ μᾶλλον ἐλεούμενος ἢ μισούμενος.

[11] Philastr. de Hæres. cap. 2. de Cataphry. Hi mortuos baptizant, &c.

[12] Chrys. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688.

were allowed, in vain had God threatened those that died unbaptized. For by this means, any Jew or Gentile might easily be made a Christian, by having another after his death baptized for him. Tertullian brings the same charge against the Marcionites,[13] comparing their practice to the heathen lustrations for the dead upon the kalends of February. But he tells them, they did but in vain allege the apostle's authority for this practice, as if he had argued from it for the truth and confirmation of the resurrection; for the apostle speaks but of one baptism, and that was of the living for themselves. He reflects upon the same practice in another place,[14] where he calls it the vicarious baptism, which some used in hopes of the resurrection. Suicerus thinks the Cerinthians were the first authors of this kind of baptism, and that indeed would carry it up to the apostles' time. But Epiphanius, on whose authority he depends, says no such thing, as from any certain proof, or his own judgment, but only that there was an uncertain tradition handed down to them, concerning some heretics in Asia in the apostles' days,[15] who, when any one died without baptism, substituted another in his room to be baptized for him, lest in the resurrection he should be punished for want of baptism, and be subjected to the powers which made the world. And the same tradition asserted, that the apostle hence took occasion to say, "If the dead rise not, why are they then baptized for the dead?" But Epiphanius wholly rejects this opinion, nor do we find any of the ancients so interpreting this passage of the apostle, except only the author under the name of St. Ambrose, who is clearly of opinion, that the apostle had respect to such a custom then in being, and thence drew an argument from the example[16] of those, who were so firmly persuaded of the truth of the future resurrection, that when any one among them was prevented by sudden death, they had another to be baptized in his name, fearing lest he should either not rise at all, or rise to condemnation. But St. Chrysostom gives a much more rational account of the apostle's argument; for he supposes him to refer to the catholic custom of making every catechumen at his baptism with his own mouth declare his belief of the resurrection of the dead, by repeating the creed, of which that was a part, and so being baptized into that faith, or hope of the resurrection of the dead. And therefore he puts them in mind of this, saying, If there be[17] no resurrection of the dead, why art thou then baptized for the dead, that is, the body? For therefore thou art baptized for the dead, believing the resurrection of the dead, that the body may not remain dead, but revive again. So that baptizing for the dead is an elliptical expression, for being baptized into the faith or belief of the resurrection of the dead. And so I think Tertullian[18] is to be understood, when he says, in opposition to the error of the Marcionites, that to be baptized for the dead is to be baptized for the body, which is declared to be dead by baptism: that is, we are baptized into the belief of the resurrection of the body, both whose death and resurrection are represented in baptism. And the interpretation of Epiphanius comes pretty near these, when he says[19] it refers to those who were baptized upon the approach of death in hopes of the resurrection from the dead; for they showed thereby that the dead should rise again, and that therefore they had need of the remission of sins, which is obtained in baptism. The same sense is given by Theodoret,[20] and Theophylact,[21] and Balsamon and Zonaras,[22] and Matthew Blastares,[23] among the Greeks; and it is embraced by Bishop Patrick,[24] and Dr. Hammond,[25] as the most natural and genuine exposition of this difficult passage of the apostle. Some indeed think it may refer to another custom, of baptizing over the monuments of the martyrs, who died for the faith in hopes of a future resurrection. But that custom was hardly ancient enough to be alluded to in the time of the apostles, though Vossius[26] and some other learned mean incline to this opinion. However it be, it is not likely the apostle would draw an argument from the absurd practice of the worst of heretics: therefore whatever interpretation be

[13] Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. 5. cap. 10. Viderit institutio ista, kalendæ si forte Februariæ respondebunt illi pro mortuis petere. Noli ergo apostolum novum statim auctorem aut confirmatorem eum denotare, ut tanto magis sisteret carnis resurrectionem, quanto illi qui vane pro mortuis baptizarentur, fide resurrectionis hoc facerent. Habemus illum alicubi unius baptismi definitorem.

[14] Tertul. de Resur. Carnis, cap. 48. Si autem et baptizantur quidam pro mortuis, videbimus an ratione. Certe illa præsumptione hoc eos instituisse contendit, qua alii etiam carni vicarium baptisma profuturum existimarent ad spem resurrectionis.

[15] Epiphan. Hæres. 28. Cerinthian. n. 6.

[16] Ambros. Com. in 1 Cor. xv. Exemplum eorum subjicit, qui tam securi erant de futura resurrectione, ut etiam pro mortuis baptizarentur. Si quem forte mors prævenisset, timentes, ne aut male, aut non resurgeret, qui baptizatus non fuerat, vivus nomine mortui tingebatur.

[17] Chrys. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 689. *Εἰ μὴ ἔστιν ἀνάστασις, τί καὶ βαπτίζῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν· τουτέστι, τῶν σωμάτων; καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτο βαπτίζῃ, τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος ἀνάστασιν πιστεύων, ὅτι οὐκέτι μένει νεκρόν.*

[18] Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. 5. cap. 10. Igitur et pro mortuis tingui, est pro corporibus tingui; mortuum enim corpus ostendimus.

[19] Epiphan. Hær. 28. n. 6.

[20] Theodor. Com. in 1 Cor. xv. 29.

[21] Theophyl. in eundem loc.

[22] Balsamon. in Can. 18. Conc. Carthag. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 1. p. 541.

[23] Blastar. Syntag. Canon. ibid. t. 2. p. 41.

[24] Patrick, Aqua Genitalis, p. 453.

[25] Hammond in 1 Cor. xv. 29.

[26] Voss. Thes. Theol. Disp. 15. p. 225.

thought most proper and worthy to be received, that is certainly to be rejected, together with the error of the Marcionites, who founded their vicarious baptism upon the authority of this apostolical passage, contrary to the sense and practice of the whole catholic church, which never allowed of baptism given to the living for the dead, or of any baptism but such as was given to men in their own persons.

Sect. 5. Proofs of infant baptism from the ancient records of the church.

Now, of persons who were reckoned capable of receiving baptism, there were two sorts, infants and adult persons. And infants were of two sorts, either such as were born of Christian parents, or such as were born of heathens, but by some providential means became the possession and property, as I may call it, of the Christian church; neither of which sort were excluded from baptism, when sufficient sponsors could be provided for them. This is so evident from the ancient records of the church, that it is to be wondered, how some learned persons could run into the contrary opinion, and offer reasons from antiquity, in prejudice of the church's constant practice. Mr. Wall, in his elaborate discourse[27] of Infant Baptism, has justly reflected upon abundance of these men, who, by their unwary concessions, have given too great advantage to the Anabaptists of this age. There are some others also, which he had not seen, who advance as unworthy notions of the ancient practice; for Salmasius, and Suicerus[28] out of him, deliver it as authentic history, that for the two first ages no one received baptism who was not first instructed in the faith and doctrine of Christ, so as to be able to answer for himself, that he believed, because of those words, "He that believeth and is baptized." Which, in effect, is to say, that no infant, for the two first ages, was ever admitted to Christian baptism. But afterwards they own pædo-baptism came in, upon the opinion, that baptism was necessary to salvation. Now, I shall not think myself obliged to be very prolix in refuting this opinion, together with the false supposition which is made the foundation of it, since that has so often and so substantially been done by Vossius,[29] Dr. Forbes,[30] Dr. Hammond,[31] Mr. Walker,[32] and especially Mr. Wall,[33] who has exactly considered the testimony and authority of almost every ancient writer that has said any thing upon this subject. But that no one who reads these collections may be wholly at a loss for want of other authors, I shall here subjoin a brief account of the most pertinent authorities that occur in the three first ages.

Sect. 6. From Clemens Romanus and Hermes Pastor.

The most ancient writer that we have is Clemens Romanus, who lived in the time of the apostles. And he, though he does not directly mention infant baptism, yet says a thing that by consequence proves it. For he makes infants liable to original sin, which in effect is to say, that they have need of baptism to purge them from it. For speaking of Job, he says, Though he was a just man, yet he[34] condemns himself, saying, There is none free from pollution, though his life be but of the length of one day. Now, if children be born in sin, they have need of a regeneration to make them capable of the kingdom of heaven. Hermas Pastor lived about the same time with Clemens, and has several passages to show the general necessity of water, that is, baptism, to save men. In one place he represents the church as a tower built on the waters, and says,[35] Hear, therefore, why the tower is built on the waters; because your life is saved, and shall be saved, by water. In another place, he makes water-baptism so necessary to all, that in a vision he represents the apostles as going after death[36] to baptize the holy spirits who lived under the Old Testament, that they might be translated into the kingdom of God. It was necessary, says he, for them to ascend by water, that they might be at rest; for they could not otherwise enter into the kingdom of God, than by putting off the mortality of their former life. They therefore, after they were dead, were sealed with the seal of the Son of God, and so entered into the kingdom of God. For before any one receives the name of the Son of God, he is liable to death; but when he receives that seal, he is delivered from death and is assigned to life. Now, that seal is water, into which men descend bound over unto death, but ascend out of it assigned unto life. For this reason the seal was also preached

[27] Wall, Hist. of Infant Baptism, part 2. chap. 2.

[28] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. t. 2. p. 1136. Primis duobus sæculis nemo baptismum accipiebat, nisi qui in fide instructus, et doctrina Christi imbutus, testari posset, se credere, propter illa verba, Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit.—— Postea opinio invaluit, Neminem salvari posse, nisi qui baptizatus fuisset.

[29] Voss. de Bapt. Disp. 14.

[30] Forbes, Instruct. Hist. Theol. lib. 10. cap. 5.

[31] Hammond, Def. of Infant. Bapt. chap. 4.

[32] Walker, Plea for Infant Baptism, chap. 27, &c.

[33] Wall, Hist. of Infant Baptism, part 1. chap. 1, &c.

[34] Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. n. 17. Αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορῶν λέγει, οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου, οὐδὲ εἰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ

[35] Hermas Pastor, lib. 1. Vision 3. cap. 3. Quare igitur super aquas ædificatur turris, audi. Quoniam vita vestra per aquam salva facta est et fiet.

[36] Id. lib. 3. Simil. 9. n. 16. Necesse est ut per aquam habeant ascendere, ut requiescant : non poterant enim aliter in regnum Dei intrare, quam ut deponerent mortalitatem prioris vitæ. Illi igitur defuncti sigillo Filii Dei signati sunt, et intraverunt in regnum Dei. Antequam enim accipiat homo nomen Filii Dei, morti destinatus est: at ubi accipit illud sigillum, liberatur a morte, et traditur vitæ. Illud autem sigillum aqua est, in quam descendunt homines morti obligati, ascendunt vero vitæ assignati. Et illis igitur prædicatum est illud sigillum, et usi sunt eo, ut intrarent in regnum Dei.

unto them, and they made use of it, that they might enter into the kingdom of God. The plain design of this place, is to represent the necessity of baptism, without which none can ordinarily enter into the kingdom of God. And it cannot be doubted, that he who thought it so necessary even for the patriarchs, who died before the coming of Christ, must think it equally necessary to all those who lived under the dispensation of the gospel. Though whether the baptism here mentioned be to be understood in a literal and corporeal sense, or only in a metaphorical or mystical way, as a vision or a parable may require, is what may admit of some dispute. And therefore Cotelerius[37] gives his opinion for the latter sense, concluding, that forasmuch as washing in water properly belongs to bodies, and not to spirits, our author is necessarily to be understood of metaphorical and mystical baptism, that is, the spiritual effects of it, the good things which are conferred by God in baptism, the chief of which is a title to eternal life, which the patriarchs after death are supposed to be made partakers of, by believing the word of the gospel then preached to them. This was that spiritual water, in which departed souls were baptized, as the bodies of the living are baptized in common water; from the analogy of which we must needs conclude the necessity of water-baptism for all those who are in a capacity to receive it, that is, for all those who are yet in the body, in order to be made partakers of eternal life. God indeed may, if he pleases, give the baptism of the Spirit, and the baptism of faith, which is the baptism of the word, without it: and so some of the ancients suppose the apostles to be baptized without water, from that saying of our Saviour, "Now ye are clean, through the word which I have spoken unto you;" so Tertullian[38] and others: (though the more general opinion[39] is, that they were baptized by Christ himself:) in like manner God might dispense with the want of water-baptism in cases extraordinary, and supply this want either by martyrdom, or faith and repentance, in such cases where it could not be had; as I have showed (in the last Book) the general consent of the ancients[40] upon this matter to be; but yet in all ordinary cases where water-baptism might be had, they concluded as generally for the necessity of it, from that assertion of our Saviour, "Except one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." This was not only a doctrine of the third or fourth ages, as Salmasius and Suicerus represent, but the doctrine of the very first ages immediately succeeding the apostles; for, we see, Hermes Pastor, who lived in the apostolical age, founds the general necessity of baptism upon that very saying of our Saviour. And therefore they who represent this doctrine of the necessity of baptism as a novelty or an error, first introduced into the church in the age of St. Austin against the Pelagian heretics, do manifest wrong both to the doctrine itself, and to St. Austin, and to the ancients, who embraced and delivered the same before him. And it gives an unnecessary advantage to the anti-pædobaptists, which a right understanding of this matter absolutely takes from them. I thought it therefore of some use to observe this against Salmasius and Suicerus, and to add it to the observations which Mr. Wall has made upon Hermes Pastor.

Sect. 7. From Justin Martyr.

Another ancient writer, who lived within the compass of the second century, was Justin Martyr, who very plainly speaks of infant baptism as used from the time of the apostles. For in one of his Apologies he takes occasion to say,[41] There were among Christians in his time many persons of both sexes, some sixty, and some seventy years old, who had been made disciples to Christ from their infancy, and continued virgins or uncorrupted all their lives. Now, Justin wrote this Apology about the year 148, in the middle of the second century, and therefore those whom he speaks of as baptized sixty or seventy years before in their infancy, must be persons baptized in the first age, while some of the apostles were living. In another place of the same Apology[42] he urges these words of our Saviour, John iii. 35, "Except ye be" regenerated, or "born again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven," to prove the necessity of baptism. And in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, he speaks of the whole progeny of Adam as liable to death[43] and the deception of the serpent by reason of Adam's sin, beside the particular guilt which each man contracts by actual sin in his own person. Now, if all mankind be born with original sin, this extends to infants, who have need of regeneration or baptism to free them from it. And this assertion in Justin by consequence proves the necessity of baptism for infants, as well as others, that they may have redemption from original sin. In another place of the same Dialogue he makes baptism parallel to circum-

[37] Coteler. in loc. p. 117. Quandoquidem lavatio corporibus competit, non animis, noster necessario intelligit baptismum metaphoricum et mysticum, bona videlicet quæ in baptismate a Deo conceduntur.

[38] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 12.

[39] Vid. Augustin. Ep. 108. Anonymus auctor de non iterando Baptismo, ad calcem Cypriani, p. 23. Edit. Oxon. It. Clem. Alex. Hypotypos. lib. 5. ap. Johan. Moschum Prat. Spiritual. cap. 176.

[40] See Book X. chap. 2. sect. 20.

[41] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 62. Καὶ πολλοί τινες καὶ πολλαὶ ἑξηκοντοῦται καὶ ἑβδομηκοντοῦται, οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄφθοροι διαμένουσι.

[42] Ibid. p. 94.

[43] Justin. Dial. c. Tryph. p. 315. Τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ θάνατον καὶ πλάνην τοῦ Ὄφεως ἐπεπτώκει, παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αἰτίαν ἑκάστου αὐτῶν πονηρευσαμένου.

cision, saying,[44] We have not received that carnal circumcision, but the spiritual circumcision, which Enoch and those like him observed. And we have received it by baptism, through the mercy of God, because we were sinners; and it is incumbent on all persons to receive it in the same way. Now, if baptism be answerable to circumcision, and succeed in its room, and be necessary to be received as the means to obtain the true circumcision of the Spirit; then as infants were admitted to circumcision, so they were to be admitted to baptism, that being the ordinary means of applying the mercy of the gospel to them, and cleansing them from the guilt of original sin.

Sect. 8. And the author of the Recognitions, contemporary with Justin Martyr.

Next after Justin Martyr, I subjoin the ancient author of the book called, The Recognitions, or Travels of St. Peter; because, though it be not the genuine work of Clemens Romanus, whose name it borrowed, yet it is an ancient writing of the same age with Justin Martyr, mentioned by Origen in his Philocalia, and by some ascribed to Bardesanes Syrus, who lived about the middle of the second century. This author speaks of the necessity of baptism in the very same style as Justin Martyr did, making it universally necessary to purge away original sin, and to qualify men for the kingdom of heaven. For putting an objection by way of question, What does baptism by water[45] contribute toward the worship of God? He answers, 1st, That it is fulfilling that which is the will and pleasure of God. Then, 2ndly, The man that is regenerated by water, and born again to God, is thereby freed from the weakness of his first nativity, which comes to him by man: and so he is made capable of salvation, which he could not otherwise obtain. For so the true Prophet (meaning Christ) has testified with an oath, saying, "Verily, I say unto you, except one be born again of water, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." This author indeed does not speak particularly of the baptism of infants, but his reasons are such, as show his discourse to extend to them. For if baptism be necessary upon these two accounts, first to cut off concupiscence, or original sin, which is the infirmity of our first birth; and then to qualify us to enter into the kingdom of God; these are general reasons for baptism, which make it necessary for infants as well as any other, since, according to this author, they are born in original sin, and cannot enter into the kingdom of God, till that sin be purged away by the waters of baptism. Here, then, we have another author within the compass of the two first ages, directly confronting that assertion of Salmasius and Suicerus, that the doctrine of the necessity of baptism to salvation, was not the doctrine of the two first ages, but only an opinion taken up afterwards, upon which foundation the practice of infant baptism was introduced into the church. For no one can, or ever did, declare himself plainer for the necessity of baptism to salvation, than this author does, from the words of our Saviour Christ, which he interprets as all the ancients both before and after him did, of the ordinary necessity of water-baptism to salvation. So that if infant baptism was founded, as Salmasius pleads, upon the opinion of the necessity of baptism to salvation; this author must be an asserter of infant baptism, because he was undeniably an asserter of the general necessity of baptism to salvation. I have the rather insisted a little upon this author's meaning, because I know not whether his testimony has been produced before in this cause by any other.

Sect. 9. And Irenæus.

Not long after the time of Justin Martyr and the author last mentioned, lived Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who, as Mr. Dodwell evidently shows,[46] and Dr. Cave from him,[47] was born in the latter end of the first century, about the year 97, and was a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John. About the year 176, he wrote his book against heresies, being then near eighty years old, and died not many years after. So that he must needs be a competent witness of the church's sense and practice upon this point during the second century. Now, there are three things relating to this matter, which appear very evident from him. 1. That the church then believed the doctrine of original sin. 2. That the ordinary means of purging away this sin, was baptism. 3. That children, as well as others, were then actually baptized to obtain remission of sins, and apply the redemption of Christ to them. For the doctrine of original sin; he sometimes calls it the sin[48] of our first parents, which was done away in Christ, by his loosing the bonds wherein we were held and bound over unto death: the sin whereby we offended God[49] in the

[44] Just. Dial. p. 261. Οὐ ταύτην τὴν κατὰ σάρκα παρελάβομεν περιτομὴν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, ἣν Ἐνὼχ καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι ἐφύλαξαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτὴν, ἐπειδὴ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐγεγόνειμεν, διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλάβομεν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐφετὸν ὁμοίως λαμβάνειν.

[45] Recognition. lib. 6. n. 9. p. 551. ap. Coteler. t. 1. Quid confert aquæ baptismus ad Dei cultum? Primo quidem, quia quod Deo placuit impletur; secundo, quia regenerato ex aquis, et Deo renato, fragilitas prioris nativitatis, quæ tibi per hominem facta est, amputatur; et ita demum pervenire poteris ad salutem: aliter vero impossibile est. Sic enim nobis cum sacramento verus propheta testatus est, dicens: Amen dico vobis, nisi quis denuo renatus fuerit ex aqua, non intrabit in regnum cœlorum. This is repeated in the Greek Clementines, Hom. 11. n. 26. p. 698.

[46] Dodw. Dissert. in Iren. [47] Cave, Hist. Lit. vol. i. p. 41.

[48] Irenæ. lib. 5. c. 19. Protoplasti peccatum per correptionem primogeniti emendationem accipiens.—Vinculis illis resolutis, per quæ alligati eramus morti.

[49] Id. lib. 5. cap. 16. Deum in primo quidem Adam offendimus, non facientes ejus præceptum, in secundo autem Adam reconciliati sumus, obedientes usque ad mortem facti.

first Adam, by disobeying his command; but were reconciled to God in the second Adam, by obedience unto death. So that infants, as well as others, were under the guilt of this sin, and had need of a Redeemer with the rest of mankind, to deliver them from it. Now, the ordinary way of being freed from this original guilt, he says, is baptism, which is our regeneration,[50] or new birth unto God. And this he expressly affirms to be administered to children as well as adult persons. For, says he, Christ[51] came to save all persons by himself; all, I say, who by him are regenerated unto God; infants, and little ones, and children, and youths, and elder persons. Therefore he went through the several ages, being made an infant for infants, that he might sanctify infants; and for little ones he was made a little one, to sanctify them of that age also. No art can elude this passage, so long as it is owned that regeneration means baptism. And for this we have the explication of Irenæus himself, who calls baptism by the name of regeneration; and so all the ancients commonly do, as Suicerus (against whom I am now disputing) scruples not to own, alleging Justin Martyr,[52] Chrysostom, and Gregory Nyssen, to this purpose. Which fully evinces infant baptism in the age of Irenæus, that is, in the second century, to have been the common practice of the church.

Sect. 10. And Tertullian. In the latter end of the second century, and beginning of the third, lived Tertullian, presbyter of the church of Carthage, who, though he had some singular notions about this matter, yet he sufficiently testifies the church's practice. In his own private opinion he was for deferring the baptism of infants, especially where there was no danger of death, till they came to years of discretion: but he so argues for this, as to show us that the practice of the church was otherwise. For, says he, according to every one's condition and disposition,[53] and also their age, the delaying of baptism is more advantageous, especially in the case of little children. For what need is there that the godfathers should be brought into danger? Because they may either fail of their promises by death, or they may be deceived by a child's proving of wicked disposition. Our Lord says, indeed, "Do not forbid them to come unto me." Let them come therefore when they are grown up: let them come when they can learn; when they can be taught whither it is they come: let them be made Christians when they can know Christ. What need their innocent age make such haste to the forgiveness of sins? Men proceed more cautiously in worldly things: and he that is not trusted with earthly goods, shall he be trusted with Divine? Let them know how to ask salvation, that you may appear to give it to one that asketh. For no less reason unmarried persons ought to be delayed, because they are exposed to temptations, as well virgins that are come to maturity, as those that are in widowhood by the loss of a consort, until they either marry or be confirmed in continence. The way of Tertullian's arguing upon this point, shows plainly that he was for introducing a new practice; that therefore it was the custom of the church in his time to give baptism to infants, as well as adult persons: and his arguments tend not only to exclude infants, but all persons that are unmarried or in widowhood, for fear of temptation. Which are rules that no one beside himself ever thought of, much less were they confirmed by any church's practice. But even this advice of Tertullian, as singular as it was, seems only calculated for cases where there was no danger or apprehensions of death: for otherwise he pleads as much for the necessity of baptism as any other, both from those words of our Saviour,[54] "Except one be born again of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven;" as also from the general corruption of original sin, which renders every son of Adam unclean till he be made a Christian: which is only done in baptism; for men are not born Christians, but made so. And therefore, in case of necessity, he thought every Christian had power to give baptism, rather than any person should die without it. Which seems to imply, that his opinion for delaying baptism, whether of infants or others, respected only such cases where there was no danger of death: but even in those cases the practice of the church was otherwise, for she baptized infants as soon as they were born, though without any imminent danger of death, as appears from Tertullian's discourse itself, who laboured to make

[50] Irenæ. lib. 1. cap. 18. *Τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως*, &c.

[51] Id. lib. 2. cap. 39. Omnes venit per semetipsum salvare: omnes inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum; infantes, et parvulos, et pueros, et juvenes, et seniores. Ideo per omnem venit ætatem, et infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes: in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes ætatem, &c.

[52] Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce *'Αναγέννησις*, t. 1. p. 243.

[53] Tertul. de Baptismo, c. 18. Pro cujusque personæ conditione ac dispositione, etiam ætate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est, præcipue tamen circa parvulos. Quid enim necesse est sponsores etiam periculo ingeri? Quia et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possint, et proventu malæ indolis falli. Ait quidem Dominus, Nolite illos prohibere ad me venire. Veniant ergo dum adolescunt, veniant dum discunt, dum quo veniunt docentur: fiant Christiani, dum Christum nosse potuerint. Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum? Cautius agetur in sæcularibus; ut cui substantia terrena non creditur, Divina credatur. Nôrint petere salutem, ut petenti dedisse videaris. Non minori de causa innupti quoque procrastinandi, in quibus tentatio præparata est: tam virginibus per maturitatem, quam viduis per vacationem, donec aut nubant, aut continentia corroborentur.

[54] Tertul. de Anima, cap. 40. De Bapt. cap. 13.

an innovation, but without any success; for the same practice continued in the church in the following ages.

Sect. 11. And Origen. Origen lived in the beginning of the third century, and nothing can be plainer than the testimonies alleged from him. In one place he says, Every one is born in original sin; which he thus proves from the words of David, saying, "I was conceived in iniquity, and in sin[53] did my mother bear me;" showing, that every soul that is born in the flesh, is polluted with the filth of sin and iniquity: and that therefore it was said, as we mentioned before, that none is clean from pollution, though his life be but of the length of one day. Besides all this, it may be inquired, what is the reason, why the baptism of the church, which is given for remission of sins, is by the custom of the church given to infants also? Whereas if there were nothing in infants that wanted remission and indulgence, the grace of baptism might seem needless to them. In another place[54] he says, Infants are baptized for the forgiveness of sins. Of what sins? or when did they commit them? Or how can any reason be given for baptizing them, but only according to that sense which we mentioned a little before; None is free from pollution, though his life be but the length of one day upon the earth? And for that reason infants are baptized, because by the sacrament of baptism the pollution of our birth is taken away; and, "Except one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." Where he not only makes infant baptism the practice of the church, but derives it from Divine institution. As he does in another place[55] from apostolical tradition; for he affirms, that the church received the order of baptizing infants from the apostles. For they to whom the Divine mysteries were committed, knew that there is in all persons the natural pollution of sin, which must be washed away by water and the Spirit: by reason of which the body itself is also called the body of sin.

Sect. 12. And Cyprian, with the council of Carthage under him. In the middle of this age lived St. Cyprian, in whose time there was a question moved concerning the day on which infants ought to be baptized. For one Fidus an African bishop had sent a query to him upon this case, whether infants were to be baptized, if need required, as soon as they were born, or not till the eighth day, according to the rule given in the case of circumcision? To this question St. Cyprian and a council of sixty-six bishops returned this synodical answer: As to the case of infants, whereas you judge[56] that they ought not to be baptized within two or three days after they are born; and that the rule of circumcision should be observed, so that none should be baptized and sanctified before the eighth day after he is born; we were all in our council of the contrary opinion. It was our unanimous resolution and judgment, that the mercy and grace of God is to be denied to none as soon as he is born. For if the greatest offenders, and they that have sinned most grievously against God before, have afterward, when they come to believe, forgiveness of their sins; and no person is kept off from baptism and grace; how much less reason is there to prohibit an infant, who being newly born has no other sin, save that, being descended from Adam according to the flesh, he has from his birth contracted the contagion of the death anciently threatened! Who comes for that reason more easily to receive forgiveness of sins, because they are not his own, but other men's sins, that are forgiven him. Here we have both the practice of the church, and the reason of it together; infants were baptized, because they were born in original sin, and needed

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[53] Orig. Hom. 8. in Levit. t. 1. p. 145. Audi David dicentem, In iniquitatibus, inquit, conceptus sum, et in peccatis peperit me mater mea: ostendens, quod quæcunque anima in carne nascatur, iniquitatis et peccati sorde polluitur: et propterea dictum esse illud, quod jam superius memoravimus; quia nemo mundus a sorde, nec si unius diei fuerit vita ejus. Addi his etiam illud potest, ut requiratur quid causæ sit, cum baptisma ecclesiæ in remissionem peccatorum detur, secundum ecclesiæ observantiam etiam parvulis baptismum dari? Cum utique si nihil esset in parvulis quod ad remissionem deberet et indulgentiam pertinere, gratia baptismi superflua videretur.

[54] Orig. in Luc. Hom. 14. t. 2. p. 223. Parvuli baptizantur in remissionem peccatorum. Quorum peccatorum? Vel quo tempore peccaverunt? Aut quomodo potest ulla lavacri in parvulis ratio subsistere, nisi juxta illum sensum de quo paulo ante diximus, Nullus mundus a sorde, nec si unius diei quidem fuerit vita ejus super terram. Et quia per baptismi sacramentum nativitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur et parvuli. Nisi enim quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest intrare in regnum cœlorum.

[55] Id. in Rom. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 543. Ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem suscepit etiam parvulis baptismum dare. Sciebant enim illi quibus mysteriorum secreta commissa sunt Divinorum, quia essent in omnibus genuinæ sordes peccati, quæ per aquam et Spiritum ablui deberent: propter quas etiam corpus ipsum corpus peccati nominatur.

[56] Cypr. Ep. 59. al. 64. ad Fidum, p. 158. Quantum vero ad causam infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem, quo nati sunt, constitutos, baptizari non oportere, et considerandam esse legem circumcisionis antiquæ, ut intra octavum diem eum qui natus est baptizandum et sanctificandum non putares: longe aliud in concilio nostro omnibus visum est.—Universi potius judicavimus, nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegandam. ——Porro autem si etiam gravissimis delictoribus et in Deum multum ante peccantibus, cum postea crediderint, remissa peccatorum datur; et a baptismo atque a gratia nemo prohibetur; quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus, contagium mortis antiquæ prima nativitate contraxit? Qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria, sed aliena peccata.

baptism to cleanse them from the guilt and pollution of it. To this we may add another place of Cyprian, where describing the great wickedness of those that lapsed in time of persecution, he thus aggravates their crime: That nothing might be wanting[57] to fill up the measure of their wickedness, their little infants were either led or carried in their parents' arms, and lost that which they had obtained at their first coming into the world, meaning the benefits of their baptism. And therefore he brings them in thus pleading against their parents in an elegant strain at the day of judgment: This was no fault of ours, we did not of our own accord forsake the meat and cup of the Lord, to run and partake of those profane pollutions: it was the unfaithfulness of others that ruined us, we had our parents for our murderers; they denied us God for our Father, and the church for our mother; for whilst we were little, and unable to take care of ourselves, and ignorant of so great a wickedness, we were insnared by the treachery of others, and by them drawn into a partnership of their impieties. Here we may observe, that children were made partakers of the eucharist (which Cyprian calls the meat and drink of the Lord); and this is evident from other passages in the same author: which is a further evidence for the practice of infant baptism; for it is certain that none but baptized persons were ordinarily allowed to partake of the eucharist at the Lord's table. I think it needless to clog this discourse with any more authorities from the council of Eliberis, Optatus, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Paulinus, the councils of Carthage, St. Austin, or St. Jerom, or other writers of the fourth age, which the reader may find collected together by Mr. Wall, with suitable observations on them. It is sufficient to my design, against Salmasius and Suicerus, to have proved that infant baptism was not owing to any new doctrine begun in the third century, but was derived from more ancient principles, and handed down through the two first ages from apostolical practice.

Sect. 13. Infant baptism not to be delayed to the eighth day, after the example of circumcision; nor till three years, as Gregory Nazianzen would have had it.

I shall now proceed to remark a few other things relating to the baptism of infants, among those who allowed them to be capable of it from their birth. Some there were in the African church, as we have heard out of the last-mentioned citations from Cyprian, who were strictly for confining baptism to the eighth day, because such was the rule in the case of circumcision. But Cyprian and the council of Carthage answer all the arguments that were brought in favour of this novelty, which seems only to have been a question in theory, and scarce ever reduced to practice. The abettors of it pleaded, that an infant in the first days after its birth is unclean, so that any one of us abhors to kiss it. To which Cyprian answers, We judge not[58] this to be any reason to hinder the giving to it the heavenly grace; for it is written, "To the clean all things are clean:" nor ought any of us to abhor that which God has vouchsafed to make. To the other pretence, that the eighth day was observed in the Jewish circumcision, he answers, That this was only a type going before, a shadow and resemblance, but upon Christ's coming it was fulfilled in the substance; for, because the eighth day, that is, the next to the sabbath day, was to be the day on which the Lord was to rise from the dead, and quicken us, and give us the spiritual circumcision; this eighth day, that is, the next day to the sabbath, or Lord's day, was signified in the type before, which type ceased when the substance came, and the spiritual circumcision was given to us. So that we judge that no person is to be hindered from obtaining the grace, by the law that is now appointed; and that the spiritual circumcision ought not to be restrained by the circumcision that was according to the flesh: but that all are to be admitted to the grace of Christ; forasmuch as Peter says in the Acts of the Apostles, "The Lord hath showed me, that no person is to be called common or unclean." This is the only place where ever we read that this question was made; and after the resolution here given, we never find that it was proposed again. So that this circumstance of time seems never to have prevailed in the practice of the church. Gregory Nazianzen had also a singular opinion in relation to the time of baptizing children when there was no danger of death. For in that case, he thought it better to defer it till they were about three years old; but in case of danger, to give it immediately after they were born, for fear they should die unbaptized. His words are these: What say you[59] to those that are as yet infants, and are not in a capacity to be sensible either of the grace, or of the loss of it? Shall we baptize them too? Yes, by all means, if any danger so require it. For it is better that they should be sanctified without their own sense of it, than that they should die unsealed and uninitiated. And the ground of this is circumcision, which was given on the eighth day, and was a typical seal, and was given to those who had not the use of reason: as also the anointing of the door-posts, which preserved the firstborn by things that have no sense. As for others, I give my opinion, that they should stay three years, or thereabouts, till they can hear the mystical words, and make answers to them; and though they do not perfectly understand them, yet they can then

[57] Cypr. de Lapsis, p. 125. Ac nequid deesset ad criminis cumulum, infantes quoque parentum manibus vel impositi vel attracti, amiserunt parvuli, quod in primo statim nativitatis exordio fuerant consecuti, &c.

[58] Cypr. Ep. 59. al. 64. ad Fidum, p. 160.

[59] Naz. Orat. 40. de Baptismo, t. 1. p. 658.

frame to speak them: and then you may sanctify them in soul and body with the great sacrament of initiation. But this was a singular opinion of Nazianzen, taken up upon some particular reasons, which the church never assented to: and therefore I join this with that other of Fidus the African, as peculiar fancies of private men, which never gained any esteem or credit in the public and avowed practice of the church.

Sect. 14. Yet in some churches it was deferred to the time of an approaching festival.

Yet in some churches a custom had prevailed to defer the baptism of infants, as well as adult persons, where there was no apparent danger of death, to the time of some of the more eminent and noted festivals, which were more peculiarly designed and set apart for the solemn administration of baptism. Socrates says,[60] in Thessaly they only baptized at Easter: upon which account a great many in those parts died without baptism. He does not say expressly, that this was the case of children; but there are some reasons to incline one to believe, that it related to them as well as others. For both in the French and Spanish councils there are canons which order the baptism of children to be administered only at Easter, except in case of necessity and imminent danger of death. In the council of Auxerre[61] it was decreed for the French churches, That no children should be baptized at any other time save on the solemn festival of Easter, except such as were near death, whom they called *grabatarii*, because they were baptized on a sick bed. And if any one contumaciously in contempt of this decree offered their children to baptism in any of their churches, they should not be received. And if any presbyter presumed to receive them against this order, he should be suspended three months from the communion of the church. The second council of Bracara[62] also speaks of the like practice in the Spanish churches, ordering that in the middle of Lent, such infants as were to be baptized at Easter, should be presented twenty days before to undergo the purgation, or preparation of exorcism. St. Austin also speaks of children, infants,[63] little ones, sucklings hanging on their mothers' breasts, coming at Easter to be baptized among adult persons; whence Palm-Sunday, or the Sunday before Easter, had the name of *Octavæ Infantium*, the Octave of Infants, upon their account. St. Ambrose also[64] speaks of great numbers of infants coming at Easter to be baptized: This, says he, is the Paschal gift: pious fathers and holy mothers bring their new-born progeny in great multitudes by faith to the holy font, from whose womb being regenerated under the tree of faith, they shine with the innocent ornament of lights and tapers. These are abundant proofs, that though in cases of extremity children might receive baptism at any time, yet in other cases, where there was no visible appearance or danger of death, their baptism in many places was deferred till the Easter festival, as well as that of adult persons.

Sect. 15. A resolution of some questions. Whether children might be baptized, when only one parent was Christian?

Whilst I am upon the subject of infant baptism, it will not be improper to resolve certain cases and questions, that may be put concerning it, so far as they are capable of being resolved from the practice of the church, or judgment of the ancient writers. One is concerning such children who had only one parent Christian, and the other a Jew or a heathen: these were reckoned capable of baptism upon the right of one parent being Christian. For so it was resolved in the fourth council of Toledo,[65] in the case of such women as had Jews for their husbands, that the children that were born of them should follow the faith and condition of the mother: and so on the other hand, they who had unbelieving mothers, and believing fathers, should follow the Christian religion, and not the Jewish superstition.

Sect. 16. Whether the children of excommunicated parents might be baptized.

Another case was concerning the children whose parents were under excommunication and the church's censures. St. Austin had occasion to consider this case upon the account of one Auxilius, a young bishop, who in a fit of ungoverned zeal had rashly excommunicated one Classicianus, and together with him, laid his whole family under an anathema and interdict. Which was a practice that, however some later popes have dealt much in, the ancients were not acquainted with. He also

[60] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. 'Εν ταῖς ἡμέραις τȣ̃ Πάσχα μόνον ϐαπτίζȣσι· διὸ σφόδρα πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ λοιποὶ μὴ ϐαπτισθέντες ἀποθνήσκȣσι.

[61] Conc. Antissiodor. can. 18. Non licet absque Paschæ solennitate ullo tempore baptizare, nisi illos quibus mors vicina est, quos grabatarios dicunt. Quod si quis in alio pago, contumacia faciente, post interdictum hoc infantes suos ad baptismum detulerit in ecclesias nostras, non recipiantur. Et quicunque presbyter ipsos extra nostrum præceptum recipere præsumpserit, tribus mensibus a communione ecclesiæ sequestratus sit.

[62] Conc. Bracar. 2. can. 9. Mediante Quadragesima, ex viginti diebus baptizandos infantes, ad exorcismi purgationem offerre præcipiant. Vid. Conc. Matiscon. 2. can. 3.

[63] Aug. Serm. 160. de Tempore, t. 10. p. 331. Hodie octavæ dicuntur infantium.—Illi pueri, infantes, parvuli, lactantes, maternis uberibus inhærentes, et quantum in eos gratiæ referatur nescientes, ut ipsi videtis, quia infantes vocantur, et ipsi habent octavas hodie. Et isti senes, juvenes, adolescentuli, omnes infantes, &c.

[64] Ambros. de Mysterio Paschæ, cap. 5. Hoc Paschæ donum.—Hinc casti patres, pudicæ etiam matres, novellam per fidem stirpem prosequuntur innumeram. Hinc sub fidei arbore ab utero fontis innocui cereorum splendet ornatus, &c.

[65] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 63. Filii autem qui ex talibus (Judæis) nati existunt, fidem atque conditionem matris sequantur. Similiter et hi qui procreati sunt de infidelibus mulieribus, et fidelibus viris, Christianam religionem sequantur, non Judaicam superstitionem.

seems to have forbidden any children to be baptized, who were born in the family during this interdict. Upon which St. Austin took occasion to write to him, and expostulate with him upon the reasons of these proceedings, desiring to be informed[66] upon what grounds and authority of reason or testimony of Scripture he could confirm his opinion; by what right a son was to be anathematized for the father's crime, or a wife for her husband's, or a servant for his master's; or a child not yet born, if he happened to be born in the house whilst it lay under such an interdict, why it should not have the benefit of the laver of regeneration in danger of death. In corporal punishments, he owns, sometimes it was otherwise: for God thought fit to punish some despisers, with their whole families, though they were not accessory to the contemner's crimes, that by the death of mortal bodies, which must otherwise have shortly died, he might strike terror into the living: but he never dealt thus in spiritual punishments, which affect the soul; but "the soul that sinneth, it shall die." And therefore St. Austin for his own part declares, he never durst use excommunication to this purpose, though he was never so highly provoked by the most villanous actions of any men against the church; because if any one should ask him a reason of such his practice, and oblige him to show the justice of his proceeding, he freely owns, he could find nothing to answer him. Whence, I think, we may fairly conclude, that the excommunication of a parent did not deprive the child of his right to baptism: and though there were some who made a stretch upon church power in this case, yet their actions were so far from being generally approved, or authorized by any rule, that they were rather thought to deserve a censure. The reader that would know how the Reformed churches have resolved this same case, about the admission of the children of excommunicated persons to baptism, may consult another discourse[67] which I have formerly had occasion to write in defence of the church, where this case is more particularly considered and resolved upon the principles and practice of some of the most eminent churches of the Reformation.

Sect. 17. Whether exposed children, whose parents were unknown, might be baptized.

Another question, sometimes agitated in the primitive church, was concerning such children who were either exposed, or redeemed from the barbarians, whose parents were unknown, and consequently it was utterly uncertain whether they were ever baptized or not. This was a case that often happened in Africa, where the Christians bordered upon several barbarous nations; and it was thus resolved upon a consultation in one of the councils of Carthage: That all such infants[68] as had no certain witnesses to testify that they were baptized, neither could they testify for themselves, by reason of their age, that the sacrament had been given them; that such should, without any scruple, be baptized, lest a hesitation, in that case, should deprive them of the purgation of the sacrament. And this resolution was made at the instance of the legates of the churches of Mauritania, who informed the council, that many such children were redeemed by them from the barbarians; in which case it was uncertain whether their parents were heathens or Christians.

Sect. 18. Whether the children of Jews or heathens might be baptized in any case whatsoever.

But (as in some cases) if it plainly appeared, that the parents of infants, who by some providential means fell into the hands of Christians, were mere Jews or pagans; yet, in such cases, baptism was not denied to the infants, because they were now become the possession of Christians, who undertook to be their sponsors, and answer for their education. This is evident from St. Austin,[69] who says it in express terms: This grace is sometimes vouchsafed to the children of infidels, that they are baptized, when by some means, through the secret providence of God, they happen to come into the hands of pious Christians. Sometimes they were bought or redeemed with money, sometimes made lawful captives in war, and sometimes taken up by any charitable persons[70] when they were exposed

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[66] Aug. Ep. 75. ad Auxilium. Apud charitatem tuam tacere non potui, ut si habes de hac re sententiam, certis rationibus vel Scripturarum testimoniis exploratam, nos quoque docere digneris: quomodo recte anathematizetur pro patris peccato filius, aut pro mariti uxor, aut pro domini servus, aut quisquam etiam in domo nondum natus, si eodem tempore quo universa domus est anathemate obligata, nascatur, nec ei possit per lavacrum regenerationis in mortis periculo subveniri.——Ego autem, si quis ex me quærat, utrum recte fiat, quid ei respondeam non invenio. Nunquam hoc facere ausus sum, cum de quorundam facinoribus immaniter adversus ecclesiam perpetratis gravissime permoverer.

[67] French Churches' Apology for the Church of England, Book III. chap. 19.

[68] Conc. Carthag. 5. can. 6. Placuit, de infantibus, quoties non inveniuntur certissimi testes, qui eos baptizatos esse sine dubitatione testentur, neque ipsi sunt per ætatem idonei de traditis sibi sacramentis respondere, absque ullo scrupulo eos esse baptizandos, ne ista trepidatio eos faciat sacramentorum purgatione privari. Hinc enim legati Maurorum fratres nostri consuluerunt, quia multos tales a barbaris redimunt. Vid. Cod. Can. African. c. 72.

[69] Aug. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, cap. 22. t. 7. p. 527. Aliquando filiis infidelium præstatur hæc gratia, ut baptizentur, cum occultâ Dei providentiâ in manus piorum quomodocunque perveniunt.

[70] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Videas multos non offerri a parentibus, sed etiam a quibuslibet extraneis, sicut a dominis servuli aliquando offeruntur. Et nonnunquam mortuis parentibus suis, parvuli baptizantur ab eis oblati, qui illis hujusmodi misericordiam præbere potuerunt. Aliquando etiam quos crudeliter parentes exposuerunt, nutriendos a quibuslibet, nonnunquam a sacris virginibus colliguntur, et ab eis offeruntur ad baptismum.

by their parents: in all which cases, either the faith and promises of the sponsors, or the faith of the church in general, who was their common mother, and whose children they were now supposed to be, was sufficient to give them a title to Christian baptism. The holy virgins of the church did many times in such exigences become their sureties, and take care of their religious education. And so it happened, as is observed by St. Ambrose, or whoever was the author of the excellent book[71] De Vocatione Gentium, that many who were deserted by the impiety of their kindred, were taken care of by the good offices of others, and brought to be baptized by strangers, when they were neglected by their nearest relations. Which was so general and charitable a practice among the ancients, that some learned modern writers[72] speak of it with great commendation upon that account, and tell us such children have a right to baptism, after the same manner that Abraham's servants bought with his money had to circumcision, as well as those that were born in his house. And they concur so far in asserting it to be the common practice, beyond all controversy, in the primitive church, as to say, that St. Austin made use of it as an uncontested argument to prove free grace and election against the Pelagians. Which I note only here by the way, for the sake of some mistaken persons, who impute the encouragement of the same practice in the English church, not to her charity, but rather to a fault and error in her constitution.

Sect. 19. Whether children born while their parents were heathens might be baptized.

There is one question more, concerning such infants as were born while their parents were heathens: but of these there was no doubt ever made; for as soon as the parents were baptized themselves, they were obliged to take care that their wives and children and whole families should be baptized likewise. To which purpose there is a law in the Justinian Code,[73] inflicting a severe penalty upon them in case of neglect or prevarication in this matter. For it is there enacted, that such pagans as were yet unbaptized, should present themselves, with their wives and children, and all that appertained to them, in the church, and there they should cause their little ones immediately to be baptized, and the rest as soon as they were taught the Scriptures according to the canons. But if any persons, for the sake of a public office or dignity, or to get an estate, received a fallacious baptism themselves, but in the mean time left their wives, or children, or servants, or any that were retainers or near relations to them, in their ancient error, their goods in that case are ordered to be confiscated, and their persons punished, by a competent judge, and excluded from bearing any office in the commonwealth. Photius repeats this law in his Nomocanon, and adds to it another of the same nature, concerning the Samaritans, That though they themselves were not to be baptized till they had been two years catechumens, yet their little ones, who were not capable of instruction, might be admitted to baptism without any such delay or prorogation: which law is now extant among Justinian's Novels.[74] From all which it appears, that as soon as any Jews or heathens were either baptized themselves, or had only taken upon them the state of catechumens, their children were made capable of baptism, and, accordingly, by law required to be baptized. Thus much of infants, and the several cases I have met with in the writings of the ancients, relating to their baptism.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE BAPTISM OF ADULT PERSONS.

Sect. 1. No adult persons to be baptized without previous instruction, to qualify them to answer for themselves.

THE other sort of persons on whom baptism was conferred, were adult persons, who were grown up to years of understanding, and who, in those days, made up the main body of the baptized. These were usually converts from Judaism or Gentilism, who, before they could be admitted to baptism, were obliged to spend some time in the state of catechumens, to qualify them to make their professions of faith and a Christian life

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[71] Ambros. de Vocat. Gent. lib. 2. cap. 8. Multis sæpe, quos suorum impietas deseruit, alienorum cura servierit, et ad regenerationem venerint per extraneos, quæ eis non erat providenda per proximos.

[72] Vid. Rivet. et Walæum in Synopsi Purioris Theologiæ, Disput. 44. n. 49.

[73] Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 11. de Paganis, Leg. 10. Qui nondum sunt baptizati, ipsi cum liberis et conjugibus et omnibus suis perducant se ad sanctas ecclesias: et suos parvulos liberos sine mora baptizari curent: majores vero prius Scripturas secundum canones doceantur. Si vero propter militiam, vel dignitatem, vel facultates habendas fingant baptizari: et liberos aut conjuges eorum, aut domesticos suos in errore reliquerint, et eos qui sibi attinent et necessitudine juncti sunt: publicantur et competenter plectuntur, et rempublicam non attingunt. This law is repeated by Balsamon, Constitut. Eccles. ap. Justell. Bibliothec. Juris Canon. t. 2. p. 1298. and in Photius Nomocanon. Tit. 4. cap. 4. p. 907. ibid.

[74] Phot. Nomocan. Tit. 4. cap. 4. p. 907. Justin. Novel. 144. cap. 2. Per duos primum annos in fide instituantur, et pro viribus Scripturas ediscant: tumque demum sacro redemptionis offerantur baptismati, tam longi temporis pœnitentia prorsus redemptionis fructum assecuti. Pueros autem admodum, qui per ætatem doctrinas intelligere nequeunt, etiam absque hac observatione sacro dignari baptismate admittimus.

in their own persons. For without such personal professions, there was ordinarily no admission of them to the privilege of baptism. The time of their instruction, and the substance and manner of it, has already been considered particularly in the last Book: all, therefore, I have further to observe concerning them here, is in relation to some special cases, which we find determined in the canons of the ancient councils, when, because great multitudes were baptized at riper years, the church had occasion to consider many cases, which are scarce to be met with in the rules of later ages.

Sect. 2. Yet dumb persons allowed to be baptized in some certain cases.

One of these doubtful cases was in reference to dumb persons, who were incapacitated at the time of baptism from answering for themselves. In this case, if persons had desired to be baptized before this infirmity came upon them, or if they could by sufficient signs signify their present desire, the church favourably accepted their request, and admitted them to the privilege of baptism. The first council of Orange[1] has a canon in favour of such persons, both with respect to baptism and penance; for it decrees, That a person who is suddenly struck speechless, may either be baptized, or admitted to penance, if it appears by the testimony of others, that he had any such will or desire before he became dumb; or if in the time of this misfortune he could make signs to express his present desire and intention. In the African Code, there is a canon to the same purpose, That men[2] so sick that they cannot answer for themselves, may be baptized, if their friends who attended them in danger, do testify their desire of baptism. And among the canonical answers of Timotheus of Alexandria, there is one of the like nature. For the question is put,[3] Whether if a catechumen be so disordered in his mind that he cannot make profession of his faith, he may be baptized, notwithstanding this infirmity? And the answer is, He may if he be not possessed. We have an instance of this case actually verified in the baptism of an African negro slave at Carthage, whom his master had caused to be instructed among the catechumens, and prepared him among the *competentes* for baptism. He had made his profession of faith and the usual renunciations publicly in the church, as was customary for the candidates of baptism to do before they came to the baptistery to consummate the mystery. But just before the time of baptism he fell sick of a fever, which made him speechless. However, he was baptized; others answering in his name, as if it had been for an infant. Ferrandus, who tells the story, had some doubts concerning this baptism, which he communicated to Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspa, who gave him a consolatory answer to this effect: That this man[4] had all the conditions required by our Saviour for adult persons, which were, that they should believe and be baptized. Faith and the profession of it is the act of the man: the baptizing him is only the act of the minister. And though this man had not his senses when the minister performed his act, yet he had when he himself performed his own. We believe, indeed, that none but infants are saved by the faith of those that bring them, and that at the age of reason a man's own confession is required: but this man made his profession whilst he had his senses, and was baptized whilst he was yet alive. From whence he concludes, that there was no reason to doubt of his salvation, because he had done all that was necessary on his part, and was baptized in the manner that in this case the canons had appointed. Let me add to all this, how it is that Albaspinæus and many others understand that canon of the council of Eliberis,[5] which speaks of catechumens deserting their station, and forsaking the church for a long time, yet at last desiring to be baptized: in this case, though they were speechless, they might be baptized, if either any of the clergy, or other faithful witnesses, could testify that they desired to be made Christians, because their crimes were committed whilst they were in the old man: or, as other copies read it, because they seemed to have relinquished and bid adieu to the old man; that is, in their former state of sin and natural corruption. And this was but the very same privilege as was allowed men in the business of penance, mentioned in the forecited council of Orange, and also the fourth council of Carthage, where it is said,[6] That if a lapser desires to be admitted to

[1] Conc. Arausican. 1. can. 12. Subito obmutescens, prout statutum est, baptizari aut pœnitentiam accipere potest, si voluntatis præteritæ testimonium aliorum verbis habet, aut præsentis in suo nutu.

[2] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 34. Ut ægrotantes, si pro se respondere non possunt, cum voluntatis eorum testimonium sui dixerint, baptizentur. Similiter et de pœnitentibus agendum est. This canon is repeated in the Codex Canon. Eccles. Afric. can. 48. and in the later editions of the Councils it is read with a little variation, thus, Cum voluntatis eorum testimonium hi, qui suis periculo proprio affuere, dixerint, baptizentur, &c.

[3] Timoth. Respons. Canon. cap. 4. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. p. 166.

[4] Fulgent. de Baptismo Æthiopis, cap. 8. See a like case in St. Austin's Confessions, lib. 4. cap. 4.

[5] Conc. Eliber. can. 45. Qui aliquando fuerit catechumenus, et per infinita tempora nunquam ad ecclesiam accesserit, si eum de clero quisquam agnoverit voluisse esse Christianum, aut testes aliqui fideles extiterint, placuit ei baptismum non negari, eo quod in veterem hominem deliquisse videatur, al. eo quod veterem hominem dereliquisse videatur.

[6] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 76. Qui pœnitentiam in infirmitate petit, si casu, dum ad eum sacerdos invitatus venit, oppressus infirmitate obmutuerit, vel in frenesin versus fuerit, dent testimonium qui eum audierunt, et accipiat pœnitentiam; et si continuo creditur moriturus, reconcilietur per

penance in time of sickness, and unfortunately becomes speechless, or falls into a frenzy, while the priest who is sent for is coming to him, they who heard his desire shall testify for him, and he shall be admitted to penance: and if he seems to be at the point of death, he shall be reconciled by the imposition of hands, and have the eucharist poured into his mouth. But if he recovers, the witnesses shall acquaint him that his petition was granted, and then he shall submit himself to the ordinary rules of penance, so long as the priest who admitted him to penance shall think fit in his discretion. Now, it is probable that, after the same manner, persons who were baptized in such a condition, when they recovered, were obliged to make their professions, as was usual in baptism, when afterwards they received the imposition of hands in confirmation. But as I cannot affirm this upon the certain evidence of any rule or canon, as in the other case of penance, but only judge by parity of reason, I will not be positive, but leave every one to enjoy his own opinion.

Sect. 3. And energumens in cases of extremity.

Another question was sometimes raised about the energumens, or persons possessed by evil spirits, whether during the time of their possession it was proper to give them baptism. The council of Eliberis orders them to be deferred, till they were set free and cured; but yet in case of extremity, and visible appearance of death,[7] appoints them to be baptized. The first council[8] of Orange seems to have allowed it not only in absolute necessity, but in the remissions and intervals of their distemper; for it orders, That such catechumens as were possessed, should be baptized, according as their necessity required, or opportunity permitted. In the canons of Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, the same question is put, but resolved a little differently: If baptism be desired for a catechumen that is possessed, what shall be done? To which the answer is, Let him be baptized at the hour of death, and not otherwise.[9] So likewise in the Constitutions[10] under the name of the Apostles: If any one is possessed with a devil, let him be taught the principles of piety, but not be received to communion till he is cleansed: yet if he be under the pressure of imminent death, let him be received. Some understand this of being received to the communion of the eucharist, but it is plain the author means it of being received to the communion of the church by baptism: for he is there giving rules concerning persons to be baptized, and describing their necessary qualifications; among which this is one, That energumens shall be cleansed before they be admitted to communion, except at the hour of death, where necessity gave them a dispensation. And this was the ancient rule in the time of Cyprian, who says, That they who were possessed with unclean spirits, were baptized in time of sickness: and many times this benefit followed from it, that though some of those for want of faith were still vexed[11] with unclean spirits; the true energy of baptism, which was to deliver men from the power of the devil, failing in some by their own default and weakness of faith: yet in others it was found true by experience, that they who were baptized in time of sickness and urgent necessity, were thereby delivered from the unclean spirit, with which they were before possessed, and thenceforward lived a very laudable and reputable life in the church, and made a daily proficiency and increase in heavenly grace by the augmentation of their faith. And, on the contrary, it oftentimes happened, that some of those who were baptized in health, when they afterward fell into sin, were tormented with the unclean spirit returning upon them: whence it was apparent, that the devil was excluded in baptism by the faith of the believer, but if afterward his faith failed, the devil returned to his old possession. From this discourse of Cyprian we learn, not only that energumens in time of extremity were admitted to baptism, but that baptism in such cases was many times a peculiar benefit to them, whilst it delivered them from the possession of unclean spirits, which could not before be cast out by any power of the exorcists, though in those days the power of exorcism was a miraculous gift of the Holy Ghost.

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manûs impositionem, et infundatur ori ejus eucharistia. Si supervixerit, admoneatur a supradictis testibus petitioni suæ satisfactum, et subdatur statutis pœnitentiæ legibus, quamdiu sacerdos qui pœnitentiam dedit, probaverit. Vid. Leo. Ep. 89. ad Theodor. Forojuliensem. al. 91.

[7] Conc. Eliber. can. 37. Eos qui ab immundis spiritibus vexantur, si in fine mortis fuerint constituti, baptizari placet.

[8] Conc. Arausican. can. 15. Energumenis catechumenis, in quantum vel necessitas exegerit, vel opportunitas permiserit, de baptismate consulendum.

[9] Timoth. Respon. Canon. c. 2. 'Εὰν δαιμονιζόμενος μὴ καθαρισθῇ, ἐ δύναται λαβεῖν τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἔξοδον βαπτίζεται.

[10] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. cap. 32. 'Εὰν δέ τις δαίμονα ἔχει, διδασκέσθω μὲν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, μὴ προσδεχέσθω δὲ εἰς κοινωνίαν, πρὶν ἂν καθαρισθῇ. εἰ δε θάνατος κατεπείγοι, προσδεχέσθω.

[11] Cypr. Ep. 76. al. 69. ad Magnum. p. 187. Si aliquis in illo movetur, quod quidam de iis qui ægri baptizantur, spiritibus adhuc immundis tentantur; sciat diaboli nequitiam pertinacem usque ad aquam salutarem valere, in baptismo vero omne nequitiæ suæ virus amittere.——Ibid. p. 188. Hoc denique et rebus ipsis experimur, ut necessitate urgente in ægritudine baptizati et gratiam consecuti, careant immundo spiritu, quo antea movebantur; et laudabiles ac probabiles in ecclesia vivant, plusque per dies singulos in augmentum cælestis gratiæ per fidei incrementa proficiant. Et contra nonnulli sæpe de illis qui sani baptizantur, si postmodum peccare cœperint, spiritu immundo redeunte quatiuntur; ut manifestum sit, diabolum in baptismo fide credentis excludi; si fides postmodum defecerit, regredi. See also Clemen. Recognit. lib. 4. cap. 32. to the same purpose.

Sect. 4. No slave to be baptized without the testimony of his master.

Another observation to be made upon the baptism of adult persons, is in relation to such as were slaves to Christian masters. For we find by the author of the Constitutions under the name of the Apostles, that in the examination of the several qualifications of those that offered themselves to baptism, one part of the inquiry was, whether they were slaves or freemen. If they were slaves to a heathen, they were only taught their obligations to please their master, that the word of God might not be blasphemed; and the master had no further concern in their baptism, as being himself an infidel: but if the master were a Christian, then the testimony of the master was first to be required[12] concerning the life and conversation of his slave, before he could be admitted to the privilege of baptism. If he gave a laudable account of him, he was received; if otherwise, he was rejected, till he approved himself to his master. So far in those days it was thought necessary and serviceable to religion to grant Christian masters a power over their slaves, that without their testimony and approbation they could not be accepted as fit candidates of baptism: not that this was intended to countenance any tyrannical power in Christian masters to debar their slaves of baptism, and deny them the privilege and benefits of the Christian religion, (which is a piece of barbarous cruelty, and spiritual tyranny over men's souls, unknown to former ages,) but the design was to preserve the purity of religion, and keep back hypocritical and profane pretenders from the holy mysteries; the over-hasty admission of whom might prove a scandal and disgrace to the profession, if persons of a doubtful life were indiscriminately and indifferently admitted to the sacred rites of it. This caution wisely lodged a useful power in the hands of Christian masters, which prudence and charity directed them to use soberly, to edification, and not to destruction. And experience proved it to be a useful rule; for it both made the masters zealous for the salvation of their slaves, as we have seen in the instance of the African negro mentioned in Fulgentius, and also made the slaves sincere in their professions and pretences to religion, when they knew they could not be accepted as real converts, worthy of baptism, without the corroborating testimony of their masters. There were also laws of state obliging all masters to take care of their families, so far as to see that every individual person, slaves as well as children, were made Christians; and in default of this, some penalties were annexed, depriving the masters of certain privileges in the commonwealth, if they were found either remiss, or acting by collusion in this part of their duty.[13] So that all imaginable obligation was laid upon masters, both in point of interest, duty, and charity, to take care of the instruction of their slaves, and bring them with their own testimonials to Christian baptism.

Sect. 5. Yet baptism to be a voluntary act, and no one to be compelled by force to receive it.

Yet, because baptism was to be a voluntary act in adult persons, some laws were made against compelling any one by force to receive it. In the fourth council of Toledo a canon was made to this purpose concerning the Jews, who had sometimes been drawn by force to be baptized against their will, and it was ordered by the synod, that thenceforth no one should be compelled by force to profess[14] the Christian faith. "For God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth." For such are not to be saved against their will, but of their own free consent, that the form or method of their justification may be perfect. For as man perished by his own free will, obeying the serpent, so every man is saved (when he is called by the grace of God) by his own voluntary act of faith, and conversion of his own mind. Therefore they are not to be compelled by force, but to be persuaded by their own free will to be converted. But as to those who have heretofore been forced to embrace Christianity, as was done in the time of the religious prince Sisebutus, or Sisenandus, forasmuch as they have been partakers of the sacraments, and have received the grace of baptism, and the unction of chrism, and the communion of the body and blood of the Lord, therefore they ought to be obliged to hold the faith, which they were compelled by force or necessity to receive, lest the name of the Lord should be blasphemed, and the faith which they have received be vilified and exposed to contempt. By this we learn, that baptism was always to be a voluntary act in adult persons, and none were to be compelled against their own wills to receive it: and though the church did not rescind such actions as were done against this rule, yet she

[12] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. cap. 32. Ἐὰν πιστοῦ δοῦλος ᾖ, ἐρωτάσθω ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ, εἰ μαρτυρεῖ αὐτῷ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ἀποβαλλέσθω, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸν ἄξιον ἐπιδείξῃ τῷ δεσπότῃ, εἰ δὲ μαρτυρεῖ αὐτῷ, προσδεχέσθω.

[13] See chap. 4. sect. 19.

[14] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 56. De Judæis autem præcepit sancta synodus, nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre. Cui enim vult Deus miseretur, et quem vult indurat. Non enim tales inviti salvandi sunt, sed volentes, ut integra sit forma justitia: sicut enim homo propria arbitrii voluntate serpenti obediens periit, sic vocante se gratiâ Dei, propriæ mentis conversione homo quisque credendo salvatur. Ergo non vi, sed liberâ arbitrii voluntate, ut convertantur suadendi sunt, non potius impellendi. Qui autem jam pridem ad Christianitatem venire coacti sunt, sicut factum est temporibus religiosissimi principis Sisebuti, (al. Sisenandi,) quia jam constat eos sacramentis Divinis sociatos, et baptismi gratiam suscepisse, et chrismate unctos esse, et corporis Domini et sanguinis extitisse participes, oportet etiam ut fidem, quam vi vel necessitate susceperunt, tenere cogantur, ne nomen Domini blasphemetur, et fides, quam susceperunt, vilis ac contemptibilis habeatur.

did not approve them, but thought them worthy of her censure, and unfit to be made a precedent for the future. That which looks most like force in this case allowed by law, was the orders of Justinian mentioned[15] before, one of which appoints the heathens, and the other the Samaritans, to be baptized, with their wives, and children, and servants, under pain of confiscation. But even these laws did not compel them to be baptized against their wills, but allowed them two years' time to be catechumens, and admitted none but such as made a voluntary profession of their faith and repentance. For the penalties were only designed to prevent fraud and prevarications, in such as pretended to receive baptism themselves, but in the mean time took no care to have their families made Christian; against whom the wisdom of the state then thought no laws severe enough could be enacted. So that these laws were tempered with the greatest prudence, between the extremes of rigour and remissness, that men might be made sensible, on the one hand, of their obligations to become Christians, and yet none have reason to complain, on the other hand, that they were forced by violence to embrace a religion against their wills, which they could not approve and assent to. For the penalties, as I said, were only designed to chastise the hypocritical practices and fraudulent remissness of manifest prevaricators. And it were to be wished, that all civil governments and states in all ages would enact such laws, and put them duly in execution, against such sort of Christians, who, instead of encouraging their slaves to be baptized, are the only obstacles to hinder and deprive them of the benefit of Christian baptism.

Sect. 6. What persons were rejected from baptism; with a particular account of some certain trades and vocations, which kept men from it: such were image-makers and stage-players.

I have one thing more to note concerning adult persons, who might or might not be admitted to baptism: and that is, that all such heathens as made their livelihood out of any scandalous trades or professions, which could not be allowed by the rules of Christianity, were rejected from baptism, till they solemnly promised to bid adieu, and actually forsook such vocations. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions specifies several of this nature. Such as the πορνοβοσκοὶ, panders or procurers; πόρναι, whores; εἰδωλοποιοὶ, makers of images or idols;[16] against whom Tertullian has also a particular dissertation, where he censures this trade as inconsistent with the profession of Christianity, telling men, that by this art they made the devils their *alumni*, their pupils, to whom they were a sort of foster-fathers, whilst they furnished out materials to carry on their service. And with what confidence,[17] says he, can any man exorcise his own *alumni*, those devils, whose service he makes his own house a shop or armoury to maintain? reflecting on this unlawful trade of making images for the idol temples. Next to these in the Constitutions follow οἱ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, actors and stage-players, who could not stick to that profession, and be admitted to Christian baptism, because a great deal both of lewdness and idolatry was actually committed or encouraged by such as made a livelihood of that profession. The canons, therefore, forbade all such to be baptized, and excommunicated those that fell to the trade again after baptism. If a soothsayer or a stage-player, says the council of Eliberis,[18] have a mind to become believers, that is, to be baptized, let them be received, on condition they first bid adieu to their arts, and return not to them again. Which if they attempt to do against this prohibition, they shall be cast out of the church. In like manner, the third council of Carthage[19] appoints all such to be excommunicated, and not to be reconciled or received again to favour but upon their conversion. And in the time of Cyprian, not only public actors, but private teachers and masters of this scandalous art, were debarred the communion of the church: as appears from Cyprian's answer to Eucratius, who put this question to him, Whether[20] a stage-player might communicate, who continued to follow that dishonourable trade, by teaching children that pernicious art, which he was master of? To which Cyprian replies, That it was neither agreeable to the majesty of God, nor the discipline of the gospel, that the modesty and honour of the church should be defiled with so base and infamous a contagion. For if the law prohibited men to wear women's apparel, and laid a curse upon all that did it; how much greater was the crime, not only to wear their clothes, but to express their loose, and wanton, and effeminate gestures, by teaching this immodest art to others! Indeed, this kind of life was scandalous even among the wise and sober part of the very heathens. Tertullian observes, That they who pro-

[15] See chap. 4. sect. 19.

[16] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. cap. 32.

[17] Tertul. de Idololat. c. 11. Quâ constantiâ exorcizabit alumnos suos, quibus domum suam cellariam præstat?

[18] Conc. Eliber. can. 62. Si augur aut pantomimi credere voluerint, placuit, ut prius artibus suis renuncient, et tunc demum suscipiantur, ita ut ulterius non revertantur. Quod si facere contra interdictum tentaverint, projiciantur ab ecclesia.

[19] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 35. Ut scenicis atque histrionibus, cæterisque hujusmodi personis, vel apostaticis, conversis vel reversis ad Dominum, gratia vel reconciliatio non negetur.

[20] Cypr. Ep. 61. al. 2. ad Eucratium, p. 3. Consulendum me existimasti, quid mihi videatur de histrione quodam, qui apud vos constitutus, in ejusdem adhuc artis suæ dedecore perseverat, et magister et doctor non erudiendorum, sed perdendorum puerorum, id quod male didicit, cæteris quoque insinuat; an talis debeat communicare nobiscum? Puto nec Majestati Divinæ, nec evangelicæ disciplinæ congruere, ut pudor et honor ecclesiæ tam turpi et infami contagione fœdetur, &c.

fessed these arts were noted with infamy,[21] degraded and denied many privileges, driven from court, from pleading, from the senate, from the order of knighthood, and all other honours in the Roman city and commonwealth. Which is also confirmed by St. Austin,[22] who says, No actor was ever allowed to enjoy the freedom, or any other honourable privilege of a citizen of Rome. Therefore, since this was so infamous and scandalous a trade even among the heathens, it is no wonder the church would admit none of this calling to baptism, without obliging them first to bid adieu to so ignominious a profession. To have done otherwise, had been to expose herself to reproach, and to have given occasion to the adversary to blaspheme, if men of such lewd and profligate practices had been admitted to the privileges of the church, who were excluded from the liberties of the city, and honours of the commonwealth.

Sect. 7. And gladiators, charioteers, and other gamesters.

The next that are prohibited in the Constitutions, are charioteers, and gladiators,[23] and racers, and curators of the common games, practisers in the Olympic games, minstrels, harpers, dancers, vintners, and such like, who are commanded either to quit these callings, or to be rejected from baptism. It may seem a little strange, that some of these callings, which seem indifferent in their own nature, and are now commonly allowed, should then be thought just reasons to debar men from baptism. But it is to be supposed, that these arts in the time of heathenism were instrumental in carrying on idolatry, lewdness, and profaneness, and therefore by the ancients, whose discipline was exact, were thought improper to be allowed in the practice of a Christian. The Circensian games were in honour of the gods, and therefore to be concerned in them as a charioteer, was still to partake in idolatry. Upon which account, the first council of Arles[24] orders all such to be excommunicated as continued after baptism in this service. And there is a remarkable story told by St. Jerom[25] in the Life of Hilarion, concerning one of these charioteers, a heathen of the city of Gaza, who, being struck by the devil with a dead palsy, as he was driving his chariot, so that he could not move his hand, nor neck, but only his tongue to prayer; in this condition he was brought in a bed to Hilarion, who told him that he could not be healed, unless he believed in Jesus, and promised to bid adieu to his former trade. The man immediately upon this believed, renounced, and was healed, rejoicing more for the salvation of his soul than his body. This calling ministered to idolatry, and upon that score a renunciation of it was so precisely exacted of men at their baptism. The gladiator's art was infamous for its barbarity and cruelty, involving men in murder and bloodshed, and therefore utterly inconsistent with the rules of Christianity. The racers, and curators of the public games, and Olympic combatants, were all concerned in idolatrous practices; for these games also were held in the name and to the honour of some idol god; which calling was therefore to be renounced, as an appendage to idolatry, before men came to baptism. For the other trades, of minstrels, harpers, dancers, &c., besides their ministering to levity, vanity, and luxury, they were also employed in idol worship and other profaneness, which seems to have been the principal reason of making such a strict prohibition of them in the subsequent life of every Christian.

Sect. 8. Astrologers and practisers of other curious arts.

The next sort of persons mentioned in the Constitutions, as unworthy of baptism, are lascivious persons, with all practisers of curious arts,[26] as magicians, enchanters, astrologers, diviners, magical charmers, idle and wandering beggars, makers of amulets and phylacteries, and such as dealt in heathenish lustrations, soothsayers, and observers of signs and omens, interpreters of palpitations, observers of accidents in meeting others, making divination thereupon, as upon a blemish in the eye, or in the feet, observers of the motion of birds or weasels, observers of voices and symbolical sounds. All these are appointed to be examined and tried a considerable time, whether they would relinquish their arts or not. If they did, they might be received; if not, they were to be rejected from baptism. The names of these curious arts, which I have expressed in the margin, are some of them difficult to be understood. The λώτατες are explained by Chrysostom[27] to be idle wandering beggars, given to spend what they

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[21] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 22. Damnant ignominia et capitis minutione, arcentes curia, rostris, senatu, equite, cæterisque honoribus omnibus simul ac ornamentis.

[22] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 2. c. 14. Actores poeticarum fabularum removent a societate civitatis——ab honoribus omnibus repellunt homines scenicos.

[23] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 32. Ἡνίοχος, ἢ μονομάχος, ἢ ϛαδιοδρόμος, ἢ λουδεμπιστὴς, ἢ Ὀλυμπικὸς, ἢ χοραύλης, ἢ κιθαριϛὴς, ἢ λυριστὴς, ἢ ὁ τὴν ὄρχησιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ἢ κάπηλος, ἢ παυσάσθωσαν, ἢ ἀποβαλλέσθωσαν.

[24] Conc. Arelat. 1. can. 4. De agitatoribus, qui fideles sunt, placuit eos, quamdiu agitant, a communione separari.

[25] Hieron. Vit. Hilarion. cap. 13. Auriga Gazensis, in curru percussus a dæmone, totus obriguit, ita ut nec manus agitare, nec cervicem posset reflectere. Delatus ergo in lecto, cum solam linguam moveret ad preces, audivit non prius posse sanari, quam crederet in Jesum, et se sponderet arti pristinæ renunciaturum. Credidit, spopondit, sanatus est, magisque de animæ quam de corporis salute exultavit.

[26] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. cap. 32. Μάγος, ἐπαοιδὸς, ἀστρολόγος, μάντις, θηρεπῳδὸς, λώταξ, ὀχλαγωγὸς, περιάμματα ποιῶν, περικαθαίρων, οἰωνιστὴς, συμβολοδείκτης, παλμῶν ἑρμενεὺς, φυλαττόμενος ἐν συναντήσει λώβας ὄψεως, ἢ ποδῶν, ἢ ὀρνίθων, ἢ γαλῶν, ἢ ἐπιφωνήσεων, ἢ παρακροαμάτων συμβολικῶν, χρόνῳ δοκιμαζέσθωσαν, &c.

[27] Chrysost. Hom. 13. in Ephes.

got in gaming and luxury. But others make them a sort of diviners, or fortune-tellers, like our gipsies, which is most agreeable to this place. The *περιάμματα* were the same with the *phylacteria*, which were amulets made of ribands, with a text of Scripture, or some other charm of words, written in them, and hanged about the neck to cure diseases, and preserve men from danger, whence they had the name of phylacteries or preservatives. Now, this was a piece of heathenish superstition and idolatry, which stuck closest to new converts, and was most difficult to be cured. Therefore we find the ancient canons and fathers very severe in their censures and invectives against it. The council of Laodicea condemns clergymen that pretended to make such phylacteries, which were truly the bonds and fetters of their own souls, and orders all such as wore them to be cast out of the church.[28] The council of Trullo[29] decrees six years' penance for such offenders. St. Chrysostom[30] declaims against it as gross idolatry, whatever little pleas were brought in favour of it. The use of amulets to hang about the neck, says he, is idolatry, though they that gain by it offer a thousand philosophical arguments to defend it, saying, We only pray to God, and do nothing more; and, The old woman that made them was a Christian and a believer; with other such like excuses: notwithstanding all which, he threatens to excommunicate all such as were found to practise it. So that, as this was a crime deserving excommunication in all that were already baptized, it was thought also a just reason to prohibit any from coming to baptism, who would not first promise to renounce it.

Sect. 9. Frequenters of the public games and theatre.

Another sort of persons whom the author of the Constitutions excludes from the privilege of baptism, are frequenters of the public games and theatre. If any man's mind[31] be addicted to the madness of the theatre, or huntings, or horse-racings, or other gymnastical sports and exercises, let him either leave them off or be rejected from baptism. The learned Hieronymus Mercurialis[32] has an observation, that will explain the reason of this prohibition. For in his curious discourse, De Arte Gymnastica, he observes, these several sorts of heathen games and plays were instituted upon a religious account, in honour of the gods, and men thought they were doing a grateful thing to them, whilst they were engaged in such exercises. Therefore a Christian could not be present at them as a spectator, without partaking, in some measure, in the idolatry of them. Besides, there was a great deal of barbarity and cruelty, as well as lewdness and profaneness, committed in many of them, which it did not become a Christian eye to behold with pleasure and approbation. The theatre was looked upon as the devil's propriety, and so he himself termed it, as we learn from that famous story in Tertullian,[33] where speaking of a Christian woman, who went to the theatre, and returned possessed with a devil, he says, The unclean spirit being asked by the exorcist, how he durst presume to make such an attempt upon a believer, replied confidently, that he had a right to her, because he found her upon his own ground. For these reasons the ancient canons and fathers are so frequently severe in their invectives against all theatrical exercises, not only in the actors, but also in the spectators, declaring them to be incompatible with the piety and purity of a Christian life. And upon this account men were obliged to renounce them before they could be admitted to baptism. But of this something more when we come to the form of renunciation.

Sect. 10. In what cases the military life might unqualify men for baptism.

The several sorts of persons hitherto mentioned were excluded from baptism without exception: but there are two other kinds or states of life, that must be considered with some distinction, that is, the military life, and the state of concubinage, as it is called sometimes in the civil law and ancient canons. Some learned persons[34] are of opinion, that the ancients had so much a dislike to the military life, as to excommunicate such as bore arms after baptism: which they affirm upon the authority of the Nicene fathers, to whom they impute it as an error, that they condemned absolutely the military life as unlawful, which St. John Baptist had approved. But this charge is grounded merely upon a mistake and misunderstanding of the meaning of those fathers, who had no intent to condemn the military life in general, but only as it might happen to be unlawful in some particular circumstances and cases. The words of the canon referred to are these: "If any, who at first by the grace of God

[28] Conc. Laodic. can. 36. *Οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικὸς ἢ κληρικὸς ποιεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτήρια, ἅτινά ἐστι δεσμωτήρια τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν· τοὺς δὲ φορῦντας ῥίπτεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκελεύσαμεν.*

[29] Conc. Trull. can. 61.

[30] Chrys. Hom. 8. in Colos. p. 1374. *Τὰ περίαπτα, κἂν μύρια φιλοσοφῶσιν οἱ ἐκ τέτων χρηματιζόμενοι,* &c. *εἰδωλολατρεία τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐστιν.* Vid. Chrys. in Psalm. ix. et Hom. 6. adversus Judæos. It. Basil. in Psal. xlvi. Chrys. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch.

[31] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. cap. 32. *Θεατρομανίᾳ εἴτις πρόσκειται, ἢ κυνηγίοις, ἢ ἱπποδρομίοις, ἢ ἀγῶσιν· ἢ παυσάσθω, ἢ ἀποβαλλέσθω.*

[32] Mercurial. de Arte Gymnast. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 12. Ludorum finis erat religio quædam, qua antiqui opinabantur sese diis rem gratam illis ludis tanquam promissam facturos.

[33] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 26. Theatrum adiit, et inde cum dæmonio rediit. Itaque in exorcismo cum oneraretur immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem aggredi; constanter, et justissime, inquit, feci, in meo enim inveni.

[34] Scult. Discus. Quæst. de Concilio Nicæno, in Medulla Patr. par. 1. p. 477.

made confession of the faith,[35] and cast away the military girdle, afterward return to their vomit again, so as to give money and buy a place in the army, let them be ten years among the prostrators, after they have been three years among the hearers." The generality of interpreters take this to refer peculiarly to the times of Licinius the persecutor, who by an edict had ordered all such Christian soldiers to be cashiered, as would not sacrifice to the gods; upon which many Christians in the army threw away their girdles, and quitted the military life. But afterward some of them returned again to it upon the conditions proposed, doing sacrifice and committing idolatry, and giving money to regain their places; against whose prevarication and revolt the discipline of this canon was intended. So Balsamon and Zonaras among the old expositors; and so Grotius[36] and Ziegler,[37] Sylvius and Coriolanus, Binnius, and Bishop Beverege, with many other modern writers. Albaspinæus thinks it peculiarly respected such penitents only, as vowed to renounce all secular business and employments, and to live in a state of perpetual penance, but afterward[38] returned to a secular life, and took upon them civil offices again, which in the imperial law and canons of the church are sometimes called by the name of *militia palatina*. And Salmasius advances[39] an opinion not much different from this. However, it is agreed on all hands, that the council of Nice made no general prohibition of the military life, but only in some such special cases. There is therefore no reason to conclude from hence, that they esteemed the vocation of a soldier simply unlawful. Especially considering that Constantine himself allowed the soldiers, who were cashiered by Licinius, to return to their ancient employment again, as is rightly observed by Ziegler out of Theodoret and Eusebius.[40] Nay, the first council of Arles excommunicated all such as threw away their arms in time of peace,[41] on pretence that they were Christians. All which abundantly proves, that the ancient canons did not condemn the military life as a vocation simply unlawful or antichristian, nor consequently such as men were obliged to renounce at their baptism; but all that was required of them, was only what St. John Baptist had exacted before, when they came to his baptism, as appears from the rule in the Constitutions,[42] providing in this case, That a soldier, when he desired baptism, should be taught to do violence to no man, to accuse no one falsely, and to be content with his wages: if he consented to these things, he was to be received; if otherwise, to be rejected. This was the standing rule of the church, and I believe there is no instance of any man being refused baptism merely because he was a soldier, unless some unlawful circumstance, as that of idolatry, or the like, made the vocation sinful.

Sect. 11. Whether persons might be baptized, who lived in the state of concubinage.

The other case, which has been matter of doubt, is concerning the state of concubinage, which in the common acceptation is a matter of such ill fame, that it seems a wonder to many to hear of any allowance made to it in the civil law and ancient canons. But they made a distinction anciently in this matter, as the Jews and patriarchs of old did, among whom there was one sort of concubines which was permitted, as differing nothing from a wife, save only that she was not married with all the solemnities and usual forms that the other was. And this sort of concubines the ancient canons received both to baptism and the communion. The rule in the Constitutions[43] about this matter is given thus: A concubine that is a slave to an infidel, if she keep herself only to him, may be received to baptism; but if she commit fornication with others, she shall be rejected. A like decree was made in the council of Toledo[44] concerning the admission of persons to the communion: If any Christian who has a wife, have also a concubine, let him not communicate. But if he have no wife, but only a concubine instead of a wife, he may not be repelled from the communion, provided he be content to be joined to one woman only, whether wife or concubine, as he pleases. Now the difference betwixt such a concubine and a wife, as learned men have observed,[45] was, not that the one was truly married, and the other not; but in the different way of their being married. For she that was called a wife was married publicly, and with great solemnity, and instruments of dowry, and other ceremonies which the civil and canon law required; but she who was

[35] Conc. Nic. can. 12. *Οἱ προσκληθέντες μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος, καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν ἐνδειξάμενοι, καὶ ἀποθέμενοι τὰς ζώνας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔμετον ἀναδραμόντες*, &c.

[36] Grot. de Jure Belli, lib. 2. c. 2. p. 36.

[37] Ziegler. Animadvers. in Grotium, lib. 1. c. 2. p. 105.

[38] Albaspin. Not. in Can. 12. Conc. Nic.

[39] Salmas. de Fœnore Trapezitico, p. 782. cited by Ziegler.

[40] Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 2. c. 33.

[41] Conc. Arelat. 1. can. 3. De his qui arma projiciunt in pace, placuit abstinere eos a communione.

[42] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 32. *Στρατιώτης προσιὼν διδασκέσθω μὴ ἀδικεῖν, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν, ἀρκεῖσθαι δὲ διδομένοις ὀψωνίοις· πειθόμενος προσδεχέσθω, αὐτιλέγων ἀποβαλλέσθω.*

[43] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 32. *Παλλακή τινος ἀπίστου δέλη, ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ σχολάζουσα, προσδεχέσθω· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ἀσελγαίνει, ἀποβαλλέσθω.*

[44] Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 17. Si quis habens uxorem fidelis, concubinam habeat, non communicet. Cæterum is qui non habet uxorem, et pro uxore concubinam habeat, a communione non repellatur, tantum ut unius mulieris, aut uxoris, aut concubinæ, ut ei placuerit, sit conjunctione contentus.

[45] Vide Anton. Augustinum de Emendatione Gratiani, lib. 1. Dial. 15. p. 170. Pet. Martyr. Loc. Com. lib. 2. cap. 20. n. 3. p. 273.

called a concubine, was one married in a private way, without the solemnity which the law required: but they both agreed in these three things: 1. That they were unmarried persons before. 2. That they obliged themselves to their husbands to live in conjugal chastity, and in procreation of children, and be joined to no other. 3. And that they would continue faithful in this state all their lives. Now, this sort of concubines, being in the nature of wives married without the formalities required in the civil law, were not reputed guilty of fornication, though they wanted the privileges, rights, and honours that the law allowed to those who were called legal wives: and therefore they were admitted to baptism without any further obligation, in case the husband was a heathen. But if the husband was a Christian, the rule in the Constitutions made a little difference. For if he had a concubine, he was obliged to dismiss her, and marry a lawful wife,[46] if his concubine was a slave; and if she was a free woman, he must make her a lawful wife; otherwise he was to be cast out of the church. And so in the decrees of Pope Leo,[47] Christians who had only concubines, were obliged to dismiss them, if they were slaves, unless they would free them, and lawfully endow them, and give them a public marriage as the laws required. And in this these decrees seem to differ from that of the council of Toledo, which allows a concubine to cohabit in private wedlock without any ecclesiastical censure. St. Austin[48] reckons this case one of those dubious and difficult points which cannot easily be determined. But he inclines to think a concubine of this kind might be admitted to baptism, because her case differs much from that of a professed adulteress, who could never be admitted to baptism, whilst she lived in the practice of so flagrant a crime; but the other case, he thinks, is a matter which the Scripture has no where so positively condemned, but rather left in doubt, as many other such points and questions, which the church in her prudence must decide by the best skill she has to determine such difficult questions. I have represented the sense of the ancients upon this point as clearly as I could, because it has occasioned some ill-grounded censures of the ancients, and of Gratian's canon-law, (which is only copied from them,) in some modern authors; as if they had allowed such concubines as we commonly call harlots, to be baptized without giving signs of repentance; whereas, we see, this matter was not so crudely delivered by them, but considered and determined with several necessary cautions and distinctions. And I have been the more particular in making inquiries concerning these several kinds of adult persons, who might, or might not, be admitted to baptism, because these are questions which the reader will not easily find so distinctly examined in modern writers, who have professedly treated of the subject of baptism.

Sect. 12. A peculiar error of the Marcionites in rejecting all married persons from baptism.

I only note one thing more, concerning a pretended rule of purity among the Marcionites, which was, that they would admit no married persons to their baptism; but they must be either virgins, or widows, or bachelors, or divorced persons: which, as Tertullian observes, came doubtless from their abhorrence and condemnation[49] of the married life; which error was common to them with many other ancient heretics: though I do not find this peculiarity, of denying baptism to such persons, ascribed to any others. However it was, we are sure there was no such rule ever made to discourage marriage in the catholic church. Her rule was always that of St. Paul, "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." The church took upon her to judge adulterers, and by the power of the keys to exclude them from baptism; but beyond this she pretended to no power or commission from God, to be exercised over any others, whom God had left at liberty to be married or unmarried, as they saw occasion.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE TIME AND PLACE OF BAPTISM.

Sect. 1. Why adult persons sometimes delayed baptism by order of the church.

NEXT to the persons who were the subjects of baptism, it will be proper to consider the circumstances of time and place in the administration of it. As to infants, I have already showed, that no time was limited for their baptism; but they were to be regenerated as soon as they could with convenience after the time of their natural birth; being confined to no day, as circumcision was, by any rule of Scripture: though the church in some places deferred

[46] Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 32. Πιϛὸς ἐὰν ἔχῃ παλλακὴν, εἰ μεν δούλην, παυσάσθω, καὶ νόμῳ γαμείτω, εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέραν, ἐκγαμείτω αὐτὴν νόμῳ. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποβαλλέσθω.

[47] Leo, Ep. 92. ad Rusticum, c. 4. Clericus, si filiam viro habenti concubinam in matrimonium dederit, non ita accipiendum est, quasi conjugato ei dederit, nisi forte illa mulier et ingenua facta, et dotata legitime, et publicis nuptiis honestata videatur.——Ibid. c. 5. Ancillam a toro abjicere, et uxorem certæ ingenuitatis accipere, non duplicatio conjugii, sed profectus est honestatis.

[48] Aug. de Fide et Operibus, cap. 19. t. 4. p. 33. De concubina quoque, si professa fuerit nullum se alium cognituram, etiamsi ab illo cui subdita est, dimittatur: merito dubitatur, utrum ad percipiendum baptismum non debeat admitti.

[49] Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. 1. cap. 29. Non tinguitur apud illum caro nisi virgo, nisi vidua, nisi cœlebs, nisi divortio baptisma mercata.—Sine dubio ex damnatione conjugii institutio ista constabit.

them, when there was no danger of death, to the solemnity of some greater festival. But for adult persons, the case was something otherwise; for their baptism was generally deferred for two or three years, or a longer or shorter time, by order of the church, till they could be sufficiently instructed, and disciplined to the practice of a Christian life; of which I have given a full account in the last book. Others had their baptism put off a longer time by way of punishment, when they fell into gross and scandalous crimes, which were to be expiated by a longer course of discipline and repentance. This was sometimes five, or ten, or twenty years, or more, even all their lives to the hour of death, when their crimes were very flagrant and provoking. If a catechumen turned informer against his brethren in time of persecution, and any one was proscribed or slain by his means, then, by a canon[1] of the council of Eliberis, his baptism was to be deferred for five years. And so in case a woman-catechumen divorced herself from her husband, her punishment was five years'[2] prorogation. But if she committed adultery, and after conception used any arts to destroy her infant in the womb, then she was to remain unbaptized all her life, and only be admitted[3] to baptism at the hour of death. From whence it is plain, that the baptism of adult persons was sometimes deferred a considerable time by order of the church; but then this was always either by way of preparation or punishment, whilst catechumens were first learning the principles of religion, or were kept in a state of penance to make satisfaction to the church for some scandalous transgression.

Sect. 2. Private reasons for deferring baptism, against the rules of the church. 1. Supinity and negligence of salvation.

But others deferred their baptism of their own accord, against the rules of the church; of which practice there are frequent complaints in the writings of the ancients, and severe invectives against it, answering the common pleas which men usually urged in their own behalf. Some did it out of a supine laziness and careless negligence of their salvation, which was a very common reason,[4] but such a one as men were ashamed to own, because its own reproach was a sufficient answer to it.

Sect. 3. 2. An unwillingness to renounce the world, and submit to the severities of religion.

Others deferred it out of a heathenish principle still remaining in them, because they were in love with the world and its pleasures, which they were unwilling to renounce, to take upon them the yoke of Christ, which they thought would lay greater restraints upon them, and deny them those liberties which they could now more freely indulge themselves in, and securely enjoy. They could spend their life in pleasure, and be baptized at last, and then they should gain as much as those that were baptized before; for the labourers who came into the vineyard at the last hour, had the same reward as those that had borne the burden and heat of the day. Thus Gregory Nazianzen[5] brings them in, arguing for delaying their baptism, as men now usually do for delaying repentance. This reason was so very absurd and foolish, that many who were governed by it were ashamed to own it. But yet, as St. Basil[6] observes, though they did not speak a word, their actions sufficiently proclaimed it. For it was the same as if they had said, Let me alone, I will abuse the flesh to the enjoyment of all that is filthy; I will wallow in the mire of pleasures; I will imbrue my hands in blood; I will take away other men's goods, live by deceit, forswear and lie; and then I will be baptized when I shall leave off sinning. Such men had the idol of infidelity still in their hearts, as the author[7] of the Recognitions, under the name of Clemens Romanus, charges them; and that was the true reason why they put off their baptism; for had they believed baptism to be necessary to all, whether just or unjust, they would have made haste to receive it, because the end of every man's life is utterly uncertain.

Sect. 4. 3. A fear of falling after baptism.

Another sort of men put off their baptism to the end of their lives upon a sort of Novatian principle, because they pretended to be afraid of falling into sin after baptism; and there was no second baptism allowed to regenerate men again to the kingdom of heaven; whereas, if they were baptized at the hour of death, heaven would be immediately open to them, and they might go pure and undefiled into it. In the mean time, if they died before baptism, they hoped God would accept the will for the deed, and the desire of baptism for baptism itself. Now, as this pretence was founded on abundance of errors, so the ancients are copious in refuting them. St. Basil[8] argues against their practice from the uncertainty of life. For who, says he, has fixed for thee the term of life? Who is it that can promise thee the enjoyment of old age? Who can undertake to be a sufficient sponsor for futurity? Do you not see both young and old suddenly snatched away?

[1] Conc. Eliber. can. 73. Si quis catechumenus delator fuerit, et per delationem ejus aliquis fuerit proscriptus vel interfectus, post quinquennii tempora admittatur ad baptismum.
[2] Ibid. can. 11.
[3] Ibid. can. 68. Catechumena si per adulterium conceperit, et conceptum necaverit, placuit eam in fine baptizari.
[4] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 654. Constit. Apost. lib. 6. cap. 15.
[5] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 650 et 652.
[6] Basil. Exhort. ad Bapt. Hom. 13. t. 1. p. 414.
[7] Clem. Recognit. lib. 6. n. 9. ap. Cotelerium, t. 1. Qui moratur accedere ad aquas, constat in eo infidelitatis adhuc idolum permanere; et ab ipso prohiberi ad aquas, quæ salutem conferunt, properare. Sive enim justus, baptismus tibi per omnia necessarius est, &c.
[8] Basil. Exhort. ad Bapt. t. 1. p. 415

And why do you stay to make baptism only the gift of a fever? Gregory Nazianzen[9] calls it a riddle, for an unbaptized man to think he is baptized in the sight of God, whilst he depends upon his mercy in the neglect of baptism; or to imagine himself in the kingdom of heaven, without doing the things that belong to the kingdom of heaven. This is but a vain hope, says Gregory Nyssen,[10] bewitching the soul with false appearances and pretensions. And as they thus exposed the groundless hopes of these men, so they as zealously demonstrated to them the vanity of their pretended fears. For though there was no second baptism for them that fell into sin after the first, yet it was not impossible for men to avoid falling into damnable sins after their first purgation; or if they did so fall, yet if they were not sins unto death, they might obtain a second cleansing by pardon upon repentance. So that it was plain madness and folly to neglect baptism upon such uncertain fears, because that was to run a much more dangerous risk, whilst they sought to avoid a lesser inconvenience, which was attended with much more safety, and had no such apprehended danger in it.

Sect. 5. 4. Superstitious fancies in reference to the time and ministers of baptism.

Some again there were, who deferred their baptism upon a principle of mere fancy and superstition, in reference to the time, or place, or ministers of baptism. Gregory Nazianzen[11] brings in some, making this excuse: I stay till Epiphany, the time when Christ was baptized, that I may be baptized with Christ; I rather choose Easter, that I may rise with Christ; I wait for Whitsuntide, that I may honour the descent of the Holy Ghost. And what then? In the mean time comes death suddenly, in a day thou didst not expect, and in an hour thou art not aware of. Others had a superstitious fancy to be baptized in some certain place, as at Jerusalem, or in the river Jordan, and therefore they deferred their baptism till they could have a convenience to come to the place intended. This seems tacitly to be reflected on by Tertullian,[12] when he says, There is no difference between those whom John baptized in Jordan, and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber: and by St. Ambrose, in his discourse to the catechumens,[13] where exhorting them to come with all possible speed to be baptized, he invites them to draw the blessing of consecration from the font of Jordan, and to drown their sins in that stream where Christ's sacred person was baptized: but then, that they might not mistake his meaning, he adds, that in order to their being baptized in the font of Jordan, it was not necessary they should go to the Eastern country, or to the river in the land of Judea; for wherever Christ was, there was Jordan; and the same consecration which blessed the rivers of the East, sanctified also the rivers of the West. Eusebius tells us,[14] that Constantine had a design for many years to have been baptized in the river Jordan, after the example of Christ; and that perhaps might be the reason why he so long deferred his baptism: but God, who knew best what was fit for him, disappointed him in this design, and he was at last baptized at Nicomedia a little before his death. For as to that story, which is so pompously set forth by Baronius,[15] concerning his being baptized by Pope Sylvester at Rome, and cured of his leprosy; it is a mere fable, refuted by the testimony of all the ancients, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, and the council of Ariminum, who all speak of his baptism immediately before his death: and the best critics since Baronius, Valesius,[16] and Schelstrate,[17] Lambecius,[18] Papebrochius,[19] and Pagi,[20] agree in their verdict with the ancients against the modern fiction. So that now it is agreed on all hands, that Constantine was one of those who deferred his baptism to the time of his death: and the most probable account that can be given of this, is the fancy which he had entertained of being baptized in Jordan, which the providence of God never suffered him to put in execution. Another sort of fanciful men would not be baptized, till they could have one to minister baptism to them, who had some extraordinary qualifications. Gregory Nazianzen takes notice of some such as these, and rebukes them after this manner: Say not thou,[21] A bishop shall baptize me, and that a metropolitan, and also one of Jerusalem: for grace is not the gift of the place, but of the Spirit. Say not, I will be baptized by one that is of noble birth, and that it will be a reproach to thy noble descent to

[9] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 647.

[10] Nyssen de Bapt. t. 2. p. 216.

[11] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 654.

[12] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 4. Nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit.

[13] Ambros. Ser. 41. t. 3. p. 268. Debemus, fratres dilectissimi, vobis catechumenis loquor, gratiam baptismatis ejus omni festinatione suscipere, et de fonte Jordanis quem ille benedixit, benedictionem consecrationis haurire; ut in eum gurgitem in quem se illius sanctitas mersit, nostra peccata mergantur.—Sed ut eodem fonte mergamur, non nobis Orientalis petenda est regio, non fluvius terræ Judaicæ. Ubi enim nunc Christus, ibi quoque Jordanes est. Eadem consecratio, quæ Orientis flumina benedixit, Occidentis fluenta sanctificat.

[14] Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. 4. c. 62.

[15] Baron. an. 324. n. 17.

[16] Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. 1. c. 39.

[17] Schelstrat. Concil. Antiochen. Dissert. 2. c. 1. p. 43.

[18] Lambec. Commentar. de Bibliotheca Vindobonensi, t. 5. ap. Pagi.

[19] Papebroch. Acta Sanctor. Maii. t. 5. Vit. Constant. Maii 21. p. 15.

[20] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 324. n. 4.

[21] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 656.

be baptized by any other. Say not, If I am baptized by a presbyter, it shall be one that is unmarried, and one that is of the continent and angelic order, as if thy baptism were defiled by any other. Make not thyself judge of the fitness or qualification of the preacher or baptizer, for there is another that judgeth of these things. Every one is qualified to thee, for thy purgation, provided only he be one of those that are allowed, and not condemned, nor a foreigner, nor an enemy of the church. Judge not thy judges, thou that hast need of healing. Tell me not of the dignity of thy purgators; make no difference among thy spiritual fathers; one may be better or more humble than another, but each of them is in a higher rank than thee. By all this it appears, that a superstitious distinction of times and places and persons had an influence upon some, and was pleaded as a reason for deferring baptism.

Sect. 6. 5. A pretence to follow the example of Christ.

Others pleaded for deferring their baptism till they were thirty years old, from the example of Christ, because he was of that age when he was baptized. Which pretence is copiously refuted by Gregory Nazianzen,[22] showing in answer to it, that Christ, as God, was purity itself, and had no need of purgation, but what he did in that kind, was only for the sake of men; that there was no danger could befall him by delaying or protracting his baptism; that there were particular reasons for his doing so, which did not belong to other men; and that he did many things which we are not concerned to follow his example in, for all his actions were not designed to be copies and examples for our imitation.

He that would see more of these pleas, may consult the discourses of St. Basil, Nazianzen, and Nyssen upon this subject; or Mr. Walker's treatise of Infant Baptism, in the preface to which, he enumerates no less than nineteen such cases as these, which were the pretended occasions of men's deferring their baptism. Those I have already mentioned, are sufficient to our present purpose, to show, that when men made great delays in this matter, they commonly did it against the rules and orders of the church; and that the ancients with great severity and sharpness always declaimed and inveighed against it, as a dangerous and unchristian practice. Therefore, though there may be some particular instances of persons, who thus carelessly and wilfully, through ignorance or false conceits, neglected their own baptism, and perhaps the baptism of their children too; yet these men's actions are of no account to show us what were the standing measures and methods of proceeding in the church, since they are manifest transgressions of her rule, and deviations from her ordinary practice. The church had but two reasons at any time for deferring the baptism of adult persons year after year; the one was, to give sufficient time to the catechumens to prepare them for baptism; and the other, to reform their miscarriages, when they happened to turn lapsers or apostates before their baptism. Both these were grounded upon one and the same principle; which was, that men were obliged to give sufficient security and satisfaction to the church, that they intended to live by the rules of the gospel, before they were admitted to the mysteries of it: and the best security that could be given, was from the experiment and trial beforehand, and therefore this discipline was used to make them give testimony of their intentions by a reasonable prorogation of their baptism.

Sect. 7. The solemn times appointed for baptism by the church were Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany.

Upon this account, the church appointed certain stated seasons and solemn times of baptism in ordinary cases; allowing her ministers still the liberty to anticipate these times, if either catechumens were very great proficients, or in danger of death by any sudden accident or distemper. The most celebrated time among these, was Easter; and next to that, Pentecost or Whitsuntide; and Epiphany, or the day on which Christ was supposed to be baptized. These three are plainly referred to by Gregory Nazianzen,[23] where he brings in some giving this reason why they deferred their baptism: One said, he stayed till the Epiphany (for the ancients mean that by *φῶτά* and *lumina*, not Candlemas, as some mistake it, but Epiphany, the day on which Christ was baptized, and manifested to the world); another said, he had a greater respect for Easter; and a third, that he waited till the time of Pentecost. Which plainly implies, that these three festivals were then the most noted and solemn times of baptism. But Easter and Pentecost were the chief; for they are sometimes mentioned without the other, and sometimes with an express prohibition of it. St. Jerom speaks of the two former, as usual, but says nothing of the latter. He tells us, some referred that prophecy in Zechariah to baptism,[24] "Living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; in summer and in winter shall it be." The Septuagint reads it, "in summer and in the spring." And this they applied to the two solemn times of baptism, Pentecost and Easter, one of which was in summer and the other in the spring, when the living waters of baptism were distributed to all that thirsted after them. He mentions the same in his epistle to Pammachius,[25] against the errors of John of Jerusalem, where he speaks of forty that were bap-

[22] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 658.

[23] Ibid. p. 654. Μένω τὰ φῶτα· τὸ Πάσχα μοι τιμιώτερον, τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν ἐκδέξομαι, &c.

[24] Hieron. Com. in Zachar. xiv. 8. Aquas viventes multi ad baptismum referunt, quæ in vere et in æstate, hoc est, in Pascha et Pentecoste, sitientibus largiendæ sunt.

[25] Id. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. cap. 16. Circa dies Pentecostes, quadraginta diversæ ætatis et sexûs presbyteris tuis

tized at Bethlehem upon Pentecost, and others that offered themselves at Easter, but were rejected by that humoursome bishop, when they were ready for baptism. These two, and no other, are likewise spoken of by Tertullian.[26] He says, Easter was appointed as the time of Christ's sufferings, into which we are baptized. And after that, Pentecost is a very large space of time set aside for that purpose. In which time Christ manifested his resurrection to his disciples, and the grace of the Holy Spirit was first given, and the angels predicted his second advent at his ascension. Where it is very plain, that Tertullian, by the large space of Pentecost, does not mean a particular day, but the whole fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide, which in his time was one continued festival, as he tells us in other places.[27] And therefore, though Vicecomes[28] reprehends Ludovicus Vives for asserting this, as if he had no authority for it; yet Habertus[29] defends him out of this place of Tertullian, and other learned men[30] are of the same opinion. Vicecomes thinks the time of baptizing at Easter was only one day, that is, the great sabbath, or Saturday, when our Saviour lay in the grave. But this is also a mistake: for though this day was the most famous for baptizing catechumens, and infants also, as we learn from Chrysostom[31] and the author of the Constitutions,[32] yet the whole time of fifty days was set apart for this purpose, and accounted but as one solemn season for baptism. Which, perhaps, is the true reason why some ancient canons allow no other time but that of Easter for baptism; including the whole fifty days from Easter till Pentecost, in the sense of Tertullian. Thus, in the second council of Mascon,[33] a decree was made, That whereas many Christians, not regarding the lawful time of baptism, were used to bring their children to be baptized upon any holyday or festival of a martyr, so that at Easter there were not above two or three to be baptized; they therefore enacted, that from thenceforward no one should be permitted so to do, excepting those whose children were in extremity of sickness and danger of death. A like decree was made in the council of Auxerre,[34] confining all children to the time of Easter, except in case of sickness, when they were allowed to have clinic baptism. And so Socrates says[35] it was the custom in Thessaly only to baptize at Easter. All which must either be understood to include the fifty days of Pentecost, or else it must be said these churches had a peculiar custom differing from the rest of the world. For in other rules and canons, express mention is made of Easter and Pentecost, though other festivals are excluded. In the council of Girone, in Spain,[36] all catechumens are ordered to come only at Easter, or Pentecost, because the greater the feast was, the greater ought the solemnity to be. But on all other festivals, none but sick people were to be baptized, who were not to be refused baptism at any time. Siricius, in his epistle to Himerius,[37] bishop of Tarraco, in Spain, intimates indeed, that abundance of people presumed to take greater liberties to be baptized on the nativity of Christ, and the Epiphany, and the festivals of the apostles and martyrs; but this was against the rule of the Roman church, and all others, which reserved this privilege peculiarly to Easter, with its Pentecost, or fifty days following, at which time baptism was generally administered to all that were qualified, but not at other times, except only to infants, and persons in a languishing condition and in danger of death. In the time of Pope Leo, the custom had prevailed in Sicily, to baptize as many on the festival of Epiphany as at Easter or Pentecost: but he calls[38] this an unreasonable novelty, and a confusion of the mysteries of each time, to think, that no difference was to be

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obtulimus baptizandos.——It. Præcepisti Bethleem presbyteris tuis, ne competentibus nostris in Pascha baptismum traderent.

[26] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 19. Diem baptismo solenniorem Pascha præstat, cum et passio Domini, in qua tingimur, adimpleta est. — Exinde Pentecoste ordinandis lavacris latissimum spatium est, quo et Domini resurrectio inter discipulos frequentata est, et gratia Spiritûs Sancti dedicata, &c.

[27] Vid. Tertul. de Idol. cap. 14. et de Coron. Mil. cap. 3.

[28] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 1. c. 25.

[29] Habert. Archieratic. par. 8. Observ. 4. p. 134.

[30] Cave, Prim. Christ. par. 1. c. 10. p. 307.

[31] Chrysost. Ep. 1. ad Innocent. p. 680.

[32] Constit. Apost. lib. 5. c. 19.

[33] Conc. Matiscon. 2. can. 3. Comperimus Christianos, non observantes legitimum diem baptismi, pene per singulos dies ac natales martyrum filios suos baptizare, ut vix duo vel tres reperiantur in sancto Pascha, qui per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum regenerentur: idcirco censemus, ut ex hoc tempore nullus eorum permittatur talia perpetrare, præter illos, quos infirmitas nimia aut dies extremus compellit filiis suis baptismum suscipere.

[34] Conc. Antissiodor. can. 19. Non licet absque Paschæ solennitate ullo tempore baptizare, nisi illos quibus mors vicina est, quos grabatarios dicunt, &c.

[35] Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22.

[36] Conc. Gerundens. can. 4. De catechumenis baptizandis id statutum est, ut in Paschæ solennitate, vel Pentecostes, quanto majoris celebritatis celebritas major est, tanto magis ad baptizandum veniant. Cæteris autem solennitatibus infirmi tantummodo debeant baptizari, quibus quocunque tempore convenit baptismum non negari.

[37] Siric. Ep. ad Himer. c. 2. Sola temeritate præsumitur, ut passim ac libere natalitiis Christi, seu apparitionis, nec non et apostolorum seu martyrum festivitatibus, innumeræ, (ut adseris) plebes baptismi mysterium consequantur, cum hoc sibi privilegium, et apud nos, et apud omnes ecclesias, dominicum specialiter cum Pentecoste suâ Pascha defendat, quibus solis per annum diebus, ad fidem confluentibus generalia baptismatis tradi convenit sacramenta, &c.

[38] Leo, Ep. 4. ad Episc. Siculos, cap. 1. Miror vos tam irrationabilem novitatem usurpare potuisse, ut confuso temporis utriusque mysterio, nullam esse differentiam crederetis inter diem quo adoratus est Christus a Magis, et diem quo resurrexit a mortuis, &c.

made between the day on which Christ was adored by the wise men, and that whereon he arose from the dead. Therefore, since these two, Easter and Pentecost, were the only lawful[39] times of baptizing the elect catechumens in the church, he gives them an admonition, that they should mingle no other days in the like observance. He gives the same admonition to the bishops of Campania,[40] Samnium, and Picenum, in another epistle, against baptizing any, except in case of necessity, on the festivals of the martyrs. And after him Gelasius[41] made another decree, directed to the bishops of Lucania, prohibiting baptism to be given at any other time, save Easter and Pentecost, except in case of dangerous sickness, when there might be reasonable fear of the parties dying without the remedy of salvation. So that in the Roman and Western churches this was the general rule, to baptize none of the adult in ordinary cases, save only upon these two great festivals, though the practice in some places was a little dissonant to the injunction of the canons. In the Eastern churches, and in Africa, Epiphany seems also to have been regarded. For, besides what has been already noted out of Nazianzen, Valesius[42] has observed out of the ancient ritual, called Typicum Sabæ, that on this day they were wont to baptize in the church of Jerusalem. And Joannes Moschus[43] mentions the same custom in other parts of the East. And Victor Uticensis[44] plainly intimates, that it was a solemn time of baptizing at Carthage and in the African churches. For though he does not name it Epiphany, yet we may easily collect it was either that day or Christ's nativity; for he says, it was but a little before the kalends of February, that fatal day on which the African bishops were banished, and the church destroyed by the fury of the Arians, in the time of the Vandalic persecution.

Sect. 8. And in some places the festivals of the apostles and martyrs, and anniversary days of the dedication of churches, prevailed also.

It was also customary in some churches, to make the anniversary festival of the dedication of the church a solemn time of baptizing. Sozomen[45] observes it to have been so at Jerusalem, from the time that Constantine built that famous church over our Saviour's grave at Mount Calvary, called *Anastasis*, or the church of the resurrection. For every year after that time the church of Jerusalem held an anniversary festival of the dedication, which, to make the solemnity more august, lasted for eight days together, on which they held ecclesiastical meetings, and administered the sacrament of baptism; and many men came from all parts of the world to visit the sacred places upon this occasion. Valesius[46] takes some pains to prove out of several authors, the Chronicon Alexandrinum, Nicephorus, the Greek Menologium, and Typicum Sabæ, that this was on the thirteenth of September; that no one might think it fell in with the festivals of Easter or Pentecost, the other solemn times of baptism. Whether the same custom prevailed in any other churches, is not said; but it is not improbable that it might obtain, because Jerusalem was a leading pattern, and is sometimes styled the mother of all churches. The custom of baptizing on the festivals of the apostles and martyrs seems to have prevailed in many of the French and Spanish churches; but this was condemned and forbidden by many canons, and therefore cannot be spoken of as an authentic custom, because it was rather a transgression and encroachment upon the established rules of the church, which in this case might be observed without any detriment, whilst a liberty was granted to baptize at any time upon sudden emergencies and extraordinary cases.

Sect. 9. No such stated times in the apostles' days.

Indeed, in the first plantation of the gospel there was no such obligation to observe any stated times of baptism, because the apostles made no law about it. They themselves baptized indifferently at any time, as occasion required, and they left this circumstance wholly to the judgment and prudence of their successors in the church, to act as reason and piety should direct them. This is very evident from the history of the Acts of the Apostles, and the subsequent history of the church compared together. The author of the Comments on St Paul's Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose,[47] has diligently noted this difference in the church's discipline, be-

[39] Leo, Ep. 4. ad Episc. Siculos, cap. 5. Unde quia manifestissime patet, hæc duo tempora baptizandis in ecclesia electis esse legitima, monemus ut nullos alios dies huic observantiæ misceatis.

[40] Leo, Ep. 80. ad Episc. Campan. cap. 1.

[41] Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episc. Lucan. cap. 10. Baptizandi sibi quispiam passim quocunque tempore nullam credat inesse fiduciam, præter Paschale festum et Pentecostes venerabile sacramentum, excepto duntaxat gravissimi languoris incursu, in quo verendum est, ne morbi crescente periculo, sine remedio salutari fortassis ægrotans exitio præventus abscedat.

[42] Vales. Not. in Theodoret. lib. 2. c. 27.

[43] Mosch. Prat. Spirit. cap. 214.

[44] Victor. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 2. Bibl. Patr. t. 7. p. 603.

[45] Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 26. Ὡς καὶ μυήσεις ἐν αὐτῇ ἑορτῇ τελεῖσθαι, καὶ ὀκτὼ ἡμέρας ἐφεξῆς ἐκκλησιάζειν.

[46] Vales. Dissert. de Anastasi et Martyrio Hierosolym. ad calcem Eusebii, p. 306.

[47] Ambros. Com. in Ephes. iv. Primum omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant, quibuscunque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio. Nec enim Philippus tempus quæsivit, aut diem, quo eunuchum baptizaret; neque jejunium interposuit. Neque Paulus et Silas tempus distulerunt, quo optionem carceris baptizarent cum omnibus ejus. Neque Petrus diaconos habuit, aut diem quæsivit, quando Cornelium cum omni domo ejus baptizavit.——Ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cætera officia in ecclesia ordinata sunt.—Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant; neque quocunque die credentes tinguntur, nisi ægri.

tween the first and the following ages. At first, says he, every one taught and baptized on all days and times, as occasion required. Philip stayed for no time, nor day, to baptize the eunuch, nor did he use any intermediate fast before it. Neither did Paul and Silas delay the time when they baptized the keeper of the prison with all his house. Neither did Peter use deacons, or stay for a solemn day, when he baptized Cornelius and his family. But when the church had spread itself into all parts, then oratories were built, and church-officers were appointed, and several orders made about the administration of baptism; whence it was, that now neither deacons preached, nor any of the inferior clergy, nor laymen baptized, nor was baptism administered at all times to believers, but only to those that were sick. That which seems to have made the difference in this matter, was the difference in the zeal and readiness of the first converts and those that came afterwards. For the church found it necessary in process of time to proceed a little more slowly with the candidates of baptism, both in the instruction and trial of them, because of their dulness, and negligence, and frequent relapses. And by this means it came to pass, that in some populous churches, often vast multitudes were baptized together. As Palladius observes in the Life of St. Chrysostom,[48] that at Constantinople three thousand persons were baptized at once upon one of these greater festivals. And this was the reason why deacons at Rome, who were not allowed to baptize upon any other occasion, no, not even in times of sickness, were admitted to do it at Easter, because of the vast numbers of people that came then to be baptized, as I have had occasion to show out of a canon of one of the Roman councils in another discourse.[49]

Sect. 10. How far these rules were obliging in succeeding ages.

But when these rules about stated times of baptism were in their strictest observation, there were still several cases, wherein it was thought proper to dispense with them, and discharge men of their obligation. The case of sickness and extremity pleaded a just exemption, as we have seen before, in all the canons of the universal church. And the promptness and proficiency of some catechumens above others, gave them an earlier title to baptism, if they desired it, without waiting for a more solemn season, especially in the Eastern churches; as may be collected from the exhortations of Chrysostom and Basil, inviting such as were duly prepared for baptism, to receive it the first opportunity, without staying for one of these greater festivals. You pretend to stay to the time of Lent, says Chrysostom:[50] but why so? Has that time any thing more than others? The apostles received not this grace at Easter; but at another time. Neither was it the time of Easter, when the three thousand and the five thousand were baptized, of whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles. Other things, says St. Basil,[51] have their peculiar seasons; there is a time for sleep, and a time for watching; a time for war, and a time for peace: but the time of baptism is man's whole life; all times are seasonable to receive salvation thereby, whether day or night, every hour, every minute, every moment. And Nazianzen,[52] in answering that plea which men used for delay, that they stayed only till Easter, Pentecost, or Epiphany, plainly shows, that he rather thought men ought not to defer their baptism, when once they were qualified for it, lest death should come suddenly upon them in a day they did not expect it, and in an hour they were not aware of. And in this respect it was true, what Tertullian said in the close of his discourse upon this subject, that every day[53] was the Lord's day, every hour, and every time was fit for baptism, if men were fit and prepared for it. One day might be more solemn than another, but the grace of baptism was the same at all times. So that these solemn times were set apart for prudent reasons by the church, and for as prudent reasons they might be dispensed with, when either the necessities of a languishing distemper, or the zeal and activity of forward proficients, made it advisable to anticipate the usual times of baptism, which, like all other parts of discipline, were designed for edification, and not for destruction.

Sect. 11. Baptism not confined to any place in the apostolical ages.

The like observation may be made with respect to the place of baptism; for this varied also with the state and circumstances of the church. In the apostolical age, and some time after, before churches and baptisteries were generally erected, they baptized in any place where they had convenience, as John baptized in Jordan, and Philip baptized the eunuch in the wilderness, and Paul the jailer in his own house. So Tertullian observes, that Peter[54] baptized his converts in the Tiber at Rome, as John had done in Jordan; and that there was no difference whether a man was baptized in the sea, or in a lake, in a

[48] Pallad. Vit. Chrysost. cap. 9.

[49] Scholast. Hist. of Lay Baptism, part 1. chap. 1. p. 19.

[50] Chrys. Hom. 1. in Act. t. 4. p. 615. Edit. Savil.

[51] Basil. Exhort. ad Bapt. Hom. 13. t. 1. p. 409.

[52] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 654.

[53] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 19. Cæterum omnis dies Domini est, omnis hora, omne tempus habile baptismo: si de solennitate interest, de gratia nihil refert.

[54] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 4. Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur, nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit.—Omnes aquæ de pristina originis prærogativa sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur, invocato Deo. Supervenit enim statim Spiritus de cœlis, et aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semetipso, et ita sanctificatæ vim sanctificandi combibunt.

river, or a fountain; for the same Spirit sanctified the waters in all places, and gave them the power of sanctification, when once they were consecrated by invocation and prayer. After this manner, the author of the Recognitions, under the name of Clemens Romanus,[55] represents Peter preaching to the people, and telling them, they might wash away their sins in the water of a river, or a fountain, or the sea, when they were baptized by invoking the name of the blessed Trinity upon them. And he describes his own baptism, and some others,[56] as given them by Peter, in certain fountains in Syria by the sea-shore. And so it seems to have continued to the time of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. For Tertullian speaks of their going from the church to the water, and then making[57] their renunciations there as they had done in the church before. And Justin Martyr, describing the ceremony of the action, says, They brought the person who was to be baptized[58] to a place where there was water, and there gave him the same regeneration which they had received before.

Sect. 12. In succeeding ages confined to the baptisteries of the church.

But in after ages baptisteries were built adjoining to the church, and then rules were made, that baptism should ordinarily be administered no where but in them. Justinian, in one of his Novels,[59] refers to ancient laws, appointing, that none of the sacred mysteries of the church should be celebrated in private houses. Men might have private oratories for prayer in their own houses, but they were not to administer baptism or the eucharist in them, unless by a particular licence from the bishop of the place. Such baptisms are frequently condemned in the ancient councils, under the name of *παραβαπτίσματα*, baptisms in private conventicles. As in the council of Constantinople under Mennas,[60] complaint is made against Zoaras the monk, that though the emperor had forbidden all private baptisms by an edict, yet Zoaras, despising that order, had baptized many in a private house upon the Easter festival. The edict which that council refers to, was another Novel of Justinian's,[61] made against Severus and his accomplices, who, after they were expelled the church, held conventicles in private houses, and received, and baptized, and gave the communion to all that came to them. Which sort of parabaptizations are there condemned. So also in the petition of the monks presented to Mennas and the council under him, these baptisms and communions in private houses are reckoned[62] to be an erecting of strange altars and baptisteries, in opposition to the true altar and baptistery, or laver of the church; under which name they are frequently condemned in the Acts[63] of that council. And in the council of Trullo the order was again renewed, That no persons[64] should receive baptism in oratories belonging to houses, but that they who desire illumination, should go to the catholic, that is, the public churches; and that on pain of deposition to the clergyman who was the administrator, and excommunication to the layman who was the receiver.

Sect 13. Except in case of sickness, or with the bishop's licence to the contrary upon some special occasions.

Now, all these laws and rules were intended for the preservation of decency and good order in the church, that baptism might be performed in the presence of the whole church, whereof men were then made members, and all the congregation might be spectators and witnesses of their admission. Upon which account it was improper to allow it to be done either in heretical conventicles, or in private houses. Yet, in cases of necessity, sickness, imprisonment, journeying, and the like, these rules could not bind; for they were only made for ordinary cases. Therefore we read of martyrs sometimes baptized in prison, and frequently of clinics, as they were called, who were baptized on a sick-bed, and others baptized at sea or in a journey, which were not interpreted transgressions of this rule, because the exigence and necessity of the case made them lawful. And sometimes baptism was allowed in private oratories by the bishop's licence, as both the law of Justinian

[55] Clem. Recognit. lib. 4. c. 32. Ut in præsenti quidem tempore diluantur peccata vestra per aquam fontis, aut fluminis, aut etiam maris, invocata super vos trino Beatitudinis nomine. Vid. Clementin. Hom. 9. n. 19.

[56] Ibid. lib. 6. n. 15. In fontibus, qui contigui habentur mari, perennis aquæ mihi baptismum dedit, &c.

[57] Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renunciare diabolo, &c. Tertul. de Coron. c. 3.

[58] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 93. Ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐςι, &c.

[59] Justin. Novel. 58. Priscis sancitum est legibus, nulli penitus esse licentiam, domi quæ sacratissima sunt agere.—Sed si quidem domos ita simpliciter aliqui habere putant oportere in sacris suis, orationis videlicet solius gratia, et nullo celebrando penitus horum quæ sacri sunt mysterii, hoc eis permittimus, &c.

[60] Conc. Constant. sub Menna, Act. 1. p. 70. Ed. Crab. Quanquam piissimus imperator noster mandaverit non reconventiculare, neque rebaptizare (leg. parabaptizare) Zoaras tamen tale præceptum despexit, et parabaptizavit in die Paschæ non paucos.

[61] Justin. Novel. 42. c. 3. Sancimus quemlibet talium silentium ducere, et non convocare aliquos ad se, neque accedentes recipere, aut parabaptizare audere, aut sacram communionem sordidare.

[62] Libel. Monachor. in Act. 1. Conc. sub Menna. ap. Crab. t. 2. p. 28. Isti falsi sacerdotes et veri antichristi in domibus intrarunt, et aliena altaria erexerunt, et baptisteria ædificaverunt, in contrarium veri altaris et sancti lavacri.

[63] Epist. Monachor. 2. Syriæ in Act. 1. Ibid. p. 67.

[64] Conc. Trull. can. 59. Μηδαμῶς ἐν εὐκτηρίῳ οἴκῳ ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνοντι βάπτισμα ἐπιτελείσθω· ἀλλ' οἱ μέλλοντες ἀξιοῦσθαι τοῦ ἀχράντου φωτίσματος, ταῖς καθολικαῖς προσερχέσθωσαν ἐκκλησίαις.

and the canons in some places had provided. For the council of Agde[65] in France allows the eucharist to be celebrated in country chapels at all times by the bishop's leave, not excepting the greater festivals: and it is reasonable to suppose, that where the eucharist was allowed, there baptism might be administered also, though they were not properly parochial or baptismal churches. The council of Eliberis[66] in Spain speaks of deacons presiding over a people, and baptizing in places where there was neither bishop nor presbyter, which we must reasonably suppose to have been country villages at some distance from the mother church, where yet for convenience baptism was allowed to be performed by the hands of a deacon. As St. Jerom[67] also testifies, who says, That in villages and castles, and places remote from the bishop's church, men were baptized both by presbyters and deacons. So that though the bishop's church was the ordinary place of baptism, as he himself was the chief minister of it, and the public baptistery was only at his church; yet upon proper reasons, by his authority and permission, baptism might be administered in other places, especially in those that were a sort of secondary churches; of which, and their several distinctions from the *ecclesia matrix*, the episcopal or principal church, I have given a more particular account before in the discourse of churches.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE RENUNCIATIONS AND PROFESSIONS MADE BY ALL PERSONS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THEIR BAPTISM.

Sect. 1. Three things required of all persons at their baptism. 1. To renounce the devil.

HAVING thus far conducted the catechumens to the place of baptism, that is, to the baptistery of the church; we are next to consider, how the discipline of the church proceeded with them immediately before their baptism. And here we are to observe in the first place, that three things were now indispensably required of them at this season, that is, a formal and solemn renunciation of the devil, a profession of faith made in the words of some received creed, and a promise or engagement to live in obedience to Christ, or by the laws and rules of the Christian religion. For though these things were in some measure required of them before, during the time of their institution, yet now they were to make a more solemn and public profession of them before the congregation. Tertullian seems[1] to intimate this twofold profession, when he says, That according to the discipline of the church in his time, catechumens first made their renunciation of the devil, and his pomp and his angels, in the church, when they received imposition of hands from the bishop in his prayers for them, and again when they came to the water to be baptized.

Sect. 2. The form of this renunciation, and the import of it.

The form of this renunciation is more perfectly delivered by the author of the Constitutions in these words: I renounce Satan, and his works, and his pomps,[2] and his service, and his angels, and his inventions, and all things that belong to him, or that are subject to him. Others express it more concisely; some calling it the renunciation of the world, as Cyprian,[3] who sometimes joins the devil and the world together, as where he asks one of the lapsers, who had gone to offer sacrifice at the capitol, How a servant[4] of God could stand there, and speak, and renounce Christ, who before had renounced the devil and the world? And so it is in St. Ambrose: Thou wentest into the baptistery; consider what questions were asked thee, and what answers thou gavest to them. Thou didst renounce the devil and his works, the world,[5] and its luxury and pleasures. In like manner, St. Jerom[6] joins the devil and the world together: I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomp, and thy vices, and thy world which lieth in iniquity. Sometimes the games and shows, which were part of the devil's pomp, were expressly mentioned in this form of renunciation, as it is in Salvian: I renounce the devil, his pomps, his shows, and his works. For he thus addresses himself to Christians, who still gave themselves liberty to be

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[65] Conc. Agathen. can. 21. Si quis etiam extra parochias, in quibus legitimus est ordinariusque conventus, oratorium in agro habuerit, reliquis festivitatibus ut ibi missas teneat propter fatigationem familiæ, justa ordinatione permittimus, &c.

[66] Conc. Eliber. can. 77. Si quis diaconus regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit.

[67] Hieron. Dial. cum Lucifer. cap. 4. In viculis et castellis et remotioribus locis per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati, &c.

[1] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renunciare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus.

[2] Const. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 41. Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς λατρείαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς ἐφευρέσεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτόν.

[3] Cypr. Ep. 7. al. 13. ad Rogat. p. 37. Seculo renunciaveramus, cum baptizati sumus.

[4] Cypr. de Lapsis, p. 125. Stare illic potuit Dei servus, et loqui, et renunciare Christo, qui jam diabolo renunciârat et seculo.

[5] Ambros. de Initiatis, cap. 2. Ingressus es regenerationis sacrarium, repete quid interrogatus sis, recognosce quid responderis. Renunciasti diabolo et operibus ejus, mundo et luxuriæ ejus ac voluptatibus.

[6] Hieron. Com. in Mat. xxv. 26. Renuncio tibi diabole, et pompæ tuæ et vitiis tuis, et mundo tuo, qui in maligno positus est.

spectators at the Roman shows: What is the first profession[7] that Christians make at baptism? Is it not a protestation, that they renounce the devil, and his pomps, and his shows, and his works? Therefore these shows and pomps, even by our own profession, are the works of the devil. How then, O Christian, canst thou, after baptism, follow those shows, which thou confessest to be the work of the devil? Tertullian made use of the same argument before, to make Christians refrain from following the Roman theatres. But then he had also the charge of idolatry to throw into the scale against them. For, says he,[8] what is the chief and principal thing to be understood by the devil, his pomps, and his angels, but idolatry? Therefore if all the preparation and furniture of the shows be made up of idolatry, there can be no dispute, but that the renunciation we make in baptism relates to those shows, and is a testimony against them. He argues after the same manner, against all such secular offices,[9] and honours, and employments, as could not be held and discharged without partaking in some idolatrous rites and ceremonies; such as the offices of the flamens, and many others; in which, the very wearing of a crown or garland, or exhibiting some of the public shows to the people, as by such an office they were obliged to do, made them guilty of idolatry, though they abstained from the grosser act of it, that of offering incense and sacrifice to the idols. And so the council of Eliberis[10] determined, That such flamens as only exhibited the public shows to the people, (which in their language is called *Munus dare*,) though they did not sacrifice to the idols, should be cast out of the church all their lives, and only be admitted to communion at the hour of death. Whence it is plain, that in the times of heathenism and idolatry, all such offices and employments as obliged men to exhibit those public games and shows to the people, were supposed to be included in the renunciation of the pomps and works of the devil, because of the idolatry that was interwoven with them. But in the time of Salvian, all this idolatry was abolished, and these pomps and shows were no longer exhibited to the honour of idol gods: yet they had still so much vanity, lewdness, and profaneness in them, that they were justly complained of as unchristian and diabolical, upon the account of their immorality, and therefore were reputed among those unlawful pomps which every Christian was supposed to renounce at his baptism. Cyril of Jerusalem, who wrote after idolatry was in a great measure destroyed, still continues the charge[11] against them for their lewdness and cruelty, and reckons them among the pomps of the devil, whilst he is explaining to his catechumens this part of their baptismal profession.

Sect. 3. The antiquity of this renunciation. By some derived from apostolical practice.

The antiquity of this renunciation is evidenced from all the writers that have said any thing of baptism. And by some it is derived from apostolical institution and practice. For so they interpret that passage of St. Paul to Timothy, 1 Tim. vi. 12, "Lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses." The authors of the Comments under the names of St. Ambrose and St. Jerom, supposed to be Hilary the Roman deacon and Pelagius, give this interpretation of the place: Thou hast confessed a good confession[12] in baptism, by renouncing the world and its pomps, before many witnesses, before the priests and ministers and the heavenly powers. So Pelagius. And Hilary[13] seems to say further, that this confession was also entered or enrolled in the monuments of the church. Others do not found it upon this or any other express text of Scripture, but yet derive it from ancient tradition. As Tertullian and St. Basil, the former of which reckons[14] it among many other ecclesiastical rites and usages, which are not expressly determined in Scripture, but yet proceeded from tradition, and are confirmed by custom. And St. Basil[15] ranks it among those mystical rites which were received in

[7] Salvian. de Provident. lib. 6. p. 197. Quæ est enim in baptismo salutari Christianorum prima confessio? Quæ scilicet, nisi ut renunciare se diabolo ac pompis ejus, atque spectaculis et operibus protestentur? Ergo spectacula et pompæ, etiam juxta nostram professionem opera sunt diaboli. Quomodo, O Christiane, spectacula post baptismum sequeris, quæ opus esse diaboli confiteris? Vid. Cyril. Catech. Myst. 1. n. 4.

[8] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 4. Quid erit summum ac præcipuum in quo diabolus et pompæ et angeli ejus censeantur, quam idololatria?—Igitur si ex idololatria universam spectaculorum paraturam constare constiterit, indubitate præjudicatum erit etiam ad spectacula pertinere renunciationis nostræ testimonium in lavacro.

[9] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 13. Hæ erant pompæ diaboli et angelorum ejus, officia seculi, honores, solennitates postulatrices, falsa vota, humana servitia, laudes vanæ, gloriæ turpes: et in omnibus istis idololatria in solo quoque censu coronarum, quibus omnia ista redimita sunt.

[10] Conc. Eliber. can. 3. Item flamines, qui non immolaverint, sed munus tantum dederint, eo quod se a funestis abstinuerunt sacrificiis, placuit in fine eis præstari communionem, acta tamen legitima pœnitentia.

[11] Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 1. n. 4. p. 280.

[12] Pelag. in 1 Tim. vi. 12. Confessus es bonam confessionem in baptismo, renunciando sæculo et pompis ejus, coram multis testibus, coram sacerdotibus, vel ministris, virtutibusque cœlestibus.

[13] Ambros. in 1 Tim. vi. 12. Cujus confessio inter ipsa rudimenta fidei, teste interrogante et respondente, monumentis ecclesiasticis continetur.

[14] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Hanc si nulla Scriptura determinavit, certe consuetudo corroboravit, quæ sine dubio de traditione manavit.

[15] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, c. 27. Τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ.

the church, not from any written word, but by private direction and tradition from the apostles. The conjecture of those learned men[16] is not improbable, who think the form of renunciation, made by way of questions and answers, to have been so ancient in the church, as that the apostle St. Peter may be justly thought to refer to it, when he styles baptism, "The answer of a good conscience toward God," which can reasonably refer to nothing so well as that common custom of answering in baptism, Dost thou renounce the devil? &c. I renounce him. Dost thou believe in God? &c. I believe.

Sect. 4. This renunciation made by persons standing with their face to the west. And the reason of that practice with some other ceremonies.

It is further to be observed concerning this renunciation, that as soon as baptisteries were built, there was a particular place in them assigned peculiarly to this service. For they commonly had two distinct apartments, as has been showed before,[17] in the description of churches; first, their *προαύλιον οἶκον*, their porch, or ante-room, where the catechumens made their renunciations of Satan, and confessions of faith; and then their *ἐσώτερον οἶκον*, their inner room, where the ceremony of baptism was performed. When the catechumens were brought into the former of these, they were placed with their faces to the west, and then commanded to renounce Satan with some gesture and rite expressing an indignation against him, as by stretching out their hands, or folding them, or striking them together; and sometimes by exsufflation and spitting at him, as if he were present: which were all of them so many indications of their abhorrence. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his mystical catechisms to the illuminated,[18] thus describes this part of the action: Ye were first brought into the ante-room of the baptistery, and placed toward the west in a standing posture, and then commanded to renounce Satan, by stretching out your hands against him, as if he were present. A little after he explains the meaning of their doing this with their face toward the west. The west, says he, is the place of darkness, and Satan is darkness, and his strength is in darkness. For this reason ye symbolically look toward the west, when ye renounce that prince of darkness and horror. St. Jerom plainly alludes to this custom, when he says, In our mysteries, meaning the celebration of baptism, we first renounce him that is in[19] the west, who dies to us with our sins: and then turning about to the east, we make a covenant with the Sun of righteousness, and promise to be his servants. In like manner, St. Ambrose, discoursing to some newly baptized persons;[20] When you entered into the baptistery, and had viewed your adversary whom you were to renounce, you then turned about to the east. For he that renounces the devil, is turned unto Christ. Whence, as Gregory Nazianzen[21] observes, they did not only renounce the devil in words, but in their very habit and gesture; for they did it divested of their clothes, and with their body turned toward the west, and with hands stretched out against him; to this they added sometimes a collision, or striking of the hands together, and an exsufflation, or a spitting at their adversary, to express their abhorrence of him, as the author under the name of Dionysius[22] describes it.

Sect. 5. Why this renunciation was made three times.

From whom we learn also, that this renunciation was repeated three times. For, in another place, he thus describes the whole ceremony: The priest makes the person who is to be baptized[23] to stand with his hands stretched out toward the west, and striking them together; (the original is, *τὰς χεῖρας ἀπωθοῦντα*, which denotes collision, or striking of the hands together by way of abhorrence;) then he bids him *ἐμφυσῆσαι τρὶς τῷ Σατανᾷ*, thrice exsufflate, or spit, in defiance of Satan: afterwards, thrice repeating the solemn words of renunciation, he bids him thrice renounce him in that form: then he turns him about to the east, and with hands and eyes lift up to heaven, bids him *συντάξασθαι τῷ Χριςῷ*, enter into covenant with Christ. Vicecomes[24] thinks this triple renunciation was made, either because there were three things which men renounced in their baptism, the devil, his pomps, and the world; or to signify the three persons of the Trinity, by whom they were adopted as sons upon their renouncing Satan; or because it was usual in civil adoptions and emancipation of slaves, for the master to yield up his right by a triple renunciation, which he shows from Aulus Gellius and Sigonius. But as the ancients are silent in this matter, I leave these reasons to the discretion of every judicious reader.

Sect. 6. The second thing required of men at

The next thing required of men at their baptism, was a vow or covenant

[16] See Dr. Cave, Prim. Christ. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 315, and Estius and Grotius on 1 Pet. iii. 21.

[17] Book VIII. chap. 7. sect. 1.

[18] Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 1. n. 2. p. 278. *Εἰσῄειτε πρῶτον εἰς τὸν προαύλιον οἶκον τȢ βαπτιςηρίȢ, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἑςῶτες, ἠκȢσατε καὶ προσετάττεσθε ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ὡς παρόντι ἀπετάττεσθε τῷ Σατανᾷ.*

[19] Hieron. in Amos vi. 14. In mysteriis primum renunciamus ei qui in occidente est, nobisque moritur cum peccatis: et sic versi ad orientem, pactum inimus cum sole justitiæ, et ei servituros nos esse promittimus.

[20] Ambros. de Initiatis, cap. 2. Ingressus ut adversarium tuum cerneres cui renunciandum mox putares, ad orientem converteris. Qui enim renunciat diabolo, ad Christum convertitur.

[21] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 67. *Γνώσῃ καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ὡς ὅλην ἀποπέμπῃ τὴν ἀθεΐαν, ȣ̈τως ὅλῃ θεότητι συντασσόμενος.*

[22] Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccl. cap. 3. p. 258. *Γυμνὸν καὶ ἀνυπόδετον ἵςησι πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀφορῶντα*, &c.

[23] Ibid. p. 253.

[24] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 2. cap 2?. p. 311.

their baptism, was a vow or covenant of obedience to Christ. of obedience to Christ, which the Greeks call, συντάσσεσθαι Χριςῷ, giving themselves up to the government and conduct of Christ. This was always an indispensable part of their obligation, before they could be admitted to the ceremony of regeneration. They first renounced the devil, and then immediately promised to live in obedience to the laws of Christ. Some indeed in St. Austin's time pleaded hard for an exemption in this particular. They were willing to make a profession of faith in Christ, but not of universal obedience; and yet would impudently pretend to demand baptism of the church, notwithstanding their incorrigible temper. Against whom he wrote that excellent book, De Fide et Operibus, to show the necessity of good works, as well as faith, to the being of a Christian; where he answers all the objections and arguments they pretended to bring from Scripture: for they pleaded Scripture for their practice. Amongst other things they urged that famous text of St. Paul, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire." Upon which they made this perverse comment: That they who built upon this foundation[25] gold, silver, precious stones, were such as added good works to their faith in Christ; but they who built wood, hay, stubble, were they that held the same faith in unrighteousness and a wicked life. And they imagined, that even these men might be so purged by certain punishments of fire, as to obtain salvation by virtue of the foundation, which they retained. To which St. Austin replies, That if this was true,[26] it were a laudable charity indeed for them to endeavour that all men might indifferently be admitted to baptism, not only adulterers and adulteresses, who pretended false marriages contrary to the express command of Christ, but also public harlots continuing in the basest of all professions; which yet the most negligent church on earth never pretended to admit to baptism, till they had first forsaken that vile prostitution. They urged further, that to deny wicked men the privilege of baptism, was to root out the tares before the time. To which St. Austin[27] replies, That this rejection of them from baptism was not rooting out the tares, but rather not sowing them, as the devil did: they did not prohibit any that were willing to come to Christ, but only convinced them by their own confession, that they were unwilling to come to him. And therefore, though these men called it a novel doctrine and practice to reject harlots, and stage-players, and all that made open profession of such abominable arts, from baptism, yet he tells them this was grounded upon the rules[28] of ancient truth, which manifestly declared, that "they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." And that this was the ancient rule, by which the church proceeded, is evident from all the writers that have spoken of baptism. Justin Martyr, who describes the ceremonies of baptism with the greatest simplicity, says, It was only given to those who, to their confession of faith, added also a promise or vow[29] that they would live according to the rules of Christianity. And hence came that usual form of words in their profession, Συντάττομαί σοι Χριστὲ, I give myself up to thee, O Christ, to be governed by thy laws: which immediately followed the ἀπόταξις, or renunciation of the devil, whose service they forsook to choose a new master; as we find it frequently in St. Chrysostom,[30] St. Basil,[31] St. Cyril of Alexandria,[32] the author of the Apostolical Constitutions,[33] and most of the Greek writers, whose words, as being but one and the same form, I think it needless to repeat upon this occasion. The Latins commonly call it *promissum*, *pactum*, and *votum*, a promise, a covenant, and vow, which names they apply indifferently to all parts of the Christian engagement, as well the renunciation of the devil, as the profession of faith, and obedience to Christ, which do mutually suppose, and are virtually included in one another. For he that renounces the

[25] Aug. de Fide et Oper. c. 15. t. 4. p. 30. Quod quidam ita intelligendum putant, ut illi videantur ædificare super hoc fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, qui fidei quæ in Christo est, bona opera adjiciunt: illi autem fœnum, ligna, stipulam, qui cum eandem fidem habeant, male operantur. Unde arbitrantur per quasdam pœnas ignis eos posse purgari ad salutem percipiendam merito fundamenti.

[26] Ibid. Hoc si ita est, fatemur istos laudabili charitate conari, ut omnes indiscrete admittantur ad baptismum, non solum adulteri et adulteræ, contra sententiam Domini falsas nuptias prætendentes, verum etiam publicæ meretrices in turpissima professione perseverantes, quas certe nulla etiam negligentissima ecclesia consuevit admittere, nisi ab illa primitus prostitutione liberatas.

[27] Ibid. c. 17. Quando tales ad baptismum non admittimus, non ante tempus zizania evellere conamur, sed nolumus insuper sicut diabolus zizania seminare; nec ad Christum volentes venire prohibemus, sed eos ad Christum venire nolle, ipsa sua confessione convincimus.

[28] Ibid. c. 18. Antiquum et robustum morem ecclesia retinet, ex illa scilicet liquidissima veritate venientem, qua certum habet, quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt.

[29] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 93. Καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, &c.

[30] Chrys. Hom. 21. ad Popul. Antioch. p. 275. Hom. 6. in Colos. p. 1358.

[31] Basil. Hom. 13. Exhort. ad Bapt.

[32] Cyril. in John xi. 26. [33] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. c. 41.

devil and the world, does thereby profess himself a soldier and servant devoted to Christ. Therefore St. Ambrose, speaking of the renunciation, calls it,[34] a promise, a caution, a hand-writing or bond, given to God, and registered in the court of heaven; because this is a vow made before his ministers, and the angels, who are witnesses to it. Upon which account he says in another place,[35] It is recorded, not in the monuments of the dead, but in the book of the living. St. Austin calls it, a profession[36] made in the court of angels, and the names of the professors are written in the book of life, not by any man, but by the heavenly powers. St. Jerom[37] styles it, a covenant made with the Sun of righteousness, and a promise of obedience to Christ. And he so speaks of this ceremony, as to show it to be a distinct act from the renunciation, (though they both tended to the same end,) because different rites were used in expressing them. For in renouncing the devil they had their faces to the west, for symbolical reasons which we have heard before; but in making their covenant with Christ they turned about to the east, as an emblem of that light which they received from the Sun of righteousness, by engaging themselves in his service.

Sect. 7. This vow of obedience made by turning to the east. And why.

This custom of turning about to the east, when they made their profession of obedience to Christ, is also mentioned by St. Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem, and the author under the name of Dionysius. For which they assign two reasons: 1. Cyril[38] tells his disciples, that as soon as they had renounced the devil, the paradise of God, which was planted in the East, and whence our first parent for his transgression was driven into banishment, was now laid open to them: and their turning about from the west to the east, which is the region of light, was a symbol of this. For the same reason, St. Basil[39] and some others of the ancients tell us, they prayed toward the east, that they might have their faces toward paradise. The other reason for turning to the east in baptism, was because the east or rising sun was an emblem of the Sun of righteousness, to whom they now turned from Satan: Thou art turned about to the east, says St. Ambrose,[40] for he that renounces the devil, turns unto Christ. Where he plainly intimates with St. Jerom, that turning to the east was a symbol of their aversion from Satan, and conversion unto Christ, that is, from darkness to light, from serving idols to serve him who is the Sun of righteousness and Fountain of light.

Sect. 8. The third thing required of the party to be baptized, was a profession of faith in the usual words of the creed.

Together with this profession of obedience, there was also exacted a profession of faith of every person to be baptized. And this was always to be made in the same words of the creed, that every church used for the instruction of her catechumens. They were obliged to repeat it privately to the catechist, and then again publicly in the church, when they had given in their names to baptism; as I have showed[41] before. But besides this, they were also obliged to make a more solemn profession of it at the time of baptism, and give distinct answers to the several questions, as the minister propounded them, with relation to the several parts of the creed, which contained the summary of Christian faith. There were some indeed in St. Austin's time, who, as they were for excluding the profession of obedience out of the baptismal vow, so were they for curtailing the profession of faith, and reducing it to one single article, I believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God. In favour of this, they pleaded the example of Philip baptizing the eunuch upon this short confession,[42] and that saying of St. Paul to the Corinthians, "I determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." Yet they durst never proceed so far as to put their designs in practice; for they still continued to make interrogatories about the other articles, as the church always did, concerning the Holy Ghost, the holy church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the dead, the incarnation of Christ, his passion and death upon

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[34] Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. 1. c. 2. Respondisti, Abrenuncio: memor esto sermonis tui, et nunquam tibi excidat series cautionis tuæ.—Ubi promiseris considera, vel quibus promiseris: Levitam vidisti, sed minister est Christi. Vidisti illum ante altaria ministrare: ergo chirographum tuum tenetur, non in terra, sed in cœlo.

[35] Id. de Initiatis, cap. 2. Tenetur vox tua, non in tumulo mortuorum, sed in libro viventium.

[36] Aug. de Symbolo, lib. 2. c. 1. t. 9. Professi estis renunciare vos diabolo, pompis, et angelis ejus. Videte dilectissimi, quia hanc professionem vestram in curiam profertis angelicam: nomina profitentium in libro excipiuntur vitæ, non a quolibet homine, sed a superiore cœlitus potestate.

[37] Hieron. Com. in Amos vi. 14. In mysteriis primum renunciamus ei qui in occidente est: et sic versi in orientem, pactum inimus cum sole justitiæ, et ei servituros nos esse promittimus.

[38] Cyril. Catech. Mystagog. 1. n. 6.

[39] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 27.

[40] Ambros. de Initiatis, c. 2. Ad orientem converteris. Qui enim renunciat diabolo, ad Christum convertitur.

[41] Book X. chap. 2. sect. 10.

[42] Aug. de Fide et Oper. cap. 9. Spado, inquiunt, ille quem Philippus baptizavit, nihil plus dixit, quam, Credo Filium Dei esse Jesum Christum. Num ergo placet, ut hoc solum homines respondeant, et continuo baptizentur? Nihil de Spiritu Sancto, nihil de sancta ecclesia, nihil de remissione peccatorum, nihil de resurrectione mortuorum? &c. Si enim spado cum respondisset, Credo Filium Dei esse Jesum Christum, hoc ei sufficere visum est, ut continuo baptizatus abscederet: Cur non id sequimur, atque auferimus cætera quæ necesse habemus etiam cum ad baptizandum temporis urget angustia exprimere, interrogando ut baptizandus ad cuncta respondeat, etiamsi ea memoriæ mandare non valuit?

the cross, his burial and resurrection on the third day, his ascension, and session on the right hand of the Father: all which were thought so necessary, that the church never omitted them even in clinic baptism, when men were baptized upon a sick-bed: for if they were able to speak, they answered for themselves, as St. Austin says, to every particular interrogation, though they were not able to commit them to memory; and if they were speechless, their sureties or sponsors answered for them, as they did for children, as will be showed in the next chapter. So that one way or other the whole creed was repeated, and every individual article assented to by men at their baptism. And this was always the practice of the church from the very days of the apostles, and in their time also: for though no other article be mentioned in the baptism of the eunuch, but only his believing Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, yet, as St. Austin observes in the same place,[43] the Scripture, in saying, Philip baptized him, is to be understood as meaning that all things were fulfilled, which use to be observed in baptism, though, for brevity's sake, they be not mentioned. And indeed in all the accounts we have of baptism in ancient writers, there is express mention of this profession, either to believe the doctrines of Christianity in general, as they are delivered in Scripture, or as they are briefly summed up in the articles of the creed. Justin Martyr[44] says, Before men were regenerated, they must both profess to believe the truth of those things which they had been taught, and also promise to live answerable to their knowledge. Cyprian particularly[45] mentions the use of the creed in baptism, and specifies in several of the interrogatories that were made in reference to the particular articles of it; as, Whether they believed eternal life, and remission of sins in the holy church? which were always the concluding articles of the creed. And in another place he speaks both of these, and the articles relating to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as interrogatories used in baptism both by the catholic church,[46] and the Novatians. For however they differed in the sense of some of the articles, yet they both agreed in the same form of interrogatories, and both baptized in the same creed. Tertullian also[47] specifies the articles relating to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the church, as part of the interrogatories of baptism. And Eusebius, reciting the words of the Creed of Cæsarea,[48] says, it was the Creed into which he was baptized. The same use was made of the Nicene Creed, as soon as it was composed, in most of the Eastern churches; or they ordinarily baptized in the profession of that faith, as I have showed in the last book.[49] It were easy here to subjoin many testimonies out of St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, Cyril of Alexandria and Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Nazianzen, Basil, Epiphanius, and Salvian, and the author of the Constitutions: but the matter is so incontestable, that the ancients did never baptize into the profession of any single article, but into a complete and perfect creed, that I think it needless to insist upon the proof of it, whilst there is not any pretence of an exception to be made against it in any public or private baptism whatsoever.

Sect. 9. This confession made in the most solemn and public manner.

There were some circumstances and ceremonies of this confession, which because they added something to the solemnity of the action, it will not be improper to mention. As, first, that it was usually done in public before many witnesses. Which was a circumstance grounded upon apostolical practice, and very rarely dispensed with. Primasius[50] deduces it from the example of Timothy, who witnessed a good confession before many witnesses: which he interprets of his profession of faith made at baptism. Which is also the exposition given by Ephrem Syrus.[51] And Pope Leo[52] seems to refer to the same, when he exhorts men to stand firm in that faith, which they confessed before many witnesses; that faith in which they were born again of water and the Holy Ghost, and received the unction of salvation, and the seal of eternal life. It was usual at Rome, St. Austin[53] tells us, to make this

[43] Aug. de Fide et Oper. cap. 9. In eo quod ait, Baptizavit eum Philippus, intelligi voluit impleta esse omnia, quæ licet taceantur in Scripturis, gratia brevitatis, tamen serie traditionis scimus implenda.

[44] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 93. Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται——ἀναγεννῶνται.

[45] Cypr. Ep. 70. ad Episc. Numidas, p. 190. Sed et ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in baptismo, testis est veritatis. Nam cum dicimus, Credis in vitam æternam, et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam? Intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari, &c.

[46] Cypr. Ep. 69. al. 76. ad Magnum, p. 183.

[47] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 6. Quum sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pignorentur, necessario adjicitur ecclesiæ mentio: quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est.

[48] Euseb. Epist. ad Cæsarienses, ap. Socrat. lib. I. cap. 8.

[49] Book X. chap. 4. sect. 17.

[50] Primas. in 1 Tim. vi. 12. Confessus bonam confessionem, in baptismo: coram multis testibus, coram sacerdotibus et ministris, atque virtutibus cœlestibus ac divinis.

[51] Ephrem. de Pœnitent. cap. 5.

[52] Leo, Serm. 4. de Nativ. Domini, p. 17. Permanete stabiles in fide, quam confessi estis coram multis testibus, et in qua renati per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum, accepistis chrisma salutis et signaculum vitæ æternæ.

[53] Aug. Confess. lib. 8. cap. 2. Ut ventum est ad horam profitendæ fidei, quæ verbis certis conceptisque memoriter de loco eminentiore in conspectu populi fidelis Romæ reddi solet ab eis qui accessuri sunt ad gratiam tuam, oblatum esse dicebat Victorino a presbyteris, ut secretius redderet, sicut nonnullis qui verecundia trepidaturi videbantur, offerri mos erat: illum autem maluisse salutem suam in conspectu

confession publicly in the church, in some eminent place appointed for the purpose, that they might be seen and heard by all the congregation. But sometimes, to favour the modesty of some very bashful persons, who could not speak without trembling in such an awful assembly, the presbyters received their confession in private: and this they offered to Victorinus, a famous rhetorician, upon his conversion; but he chose rather to make his confession in public; saying, there was no salvation in rhetoric, and yet he had always taught that in public; and therefore it would not become him to be afraid of making a public confession of God's word before the meek flock of Christ, who had never been afraid to repeat his own words in the schools of the heathen, who in comparison of Christians were only to be reputed madmen.

Sect. 10. With hands and eyes lift up to heaven.

Another circumstance which added to the solemnity of the action, was the posture of the body, not only looking toward the east, but with hands and eyes lift up to heaven, as if they were immediately fixed on Christ, with whom they were now entering into covenant, as their new Lord sitting on the throne of his glory. For as they renounced the devil with hands stretched out against him, or with collision or striking them together in defiance of him; so on the contrary, they made their confession and covenant, and addresses to Christ, in the posture of petition, with hands lift up to the Sun of righteousness, and ready to embrace him. So the author under the name of Dionysius[54] describes it, saying, The priest bids the catechumen, after he has renounced Satan, to turn about to the east and make his covenant with Christ, with hands and eyes lift up to heaven.

Sect. 11. Repeated three times.

This confession also, for greater solemnity, is thought to have been repeated three times, as we have heard before, that it was usual to do in the renunciation of Satan. Cyril of Alexandria[55] says, It was the custom of the church to require a triple confession of Christ, of all those that proposed to love him, and came to his holy baptism: and this after the example of St. Peter, to whom Christ said three times, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" and Peter answered thrice, "Lord, thou knowest that I love thee." St. Ambrose[56] says, That in the celebration of baptism, three interrogatories were made, and a triple answer was given to them; nor could any one be otherwise baptized. Whence also Peter was asked three times in the Gospel, whether he loved the Lord? that by answering thrice, he might loose those bonds with which he had bound himself by denying his Lord. But I am not sure that this triple confession always means thrice repeating the whole creed. For St. Ambrose[57] in another place makes this triple confession to be rather answering three times, I believe, to the several parts of the creed. Thou wast asked, says he, Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? And thou didst answer, I believe. Thou wast asked again, Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and his cross? And thou didst answer a second time, I believe. Thou wast asked a third time, Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost? And thy answer was, I believe. So thou wast thrice buried under water, that thy triple confession might absolve thee from the manifold offences of thy former life. Where it is plain, the triple confession means no more than answering thrice, I believe, to the several parts of the creed. But there might be different customs in different places; for St. Cyril seems to mean something more, when he makes these answers not only to be a confession of the three persons of the Trinity, but a triple confession of Christ, which implies a repetition of the creed three times over, if I rightly understand him.

Sect. 12. And subscribed with their own hands in the books of the church, as some think.

There was one circumstance more, which, if true, added great weight to the whole action: which was, that the party, after he had made his confession of faith, subscribed it also with his own hand, if he were able to do it, in the books or registers of the church. I cannot positively say, that this was any certain or universal practice, but there seem to be some footsteps of it in some ancient records, and the allusions of writers to such a custom. Gregory Nazianzen is thought to refer to it, when, exhorting men to continue stedfast to the faith which they professed at baptism, he says, If thou wast enrolled into any other faith[58] than what I have

sanctæ multitudinis profiteri: non enim erat salus quam docebat in rhetorica, et tamen eam publice professus erat. Quanto minus ergo vereri debuit mansuetum gregem tuum, pronuncians verbum tuum, qui non verebatur in verbis suis turbas insanorum?

[54] Dionys. de Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 2. p. 253.

[55] Cyril. lib. 12. in Joh. xxi. t. 4. p. 1119. Τύπος δὲ πάλιν ταῖς μὲν ἐκκλησίαις ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὸ χρῆναι τρίτον διερωτᾷν τὴν εἰς Χριϛὸν ὁμολογίαν τοὺς ἀγαπᾷν αὐτὸν ἑλομένους, διὰ τȣ̃ καὶ προσελθεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι.

[56] Ambros. de Spir. Sancto, lib. 2. cap. 11. Ideo in mysteriis interrogatio trina defertur, et confirmatio trina celebratur: nec potest quis nisi trina confessione purgari. Unde et ipse Petrus in evangelio tertio interrogatur, utrum diligat Dominum, ut trina responsione vincula, quæ Dominum negando ligavit, absolveret.

[57] Id. de Sacram. lib. 2. c. 7. Interrogatus es, Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem? Dixisti, Credo, &c. Iterum interrogatus es, Credis in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum et in crucem ejus? Dixisti, Credo, et mersisti.—Tertio interrogatus es, Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum? Dixisti, Credo. Tertio mersisti, ut multiplicem lapsum superioris ætatis absolveret trina confessio.

[58] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 670. Εἰ μὲν ἄλλως ἐγγέγραψαι, ἢ ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς ἀπαιτεῖ λόγος, δεῦρο καὶ μετεγγράφθητι.——Εἰπὲ τοῖς μεταπείθȣσί σε, ὃ γέγραφα, γέγραφα.

expounded, come and be enrolled again; and then tell those that would draw thee away from it, "What I have written, I have written." St. Ambrose seems also to allude to this, when[59] he tells the initiated, that their handwriting was recorded not only in earth, but in heaven, because it was taken both in the presence of men and angels. And St. Austin[60] says, The names of such as made their profession, were written in the book of life, not only by men, but by the heavenly powers above. Yet I confess St. Chrysostom has a passage which seems to go contrary to all this: for speaking of the difference between earthly masters buying slaves, and Christ taking us to be his servants, he reckons this among others, that Christ requires no witnesses nor handwriting of us,[61] but only our bare word, to say, I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy pomp. Whence it must be concluded, either that this custom was not so universal as the rest, since St. Chrysostom knew nothing of it; or that the forecited evidences are not so cogent as at first sight they may seem to be. For St. Ambrose and St. Austin may be so interpreted, where they speak of being written in the book of life, as to be understood only in a figurative sense, for having their names written in heaven. Yet Vicecomes is very positive not only of this, but that men also set their seal[62] to their subscription, and confirmed their profession with an oath. But I do not find any sufficient authority for this, and therefore will not any further insist upon it, which I had rather leave to the further disquisition of the critical and curious reader.

Sect. 13. The use of all these ceremonies and engagements, to make men sensible of their obligation, and stedfast to their profession.

But by what has been said we may easily perceive, that the design of the church in all these ceremonies, and the caution and deliberation used in the whole action, was only to make men truly sensible of the nature of the Christian religion, (which admitted of no proselytes without these formal and solemn professions,) and of their great obligations to continue stedfast in that faith and obedience to Christ, which they had so solemnly promised with their mouths, and subscribed with their own hands, not only before men, but in the presence of God and the holy angels. This was the greatest engagement imaginable upon them, and of force to influence their whole lives. To which purpose St. Chrysostom often proposes and insists upon it, to make men bear it perpetually in memory, and use it as their best armour and weapon against all temptations. In his last discourse to the people of Antioch, he expatiates upon this topic, inveighing first severely against all the shows of the Roman theatre and circus, and observation of days, and presages, and omens, which he reckons among the pomps of Satan. To these he joins enchantments and ligatures: for some Christians made no scruple to hang golden medals of Alexander the Great about their head or feet to cure diseases. With whom he expostulates after this manner: Are these our hopes[63] and expectations, that after the cross and death of our Lord, we should put our trust for health in the image of a heathen king? Knowest thou not what wonders the cross hath done? how it hath destroyed death, extinguished sin, emptied hell, dissolved the power of the devil? And is it not as fit to be relied on to cure a bodily disease? It hath given resurrection to the world, and canst not thou confide in it? But thou not only procurest ligatures, but also charms, bringing some old drunken staggering woman to thy house for this purpose, and payest reverence to these things, after thou hast been disciplined in the religion of Christ. Nay, when men are admonished of these things, they plead in excuse, that the old woman the enchanter is a Christian, and names nothing but the name of God. For which she is the more to be abhorred, because she abuses the name of God to so scandalous a practice, and whilst she calls herself a Christian, does the works of the heathen. The devils named the name of Christ, and yet were devils for all that, and were rebuked and ejected by our Saviour. Therefore I beseech you, keep yourselves pure from this deceit, and take this word as your staff and armour. As none of you will choose to walk abroad without his shoes or clothes; so without this word, let none of you venture out in public; but when you go over the threshold of your gate, say first this word, I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomp, and thy worship; and I make a covenant with thee, O Christ. Never go forth without this word, and it will be your staff, your armour, your invincible tower. And with this word, sign yourselves with the sign of the cross: and then not only man, but the devil himself cannot hurt you, whilst he finds you appearing guarded with this armour. Thus St. Chrysostom exhorts men daily to remember their solemn profession of faith and baptismal vow, wherein they renounced Satan and embraced Christ, as the best preservative against sin and danger. To which both he and Ephrem Cyrus add this momentous consideration,[64] That an account of

[59] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 2. Chirographum tuum tenetur, non in terra, sed in cœlo. It. de Initiatis, cap. 2. Tenetur vox tua, non in tumulo mortuorum, sed in libro viventium.

[60] Aug. de Symbolo ad Catechumenos, lib. 2. cap. 1. Nomina profitentium in libro excipiuntur vitæ, non a quolibet homine, sed a superiore cœlitus potestate.

[61] Chrys. Hom. 21. ad Populum Antioch. t. 1. p. 274. Οὐ μάρτυρας ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἔγγραφα ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖται ψιλῇ τῇ φωνῇ, κἂν εἴπῃς ἀπὸ διανοίας, ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾷ, &c.

[62] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 343.

[63] Chrys. Hom. 21. ad Popul. Antiochen. t. 1. p. 275.

[64] Ephrem. de Abrenunc. Baptismi, p. 150. Hæc ipsa

this vow will be required of men at the day of judgment; for "by thy words shalt thou be justified, and by thy words shalt thou be condemned." And Christ will say to every wilful transgressor of it, "Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee, O thou wicked servant." As nothing therefore could be more useful than this part of the church's discipline, in requiring such professions and promises of every man before they entered the service of Christ; as it was usual for masters to do, before they bargained[65] with slaves and took them into their family: so nothing could be more material than the continued impressions of this vow upon men's minds, to keep them under a quick sense of their obligations, on which the whole conduct of their lives so much depended, and their eternal interest at the day of judgment.

Sect. 14. Whether public and particular confession of sins was required of men at their baptism.

There is one thing more remains to be inquired into under this head, that is, whether any public or particular confession of sins was required of men at their baptism, besides what was implied in the general renunciation of Satan and all his works and service? Now, this is plainly resolved by St. Chrysostom in the negative. For discoursing of the difference between God's choosing his servants, and the choice which earthly princes and masters make of their soldiers and slaves, he makes the difference chiefly to consist in this: That before men were allowed to enter the lists in any of the famous exercises of the theatre, a public crier must first lead them about by the hand before all, and cry out, saying, Does any one accuse this man? though there the engagement was only of the body, and not of the soul. But in God's choice of us it is quite otherwise: for though our engagement depends not upon strength of arms, but on the philosophy and virtue of our souls, yet the ruler and governor thereof acts quite contrary: he does not take a man, and lead him about, and say, Does any one accuse him? but he cries out, Though all men and devils should rise up against him, and accuse him of secret and horrible crimes, I do not reject, I do not abhor him; but I deliver him from his accuser, and absolve him from his iniquity, and so I lead him to the combat. Nor is this the only admirable thing, that he forgives our sins, but that he does not reveal nor disclose them; he neither makes open proclamation of them,[66] nor compels those that come to him to publish their own offences, but requires them to give account, and confess their sins to him alone. He does not, like earthly judges, oblige criminals to make a public confession before all men in hopes of pardon, but he forgives sins upon our private testimony without any other witnesses. This is undeniable evidence, that no public confession was required of men for their private offences, when they came to baptism. And therefore when Gregory Nazianzen[67] speaks of confession of sins made at baptism, he is to be understood either of a general confession, or such a particular confession as men voluntarily imposed upon themselves, to testify more eminently the sincerity of their repentance; which some think was done at John's baptism, Matt. iii. 6, and in the baptism of those mentioned Acts xix. 18, where it is said, that "many who believed came, and confessed, and showed their deeds;" though this was not imposed upon men by any necessary law or rule of the church. In case of public scandalous crimes, they were obliged particularly to promise and vow the forsaking of them; but for private crimes, no particular confession was required to be made, save only to God, with a general renunciation of all sin, in which every private crime was supposed to be included. Vid. Aug. Serm. 116. de Tempore.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE USE OF SPONSORS OR SURETIES IN BAPTISM.

Sect. 1. Three sorts of sponsors in the primitive church. 1. For children.

NEXT to the conditions and promises required of men in their baptism, we must examine the office and business of sponsors or sureties, who had always some concern in these obligations. And here it is first to be observed, that there were three sorts of sponsors made use of in the primitive church: 1. For children, who could not renounce, or profess, or answer for themselves. 2. For such adult persons, as by reason of sickness or infirmity were in the same condition with children, incapacitated to answer for themselves. 3. For all adult persons in general. For the church required sponsors also for those, who were otherwise qualified to make their own responses. Now, the office of sponsors was diversified a little in its nature according to these distinctions. They who were sureties or sponsors for children, were obliged first to answer in their names to all the interrogatories that were usually put in

abrenunciatio et pulchra confessio exigetur a quocunque Christiano in illa die, &c. Chrys. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 274. Hoc igitur dicamus, abrenuncio tibi Satana: tanquam in illa die hujus vocis rationem redditurі, ut salvum tunc reddamus depositum.

[65] Chrys. ibid. p. 273.

[66] Chrys. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 270. Οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἐστὶ θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι ἀφίησιν ἡμῖν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὰ οὐδὲ ἐκκαλύπτει, οὐδὲ ποιεῖ φανερὰ καὶ δῆλα, οὐδὲ ἀναγκάζει παρελθόντας εἰς μέσον ἐξειπεῖν τὰ πεπλημμελημένα, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἀπολογήσασθαι κελεύει, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξομολογήσασθαι.

[67] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 657.

baptism, and then to be guardians of their Christian education. Some will also needs have it, that they were obliged to give them a perfect maintenance, and take them as it were for their own children by adoption, in case their parents failed and left them destitute in their minority.

Sect. 2. Parents commonly sponsors for their own children.

But this I take to be a mistake. For whoever were sponsors for children, if ever they became destitute, the burden devolved upon the church in general, and not upon any others. Which will be evidenced by these two considerations: first, That parents were commonly sponsors for their own children: and in that case, there can be no dispute where the obligation of maintenance lay so long as they were alive. For they were obliged to maintain their own children by a natural law, not because they were sponsors, but because they were parents to them. It was not indeed absolutely necessary that parents should be sponsors for their own children, though some in St. Austin's days were inclined to think so, which he reckons an error,[1] and shows, that in many cases there was a necessity it should be otherwise. But yet in most cases the parents were sponsors for their own children; as appears from St. Austin, who speaks of parents in all ordinary cases offering their own children to baptism, and making the proper responses for them:[2] and the extraordinary cases in which they were presented by others, were commonly such cases where the parent could not, or would not, do that kind office for them; as when slaves[3] were presented to baptism by their masters; or children, whose parents were dead, were brought by the charity of any who would show mercy on them; or children exposed by their parents, which were sometimes taken up by the holy virgins of the church, and by them presented unto baptism. These are the only cases mentioned by St. Austin, in which children seem to have had other sponsors, and not their parents. Which makes it probable, that in all ordinary cases parents were sureties for their own children. Which may be collected also from the author of the Hypognostics,[4] under the name of St. Austin, who speaks of infants being presented to baptism by the hands of their parents, and some of them dying in their arms before the priest could baptize them. Whilst parents therefore were sureties for their own children, they were obliged to maintain them; but this not by the law of sureties, but by the law of nature; and if they failed, this duty devolved upon the whole church.

Sect. 3. Other sureties not bound to maintain the children for whom they were sponsors.

Secondly, In other cases, where strangers became sureties for children, the burden of maintenance did never devolve upon them by any law of suretiship, except they were obliged by some antecedent law to take care of them. In case a master was sponsor for his slave, he was obliged to maintain him, because he was antecedently in the nature of a father to him; and this obligation arose, not from his suretiship, but from his being his master. But in other cases it was not so. For sometimes children, that were exposed, were taken up and presented to baptism by mere strangers, and in that case the burden of maintenance fell upon the church, and not upon the sponsors. And in some cases, as St. Austin[5] informs us, such children were presented unto baptism by the sacred virgins of the church, who had no other maintenance but what they themselves received from the church; and in that case it is evident the children's maintenance must be derived from the same fountain as the virgins' was, that is, from the public stock of the church. So that in all cases the church was charged with this care, and not the sponsors, except there was some antecedent obligation. And there was good reason for this; for, as St. Austin[6] observes, children were presented to baptism not so much by those in whose hands they were brought, (though by them too, if they were good and faithful men,) as by the whole society of saints. The whole church was their mother, she brought forth all and every one by this new birth; and therefore, if any were to be charged with maintenance, it was but reasonable that the church should maintain her own children. So that they who lay so much stress upon sponsors undertaking for children, as if they thereby undertook to give them maintenance too, have no grounds for their assertion, since it appears from the best light that we have, to have been otherwise

[1] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Illud autem nolo te fallat, ut existimes reatûs vinculum ex Adam tractum, aliter non posse dirumpi, nisi parvuli ad percipiendam Christi gratiam a parentibus offerantur.

[2] Aug. ibid. Quid est illud, quod quando ad baptismum offeruntur, parentes pro eis tanquam fidedictores respondent, &c.

[3] Aug. ibid. Videas multos non offerri a parentibus, sed etiam a quibuslibet extraneis, sicut a Dominis servuli aliquando offeruntur. Et nonnunquam mortuis parentibus suis, parvuli baptizantur, ab eis oblati, qui illis hujusmodi misericordiam præbere potuerunt. Aliquando etiam quos crudeliter parentes exposuerunt, nutriendos a quibuslibet, nonnunquam a sacris virginibus colliguntur, et ab eis offeruntur ad baptismum.

[4] Aug. Hypognostic. contra Pelag. lib. 6. cap. 7. t. 7. p. 633. Novimus etiam parvulos, quibus usus liberi arbitrii non est, ut de bonis aut malis eorum meritis judicemus, parentum manibus ad gratiam sacri baptismatis deportatos: et cum in uno eorum per manus sacerdotis mysterium fidei adimpleretur, aliquoties alterum in parentum manibus factum exanimem, fraudatum gratiâ salvatoris.

[5] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac.

[6] Aug. ibid. Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam spiritualem gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus, quamvis et ab ipsis, si et ipsi boni fideles sunt, quam ab universa societate sanctorum atque fidelium——Tota hoc mater ecclesia quæ in sanctis est, facit: quia tota omnes, tota singulos parit.

in the practice of the primitive church. I have not said this to excuse sponsors from any duty that properly belongs to them, but only to take off the force of an unreasonable objection, which some have made against the present use of sponsors in baptism, as if they were of a different sort from those of the ancient church, because they are not under this particular obligation, which appears not to have any other foundation but the bare surmise of those who make the objection.

Sect. 4. But only to answer for them to the several interrogatories in baptism.

Two things indeed were anciently required of sponsors as their proper duty: 1. To answer in their names to all the interrogatories of baptism. This seems to be intimated by Tertullian,[7] where he speaks of the promises which the sponsors made in baptism, and of the danger there was of their failing to fulfil them, either by their own mortality, or by the untoward disposition of the party. But if any one thinks these promises related only to what the sponsors promised for themselves, and not in the name of the child, he may be informed more clearly from others. Gennadius[8] tells us, These promises for infants and such as were uncapable of learning, were made after the usual manner of interrogatories in baptism. And St. Austin[9] more particularly acquaints us with the form then used, which was, Doth this child believe in God? Doth he turn to God? which is the same as renouncing the devil, and making a covenant with Christ. In other places[10] he tells us more expressly, That the sponsors answered for them, that they renounced the devil, his pomps, and his works. And disputing against the Pelagians, he proves by this argument, That children were under the power of Satan and the guilt of original sin, and needed pardon, because if a Pelagian himself brought a child to baptism, he must answer for him,[11] because he could not answer for himself, that he renounced the devil, that he turned to God, and that, among other things, he believed the remission of sins; all which would only be fallaciously said, if children had no concern in them. And he professes, he would not admit any child to baptism, whose sponsor he had reason to believe did not make these promises and responses sincerely for him. Of the form and practice, then, there is no dispute. Only it seemed a great difficulty to Bishop Boniface, and as such he proposed it to St. Austin, How it could be said with truth, that a child believed, or renounced the devil, or turned to God, who had no thought or apprehension of these things; or if any, yet secret and unknown to us? If any one should ask us concerning a child, Whether he would prove chaste, or a thief, when he became a man? we should doubtless in that case answer, We know not. Or if the question was, Whether a child in his infancy thought good or evil? we should make the same answer, We know not. Since, therefore, no one would promise either for his future morals, or his present thoughts, how is it that when parents present their children as sponsors in baptism, they answer and say, The children do those things which that age does not so much as think of? as, that they believe in God, and are turned unto him, &c. To this St. Austin answers, That the child is said to believe, because he receives the sacrament of faith and conversion, which entitles him to the name of a believer. For the sacraments,[12] because of the resemblance between them and the things represented by them, do carry the name of the things represented. Christ was but once offered in himself, and yet he is offered not only on the annual solemnity of the passover, but every day for the people; and no one tells a lie, that says, He is offered. As therefore the sacrament of Christ's body after a certain manner is called his body, and the sacrament of his blood is called his blood; so the sacrament of faith is faith. And upon this account, when it is answered, That an infant believes, who has not yet any knowledge

[7] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 18. Quid enim necesse est sponsores etiam periculo ingeri? Quia et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possint, et proventu malæ indolis falli.

[8] Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. cap. 52. Si vero parvuli sunt, vel hebetes, qui doctrinam non capiant, respondeant pro illis qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi.

[9] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Interrogamus eos, a quibus offeruntur, et dicimus, Credit in Deum? de illa ætate, quæ utrum sit Deus, ignoret: respondent, Credit; et ad cætera sic respondent singula quæ quæruntur, &c.

[10] Aug. Serm. 116. de Tempore, t. 10. p. 304. Fidejussores pro ipsis respondent, quod abrenuncient diabolo, pompis et operibus ejus.

[11] Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. I. cap. 34. Vellem aliquis istorum qui contraria sapiunt, mihi baptizandum parvulum afferret. Ipse certe mihi erat responsurus pro eodem parvulo quem gestaret, quia ille pro se respondere non posset. Quomodo ergo dicturus erat eum renunciare diabolo, cujus in eo nihil esset? Quomodo converti ad Deum, a quo non esset aversus? Credere inter cætera remissionem peccatorum, quæ illi nulla tribueretur? Ego quidem si contra eum hæc sentire existimarem, nec ad sacramenta cum parvulo intrare permitterem.

[12] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso? Et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschæ solennitates, sed omni die populis immolatur; nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt non haberent, sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulus credere, qui fidei nondum habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum, quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti.

or habit of faith, the meaning of the answer is, That he has faith because of the sacrament of faith, and is converted to God because of the sacrament of conversion; for these answers appertain to the celebration of the sacrament. So that, according to St. Austin, when an infant is said to have faith, the meaning is only that he receives the sacrament of faith, which faith he is bound to embrace when he comes to understand it. In the mean time he is called a believer, because he receives the sacrament of faith, and is entered into the covenant of God by his sponsors, who supply that part for him which he cannot perform in his own person. This was the first duty of sponsors toward children.

Sect. 5. And to be guardians of their spiritual life for the future.

The other was, that they were to be guardians of their spiritual life for the future, and to take care by good admonitions and good instructions that they performed their part of the covenant they were now engaged in. St. Austin[13] makes sponsors themselves concerned in this covenant with God, and therefore presses it as a duty upon them, that they should not only by their examples, but by their words and instructions, teach them the great duties of chastity, humility, sobriety, and peace, forasmuch as they had answered in their stead, that they renounced the devil, his pomps, and his works. And in another place[14] he more particularly specifies their obligations: That they should admonish them to live chastely, and preserve their virginity to marriage, to refrain their tongues from evil-speaking and perjury, not to accustom their mouths to filthy and lascivious songs, not to be proud nor envious, not to retain anger nor hatred in their hearts, not to observe divination or soothsaying, nor to hang phylacteries or diabolical characters upon their own bodies or their relations; to keep and hold the catholic faith, to frequent the church, to hear the Scriptures read with attention, to entertain strangers, and wash their feet, according to what was said to them in baptism, to live peaceably, to be peacemakers among disagreeing brethren, and to honour the priests and their parents with the love of sincere charity. These were such things as they had promised for children in baptism, and therefore they were bound by compact with God to use their utmost endeavours to engage their spiritual pupils to perform them.

Sect. 6. A second sort of sponsors, for such adult persons as could not answer for themselves.

Another sort of sponsors were such as were appointed to make answers for such persons, as by reason of some infirmity could not answer for themselves. I have observed before, that such adult persons as were suddenly struck speechless, or seized with a frenzy by the violence of a distemper, might yet be baptized, if any of their friends could testify that they had beforehand desired baptism: and in this case the same friends became sponsors for them, making the very same answers for them as they did for children. This we learn from Cyril of Alexandria, who assures us, That when men were seized with extremity of sickness,[15] and it was thought proper upon that account to baptize them, there were some appointed to make both the renunciations and confessions in their name. And so it is in the account which Fulgentius[16] gives of the African negro, who just before his baptism fell sick of a fever, which bereaved him of his senses, and made him speechless: he was baptized, for all this, having his sponsors to answer in his name, as if it had been for an infant. So that all those canons which[17] speak of baptizing dumb persons in cases of extremity, though they do not expressly require sponsors for them, yet are to be understood as intending them, according to the usual practice of the church. And if the party happened to recover after such a baptism, it was the sponsor's duty, not only to acquaint him, as a witness, with what was done for him, but also, as a guardian of his behaviour, to induce him to make good the promises, which he in his name had made for him. For this was the indispensable duty of sureties in all cases whatsoever.

Sect. 7. The third sort of sponsors for all adult persons in general.

The third sort of sponsors were for such sort of adult persons as were able to answer for themselves; for these also had their sponsors, and no persons anciently were baptized without them. These are spoken of not only by Dionysius[18] and the author of the Apostolical Constitutions,[19] but by many other more unquestionable writers. Victor Uticensis tells us[20] of one Muritta a deacon, who was sponsor for Elpidiphorus at Carthage. And Palladius[21]

[13] Aug. Serm. 116. de Tempore, t. 10. p. 304. Non solum exemplis, sed etiam verbis, eos ad omne opus bonum admonere debetis.—Posteaquam baptizati fuerint, de castitate, de humilitate, de sobrietate vel pace eos admonere vel docere non desinant, et agnoscant se fidejussores esse ipsorum. Pro ipsis enim respondent, quod abrenuncient diabolo, pompis et operibus ejus.

[14] Aug. Serm. 163. de Temp.

[15] Cyril. Com. in Joh. xi. 26. t. 4. p. 683. Ὕπερ δὲ τῶν ἐσχάτῃ νόσῳ κατειλημμένων, μελλόντων τε διὰ τἒτο βαπτίζεσθαι, καὶ ἀποτάττονται τινες καὶ συντάττονται.

[16] Fulgent. de Bapt. Æthiopis, cap. 7. p. 610. Factum est, ut confessionem tempore præterito redditam, quia non potuit in hora baptismi reddere propter infirmitatem corporis, adjutorio fraternæ redderet charitatis. Vid. Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm. c. 52.

[17] See chap. 5. sect. 2.

[18] Dionys. Eccl. Hierarch. cap. 2. p. 252.

[19] Constit. Apost. lib. 3. cap. 16.

[20] Victor. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. 3. Bibl. Patr. t. 7. p. 613. Hic dudum fuerat apud nos in ecclesia Fausti baptizatus, quem venerabilis Muritta diaconus de alveo fontis susceperat generatum.

[21] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 12. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 915. Ἀποδέχεται τὸν Ῥȣφῖνον ὁ ἅγιος ἀπὸ τἒ ἀχράντȣ βαπτίσματος.

says, Evagrius Ponticus performed the same office for Rufinus the great statesman, and *præfectus-prætorio* under Arcadius. St. Austin often mentions them, but then he also acquaints us, that it was no part of their office to make responses for their pupils in baptism, as it was in the case of infants and sick persons who could not answer for themselves. For though the church accepted it[22] in the case of infants by reason of their disability, yet she would not allow adult persons to answer by proxy, who were able to answer for themselves; there being something of natural reason in that saying in the Gospel, "He is of age, let him speak for himself." The most rustic capacities and meanest understandings even in the weaker sex, would not ordinarily excuse them from doing this in their own persons, unless, as Gennadius[23] says, they were so heavy and dull, as not to be capable of learning, in which condition their sponsors were required to answer for them as for little children, from whom they differed so little in understanding.

Sect. 8. Whose duty was not to answer in their names, but only to admonish and instruct them before and after baptism.

But in ordinary cases this was no office of the sponsors, when men were in a capacity to answer for themselves. Their only business was to be curators and guardians of their spiritual life; to which purpose, it was incumbent on them to take care of their instruction and morals, as well before as after baptism. Upon this account the deaconesses were usually employed in the private instruction of women, to teach them how to make their responses in baptism. And this was one qualification required in deaconesses by some ancient canons,[24] that they should be persons of such good understanding as to be able to instruct the ignorant and rustic women, how to make their responses to the interrogatories which the minister should put to them in baptism, and how to order their conversation afterward, as has been observed in another place.[25]

Sect. 9. This office chiefly imposed upon deacons and deaconesses.

And by some ancient rules this office was chiefly imposed upon deaconesses, to be sponsors for women, as the deacons were obliged to be for men. For so the author of the Apostolical Constitutions seems to represent it, when he orders[26] a deacon to be susceptor for a man, and a deaconess for a woman, in baptism. And we find the sacred virgins often mentioned as concerned in this office. St. Austin, as we heard before, speaks of them[27] as presenting exposed children to baptism, though they had no children of their own, nor intended to have any. And in the Life of Epiphanius[28] we read, that as one Lucian was his godfather in baptism, so Bernice, a sacred virgin, was godmother to his sister. Whence it appears, that at first the sacred virgins and monastics were thought as proper persons as any to take this weighty office upon them. Though afterward, in the French church, by a canon[29] of the council of Auxerre, monks are prohibited from being sponsors in baptism. And so the prohibition stands in the Romish church to this day.

Sect. 10. What persons prohibited from being sponsors.

But anciently there was no prohibition of any sorts of men from performing this charitable office, save only of such as unqualified themselves, by going contrary to the rules of the Christian religion. Fathers, as we heard before, were frequently sponsors for their own children; and I know of no prohibition of this before the time of Charles the Great, when the council of Mentz[30] made a decree against it, forbidding fathers to be susceptors to their own sons or daughters at the font in baptism. Anciently also presbyters and deacons were allowed to be sponsors, though this is also now prohibited in some provincial councils of the Romish church by Cardinal Borromæo,[31] in the last age. But the only persons whom the ancients excluded from this office, were catechumens, energumens, heretics, and penitents; that is, persons who either were yet never in full communion with the church, as being themselves unbaptized; or else such as had forfeited the privileges of their baptism and church-communion by their errors, or crimes, or incapacity to assist others, who needed assistance themselves. And by some canons,[32] persons who were never confirmed, were excluded from being sponsors both in baptism and confirmation.

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[22] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 4. cap. 24. Cum alii pro infantibus respondent, ut impleatur circa eos celebratio sacramenti, valet utique ad eorum consecrationem, quia ipsi respondere non possunt. At si pro eo qui respondere potest, alius respondeat, non itidem valet, &c.

[23] Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm. c. 52. Si vero parvuli sunt, vel hebetes, qui doctrinam non capiant, respondeant pro illis qui eos offerunt juxta morem baptizandi.

[24] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 12. Viduæ vel sanctimoniales quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sancto sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori respondeant, et qualiter accepto baptismate vivant.

[25] See Book II. chap. 22. sect. 9.

[26] Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 16. Τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ὑποδεχέσθω ὁ διάκονος, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ἡ διάκονος.

[27] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Aliquando etiam quos crudeliter parentes exposuerunt, nutriendos a quibuslibet, nonnunquam a sacris virginibus colliguntur, et ab eis offeruntur ad baptismum. Quæ certe proprios filios non habuerunt ullos, nec habere disponunt.

[28] Vita Epiphan. n. 8. t. 2. p. 324. Ὃς καὶ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου φωτίσματος.——Βερνίκην τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον, ἥ τις ἐγένετο μήτηρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἐπιφανίου.

[29] Conc. Antissiodor. can. 25. Non licet abbati filium de baptismo suscipere; nec monachis commatres habere.

[30] Conc. Mogunt. an. 813. can. 55. Nullus igitur proprium filium vel filiam de fonte baptismatis suscipiat.

[31] Borromæ. Synod. Diœces. 2. Decret. 18.

[32] Conc. Moguntinum, ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. 4. cap. 102. In baptismate vel in chrismate, non potest alium

Sect. 11. But one sponsor required, and that a man for a man, and a woman for a woman.

From what has been said, the reader will also easily observe, that anciently no more but one sponsor was required, and that was a man for a man, and a woman for a woman; for we never read of more than one, in all the accounts of the ancients, and one of the same sex for adult persons. In the case of infants, there was no regard had to the difference of sex: for a virgin might be a sponsor for a man-child, and a father for his own children, whether they were male or female. And one sponsor was sufficient in any case. Some rules forbid more than one, either in baptism or confirmation: as that decree of Leo,[33] cited by Gratian, which says, No more than one, whether man or woman, shall be admitted as surety for a child in baptism: and the like to be observed in confirmation. Which rule was renewed and confirmed by the council of Metz,[34] but upon a reason which is something peculiar. For they conclude, that because there is but one God, one faith, one baptism, therefore an infant ought to have only one sponsor, whether man or woman, at his baptism: which I mention not for the excellency of the reason, but only to show what conformity it bears to the ancient practice.

Sect. 12. When first it became a law that sponsors might not marry a spiritual relation.

Some perhaps will here be desirous to know the original of that practice in the Romish church, which is the occasion of so many dispensations in matrimonial causes, arising from the prohibition of sponsors or godfathers marrying within the forbidden degrees of spiritual relation. Now, that which seems to have given the first tendency towards this, was a law of Justinian, still extant in the Code, wherein he forbids[35] any man to marry a woman, whether she be a slave or free, for whom he had been godfather in baptism when she was a child; because nothing does induce a more paternal affection, or juster prohibition of marriage, than this tie, by which their souls are in a divine manner united together. Now, this law extended no further than to prohibit marriage in this immediate relation; and it could not affect very many, whilst parents were commonly sponsors for their own children, and the sacred virgins, or the deaconnesses, or the clergy, for others; and men were sponsors for men, and women for women. But afterward this was improved a little further: for the council of Trullo[36] forbids the godfather not only to marry the infant, but the mother of the infant, for whom he answers; and orders them that have done so, first to be separated, then to do the penance of fornicators. This prohibition was extended to more degrees in the following ages, and grew so extravagant, that the council of Trent thought it a matter worthy of their reformation; though still by their rules this spiritual relation[37] was extended to more degrees than either the laws of Justinian or the canons of Trullo had prohibited. For they forbid marriage not only between the sponsors and their children, but also between the sponsors themselves; and the father and mother of the baptized is not to marry a sponsor; nor may the baptizer marry the baptized, nor the father or mother of the baptized, because of the spiritual relation that is contracted between them. But they forbid above two sponsors to appear for a child, and if more than two appear, they are not bound by this law of spiritual relation, though the canon law[38] had determined otherwise in former ages. Yet, after all their regulations about this matter, there remain a thousand difficulties to exercise the pens of the Roman casuists, which the reader that is curious may find referred to by Soteallus and Barbosa,[39] in their Declarations and Remissions on the council of Trent.

Sect. 13. Why the names of the sponsors ordered to be registered in the books of the church.

There is one thing indeed ordered by that council, which was anciently of good use, though not for the purpose for which they appointed it. That is, that not only the names of the baptized, but also the names of the sponsors, should be registered in the books of the church. The council of Trent orders it, only that men might know what persons were forbidden to marry by this spiritual relation. But anciently it had a much better use, that the church might know who were sponsors, and that they might be put in mind of their duty, by being entered upon record, which was a standing memorial of their obligations. This custom we find mentioned in the author under the name of Dionysius, where he describes the ceremony of admitting catechumens together with their sponsors.

suscipere in filiolum, qui non est ipse vel baptizatus vel confirmatus.

[33] Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. 4. cap. 101. Non plures ad suscipiendum de baptismo infantem accedant quam unus, sive vir, sive mulier. In confirmatione quoque id ipsum fiat.

[34] Conc. Metense, cap. 12, cited by Vicecomes.

[35] Justin. Cod. lib. 5. Tit. 4. de Nuptiis, Leg. 26. Ea persona omnimodo ad nuptias venire prohibenda, quam aliquis, sive alumna sit, sive non, a sacrosancto suscepit baptismate; cum nihil aliud sic inducere potest paternam affectionem, et justam nuptiarum prohibitionem, quam hujusmodi nexus, per quem, Deo mediante, animæ eorum copulatæ sunt.

[36] Conc. Trull. can. 53. Ἔγνωμέν τινας ἐκ τοῦ βαπτίσματος παῖδας ἀναδεχομένους, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ταῖς ἐκείνων μητράσι γαμικὸν συναλλάσσοντας συνοικέσιον. ὁρίζομεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος μηδὲν τοιοῦτο πραχθῆναι.

[37] Conc. Trident. Sess. 24. de Reform. Matrimon. cap. 2. Inter susceptores ac baptizatum ipsum, et illius patrem ac matrem, necnon inter baptizantem et baptizatum, baptizatique patrem ac matrem, tantum spiritualis cognatio contrahatur.

[38] Sext. Decretal. lib. 4. Tit. 3. de Cognat. Spirit. cap. 3. Si plures accesserint, spiritualis cognatio inde contrahitur, &c.

[39] Canon. Conc. Trid. cum Remissionibus Barbosæ, Colon. 1621.

The bishop first explains to the catechumen the laws and rules of a divine life and conversation, and then asks him whether he purposes so to live? Which when he has promised, he lays his hand upon his head, and orders the priest to register[40] both the man and his sponsor. Afterward he speaks of reciting their names out of these registers, when men were presented by their sponsors immediately to be baptized. And thus much of the use of sponsors in the primitive church.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE UNCTION AND THE SIGN OF THE CROSS IN BAPTISM.

Sect. 1. Of the first original of unction in baptism.

We find in some of the ancient ritualists, but not in all, mention made of an unction preceding baptism, and used by way of preparation for it. They who first describe it, speak of it as used either immediately after the confession of faith, as the author[1] of the Constitutions; or else between the renunciation and the confession, as Cyril of Jerusalem[2] describes it. But there is no mention of this unction either in Justin Martyr or Tertullian. For though Tertullian speaks of an unction among the ceremonies of baptism; yet, as Daille[3] rightly observes, it was not this unction preceding baptism, but the unction which followed after it in confirmation, accompanied with imposition of hands, which belongs to another subject. For it is plain from Tertullian, that neither of these were given before baptism, but when men[4] were come out of the water, then they were anointed with the holy unction, and had imposition of hands, in order to receive the Holy Ghost. Whence I think Daille's conjecture very just and reasonable, that the unction preceding baptism is of later date, and was not as yet adopted among the ceremonies of baptism in the time of Tertullian.

Sect. 2. Of the difference betwixt this and chrism in confirmation.

But the writers of the following ages speak distinctly of two unctions, the one before, the other after baptism; which they describe by different names and different ceremonies, to distinguish them one from the other. The first they commonly call χρίσιν μυστικοῦ ἐλαίου, the unction of the mystical oil, and the other, χρίσιν μύρου, or χρίσμα, the unction of chrism. They both agree in this, that the bishop only consecrated them, whether for the use of baptism or confirmation. The author of the Constitutions gives us a form of consecration to be used by the bishop in sanctifying oil for this unction before baptism, where he prays[5] to God, that he would sanctify the oil in the name of the Lord Jesus, and grant it spiritual grace, and efficacious power, that it might be subservient to the remission of sins, and the preparation of men to make their profession in baptism, that such as were anointed therewith, being freed from all impiety, might become worthy of the initiation according to the command of his only begotten Son. And this power of consecration is reserved to the bishop in all the canons of the ancient councils, of which more when we come to speak of confirmation. In the mean time, I observe, 1. That these two went by different names. The author of the Constitutions calls the first[6] mystical oil, and the other mystical chrism, and has a distinct form of consecration for each of them. And the same distinction in name is observed by Cyril of Jerusalem,[7] and the authors under the name of Justin Martyr,[8] and Dionysius.[9] 2. They differed in the time of administering them. For the one was given before the party went into the water, the other after he came out of it again. Which is clear from all the forementioned authors, and from St. Ambrose, who speaks of an unction with oil[10] before baptism. As also the author of the Recognitions under the name of Clemens Romanus,[11] who tells persons that were to be baptized, that they were first to be anointed with oil consecrated by prayer. 3. They differed in respect to the persons concerned in the administration. For the unction before baptism was often done by a deacon or a deaconess; but that after baptism, by the bishop himself most commonly, or at least by a presbyter in some peculiar cases. The author of the Constitutions,[12] speaking particularly of the unction before the baptism of women, orders the bishop to anoint the head, the deacon the forehead, and the deaconesses the other parts of the body. But the chrism after baptism is reserved to the bishop only. Lastly, They differed

[40] Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccl. cap. 2. p. 253. Ἱεράρχης ἀπογράψασθαι κελεύει τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ἀνάδοχον. It. p. 204. Καὶ τινος ἱερέως ἐκ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἀνάδοχον κηρύξαντος, &c.

[1] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 41.

[2] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 2. n. 3.

[3] Dallæ. de Confirmat. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 181.

[4] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 7. Exinde egressi de lavacro perunguimur benedicta unctione de pristina disciplina, qua ungui oleo de cornu in sacerdotium solebant, &c.

[5] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 42.

[6] Constit. lib. 7. c. 42. Μυστικὸν ἔλαιον. Lib. 7. c. 44. Μυστικὸν μύρον. Vid. lib. 3. cap. 17.

[7] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 2. n. 3. et Catech. 3. n. 3.

[8] Justin. Resp. ad Orthod. qu. 137.

[9] Dionys. de Eccl. Hierar. cap. 2. p. 253.

[10] Ambros. de Sacramentis, lib. 1. c. 2. Venimus ad fontem—Unctus es quasi athleta Christi, quasi luctamen hujus sæculi luctaturus.

[11] Clem. Recognit. lib. 3. c. 67. Baptizabitur autem unusquisque vestrum—perunctus primo oleo per orationem sanctificato.

[12] Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 15 et 16.

in the design and intent of them. For the design of the first unction was to prepare them for baptism, and enter them on their combat with Satan, as champions of Christ; the other was to consummate and confirm their baptism with the consignation or seal of the Holy Spirit.

Sect. 3. The design of this unction, and the reason of it.

Cyril of Jerusalem, speaking of the former unction,[13] says, Men were anointed from head to foot with this exorcised or consecrated oil, and this made them partakers of the true olive tree, Jesus Christ. For they being cut out of a wild olive tree, and ingrafted into a good olive tree, were made partakers of the fatness of the good olive tree. Therefore that exorcised oil was a symbol of their partaking of the fatness of Christ, and an indication of the flight and destruction of the adverse power. For as the insufflations of the saints, and invocation of God, do, like a vehement flame, burn and put the devils to flight; so this exorcised oil, by prayer and invocation of God, gains such a power, as not only to burn up and purge away the footsteps of sin, but also to repel all the powers of the invisible wicked one, the devil. St. Ambrose compares it to the anointing of wrestlers before they enter their combat: Thou camest to the font, says he, and wast anointed[14] as a champion of Christ, to fight the fight of this world. The author under the name of Justin Martyr, distinguishing between the two unctions, says, Men[15] were first anointed with the ancient oil, that they might be Christ's, that is, the anointed of God; but they were anointed with the precious ointment (after baptism) in remembrance of him who reputed the anointing of himself with ointment to be his burial. The author of the Constitutions likewise uses the same distinction: Thou shalt first of all[16] anoint him with the holy oil, then baptize him with water, and afterward sign him with the ointment: that the anointing with oil may be the participation of the Holy Spirit, and the water may be the symbol of death, and the signing with ointment may be the seal of the compact made with God. But if there be neither oil, nor ointment, water is sufficient both for the unction and the seal and the confession of Him with whom we die. So that this was only a ceremony of baptism, which might be omitted without any detriment to the substance or essential part of it. To these may be added the testimony of St. Chrysostom, who says,[17] Every person, before he was baptized, was anointed, as wrestlers entering the field: and this, not as the high priest was anointed of old, only on the head, or right hand, or ear, but all over his body, because he came not only to be taught, but to exercise himself in a fight or combat. This is the account which they give of this unction preceding baptism.

Sect. 4. The sign of the cross frequently used in the ceremonies of baptism. First, In the admission of catechumens. And, secondly, In the time of exorcism.

Dr. Cave[18] and some other learned persons are of opinion, that together with this unction, the sign of the cross was made upon the forehead of the party baptized. And there is no question to be made of this, though all the passages they refer to are not direct proofs of it. For many of them relate to the sign of the cross in the unction of chrism or confirmation. As particularly, that unction which Tertullian speaks of, and the sign of the cross accompanying it, was not the unction before baptism, but that which followed in confirmation, as I have showed before in the beginning of this chapter. Therefore, to understand this matter exactly, we are to distinguish at least four several times, when the sign of the cross was used, during the preparation or consummation of the ceremonies of baptism. 1. At the admission of catechumens to the state of catechumenship and the general name of Christians. 2. In the time of exorcism and imposition of hands, while they were passing through the several stages of catechumens. 3. At the time of this unction before baptism. 4. And lastly, at the unction of confirmation, which was then usually the conclusion of baptism both in adult persons and infants; and many of the passages which speak of the sign of the cross in baptism, do plainly relate to this, as an appendage of baptism, and closely joined to it, as the last ceremony and consummation of it. The use of this sign in the admission of catechumens, I have already showed before from St. Austin, and the Life of Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza.[19] And the frequent use of it in exorcism and imposition of hands and prayer, during their catechetical exercises, has also been noted[20] in treating of them from St. Austin and St. Ambrose, which I therefore need not here repeat.

Sect. 5. Thirdly, In this unction before baptism.

The third use of it was in this unction before baptism. For so the author under the name of Dionysius, describing the ceremony of anointing the party be-

[13] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 2. n. 3.

[14] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 2. Venimus ad fontem.—Unctus es quasi athleta Christi, quasi luctamen hujus sæculi luctaturus.

[15] Justin. Respon. ad Orthodox. qu. 137. *Χριόμεθα δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ ἐλαίῳ, ἵνα γινώμεθα Χριςοί. τῷ δὲ μύρῳ, πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν τȣ̃ τὴν χρίσιν τȣ̃ μύρȣ ἐνταφιασμὸν ἑαυτȣ̃ λογιζομένȣ.*

[16] Const. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 22. *Χρίσεις δὲ πρῶτον τῷ ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ· ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι, καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσεις μύρῳ· ἵνα τὸ μὲν χρίσμα μετοχὴ ᾖ τȣ̃ Ἁγίȣ Πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ σύμβολον τȣ̃ θανάτȣ, τὸ δὲ μύρον σφραγὶς τῶν συνθηκῶν*, &c.

[17] Chrys. Hom. 6. in Colos. p 1358. *Ἀλείφεται, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀθληταὶ εἰς ςάδιον ἐμβησόμενοι*, &c.

[18] Cave, Prim. Christ. par. I. cap. 10. p. 318.

[19] See Book X. chap. 1. sect. 3.

[20] Book X. chap. 2. sect. 8.

fore the consecration of the water, says, The bishop begins the unction by thrice signing him[21] with the sign of the cross, and then commits him to the priests to be anointed all over the body, whilst he goes and consecrates the water in the font. St. Austin also may be understood of this, when he says,[22] The cross is always joined with baptism. And by this we may interpret several passages in Cyprian, as where he tells Demetrian, They only escape who are born again, and signed with the sign of Christ. And what that sign is, and on what part of the body it is made, the Lord signified in another place, saying, "Go through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon their foreheads."[23] And so again in his book of the Unity of the Church,[24] speaking of Uzziah's leprosy, he says, He was marked for his offence against the Lord in that part of his body, where those are signed who obtain his mercy. Which seems plainly to refer to the sign of the cross made in baptism. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions is very express in this matter. For explaining the meaning of the several parts and ceremonies used in baptism, he says,[25] The water is to represent Christ's burial, the oil to represent the Holy Ghost, the sign of the cross to represent the cross, and the ointment or chrism, the confirmation of men's professions. And not improbably St. Jerom might refer to this, though his words be not so restrained to this time of unction, when he says, He was a Christian, born of Christian parents, and carried the banner of the cross[26] in his forehead. Some add also those words of Cyprian,[27] Let us guard our foreheads, that we may preserve the sign of God without danger. And those of Pontius[28] in his Life, where speaking of the Christian confessors who were branded by the heathen in the forehead, and sent as slaves into the mines, he says, They were marked in the forehead a second time; alluding to the sign of the cross, which, as Christians, they had received before. But these passages do not necessarily relate to baptism, but are only general expressions that may refer to the use of the sign of the cross upon any other occasion; it being usual in those times to sign themselves upon the forehead in the commonest actions of their lives, upon every motion, as Tertullian expresses it,[29] at their going out and coming in, at their going to bath, or to bed, or to meals, or whatever their employment or occasions called them to. Yet thus far it may be argued from them, that they who used it so commonly upon all other occasions, would hardly omit it in this solemn unction of baptism. And therefore these allegations may be allowed to be a sort of collateral evidence of the practice.

Sect. 6. Fourthly, In the unction of confirmation.

Lastly, It was always used in the unction of confirmation. And that being then an appendage to baptism, what was done in it, was many times said to be done in baptism; and so both the unction and sign of the cross used in confirmation are ascribed to baptism, and upon that account sometimes mistaken for the former unction and consignation preceding baptism. There was no unction before baptism in the time of Tertullian; but there was one immediately after it, which, together with imposition of hands, had also the sign of the cross joined with it; and all these were properly ceremonies of confirmation, which came after baptism, and are not to be confounded with the former. Tertullian[30] says, The flesh is washed, that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed, that the soul may be guarded; the flesh is overshadowed by imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated by the Spirit; the flesh is fed by the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may receive nourishment or fatness from God. Here he describes all things in order as they were done after baptism to the eucharist. There was an unction, and a signing with the sign of the cross, and imposition of hands, and then the eucharist. So that this sign of the cross plainly relates to the unction which came after baptism, and was a usual ceremony of imposition of hands

[21] Dionys. de Hierar. Eccl. cap. 2. p. 253. Ὁ δὲ τρὶς χρίσεως διὰ τῦ σφραγίσαι τρὶς ἀπαρξάμενος, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα χρίσαι πανσώμως παραδὲς, &c.

[22] Aug. Serm. 101. de Tempore, p. 290. Semper enim cruci baptisma jungitur.

[23] Cypr. ad Demetrian. p. 194. Evadere eos solos posse, qui renati et signo Christi signati fuerint, alio loco Deus loquitur.——Quod autem fit hoc signum et qua in parte corporis positum, manifestat alio in loco Deus, dicens, Transi per mediam Jerusalem, et notabis signum super frontes virorum, &c.

[24] Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. p. 116. In fronte maculatus est, ea parte corporis notatus, offenso Domino, ubi signantur qui Dominum promerentur.

[25] Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 17. Τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ ταφῆς, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀντὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, ἡ σφραγὶς ἀντὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τὸ μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας.

[26] Hieron. Ep. 113. Præfat. in Job, t. 3. Ego Christianus, et de parentibus Christianis natus, et vexillum crucis in mea fronte portans.

[27] Cypr. Ep. 50. al. 58. p. 125. Muniatur frons, ut signum Dei incolume servetur.

[28] Pontius. Vit. Cypr. p. 4. Confessores frontium notatarum secunda inscriptione signatos.

[29] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum, ad calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quæcunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo tenemus. Vid. Cyril. Catech. 4. n. 10. Catech. 13. n. 19. Chrysost. Hom. 21. ad Popul. Antioch.

[30] Tertul. de Resur. cap. 8. Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur. Caro unguitur, ut anima consecretur. Caro signatur, ut et anima muniatur. Caro manûs impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur. Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur.

or confirmation. And thus we are to understand that other passage in Tertullian,[31] where he says, The devil apes the ceremonies of the divine sacraments in his idol mysteries. He baptizes those that believe in him; he promises them expiation of sins in his laver, as now it is in the mysteries of Mithra; he signs his soldiers in the forehead; he celebrates also the oblation of bread, &c. Where most probably signing in the forehead relates to the sign of the cross in confirmation, which comes between baptism and the eucharist. And so in Pope Leo,[32] All that are regenerated in Christ, the sign of the cross makes them kings, and the unction of the Spirit consecrates them priests; meaning in the same sense as St. Peter says, All Christians are a royal priesthood. Which privileges are commonly by the ancients ascribed to the unction in confirmation, as here by Leo, who makes the sign of the cross an attendant of this unction after baptism. St. Austin's words are a little[33] more general; but yet learned men think[34] they refer to the sign of the cross in confirmation, when he says, Several sacraments or sacred rites are received in different ways; some, you know, are received in the mouth, meaning the eucharist; others in the whole body, meaning baptism, wherein the whole body is washed with water; others in the forehead, as the sign of the cross; where, because he distinguishes the sign of the cross, as a sacrament in the large sense of the word, both from baptism and the eucharist, it seems most reasonable to suppose that he intended the use of it in confirmation. Which, therefore, the Greeks often call *σφραγὶς*, the sign or seal of the Holy Ghost;[35] and sometimes the sign of the cross is more distinctly called *σταυροειδὴς σφραγὶς*, the sign made in the form of the cross, which was used not only in baptizing and confirming, but also in the ordination of priests, as I have had occasion elsewhere[36] to show out of Chrysostom and Dionysius,[37] and in the consecration of the waters of baptism, which is the next thing that comes now in order to be considered.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE CONSECRATION OF THE WATER IN BAPTISM.

Sect. 1. The consecration of the water made by prayer.

IMMEDIATELY after the unction the minister proceeded to consecrate the water, or the bishop, if he were present, consecrated it, while the priests were finishing the unction. For so the author under the name of Dionysius represents it. While the priests, says he,[1] are finishing the unction, the bishop comes to the mother of adoption, so he calls the font, and by invocation sanctifies the water in it, thrice pouring in some of the holy chrism in a manner representing the sign of the cross. This invocation or consecration of the water by prayer, is mentioned by Tertullian; for he says,[2] The waters are made the sacrament of sanctification by invocation of God. The Spirit immediately descends from heaven, and resting upon them sanctifies them by himself, and they, being so sanctified, imbibe the power of sanctifying. And Cyprian[3] declares, That the water must first be cleansed and sanctified by the priest, that it may have power by baptism to wash away the sins of man. And so the whole council of Carthage,[4] in the time of Cyprian, says, The water is sanctified by the prayer of the priest to wash away sin. Optatus has respect to this, when, speaking of the name of *Piscis*, Ἰχθὺς, the technical name that was given to Christ, from the several initial letters of his titles, which signifies a fish, he says, This is the Fish,[5] meaning Christ, which is brought down upon the waters of the font in baptism by invocation and prayer. St. Austin often mentions this invocation in his books of baptism. That water[6] is not profane and adulterated, over which the name of God is invoked, though the invocation be made by profane and adulterous men. In another place[7] he says, This invocation was used both in consecrating the waters of baptism, and the oil for unction, and the eucharist, and in giving imposition

[31] Tertul. de Præscript. cap. 40. Ipsas quoque res sacramentorum divinorum in idolorum mysteriis æmulatur. Tinguit et ipse quosdam, utique credentes et fideles suos. Expiationem de lavacro repromittit, et sic adhuc initiat Mithræ. Signat illic in frontibus milites suos, celebrat et panis oblationem.

[32] Leo, Serm. 3. in Anniversario Die suæ Assumptionis, p. 3. Omnes in Christo regeneratos crucis signum efficit reges; Sancti vero Spiritûs unctio consecrat sacerdotes.

[33] Aug. Enarrat. Psal. cxli. p. 671. Multa sacramenta aliter atque aliter accipimus. Quædam, sicut nôstis, ore accipimus, quædam per totum corpus accipimus. Quia vero in fronte erubescitur.—Crucem Christi quam pagani derident, in loco pudoris nostri constituit.

[34] Dallæ. de Confirm. lib. 2. cap. 24. p. 294.

[35] Conc. Gen. Constantinop. 1. can. 7.

[36] Book IV. chap. 6. sect. 12.

[37] Chrys. Hom. 55. in Matt. p. 475. Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccl. cap. 5. p. 312 et 314.

[1] Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccl. cap. 2. p. 253. Αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς υἱοθεσίας ἔρχεται, καὶ τὸ ταύτης ὕδωρ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπικλήσεσι καθαγιάσας, &c.

[2] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 4. Sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur, invocato Deo. Supervenit enim statim Spiritus de cœlis, et aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semetipso, et ita sanctificatæ vim sanctificandi combibunt.

[3] Cyprian. Ep. 70. ad Januar. p. 190. Oportet vero mundari et sanctificari aquam prius a sacerdote, ut possit baptismo sua peccata hominis, qui baptizatur, abluere.

[4] Conc. Carthag. ap. Cypr. p. 233. Aqua sacerdotis prece sanctificata abluit delicta.

[5] Optat. lib. 3. cont. Parmen. p. 62. Hic est Piscis, qui in baptismate per invocationem fontalibus undis inseritur.

[6] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 3. cap. 10. Non est aqua profana et adultera, super quam nomen invocatur, etiamsi a profanis et adulteris invocetur.

[7] Id. de Bapt. lib. 5. cap. 20. Si ergo ad hoc valet, quod dictum est in evangelio, Deus peccatorem non audit. ut per

of hands. And the sacraments were valid, though it were a sinner or a murderer that made the prayer. And again, answering the objection of the Cyprianists and Donatists, that a wicked man or a heretic could not sanctify the water, he says, Every error[8] in the prayer of consecration does not destroy the essence of baptism, but only the want of those evangelical words (he means the form of baptizing in the name of the Trinity) instituted by Christ, without which baptism cannot be consecrated. For otherwise, if the water were not consecrated when the minister uses any erroneous words in his prayer, then not only wicked men, but many good brethren in the church, did not sanctify the water; for many of their prayers were daily corrected, when they were rehearsed to those that were more learned, and many errors were found in them contrary to the catholic faith. Yet they that were baptized when such prayers were said over the water, were not baptized again. This is a plain evidence, that prayers of consecration were then generally used both among the catholics and Donatists, though neither the use nor the orthodoxy of them were reckoned to be of absolute necessity to the very being and essence of baptism, which might consist with great errors in such prayers. It were easy to add many other testimonies of this ancient practice out of St. Ambrose,[9] St. Basil,[10] Theodoret,[11] Gregory Nyssen,[12] Theophilus of Alexandria,[13] Victor Uticensis,[14] and some others. But I think it needless to repeat them all at length, after such full evidence from St. Austin and those writers that came before him.

Sect. 2. An ancient form of this prayer in the Constitutions.

Only I shall add two or three observations more concerning this prayer of consecration, which may give a little light to some usages, and some doctrines also, of the ancient church. And first we find, that as they had forms for other parts of the Divine service, so they had a form for this consecration prayer, or benediction of the water, though that not so universal and invariable as the form of baptism. For St. Austin observes, that the one never varied, but the other was subject to some errors and corruptions, by reason of the liberty that was left to human composures. One of these forms is now extant in the Constitutions, which it will not be amiss here to insert. It goes under the title of a thanksgiving over the mystical water. The priest blesses[15] and praises the Lord God Almighty, the Father of the only begotten God, giving him thanks, for that he sent his Son to be incarnate for us, that he might save us; that he took upon him in his incarnation to be obedient in all things, to preach the kingdom of heaven, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the dead. After this he adores the only begotten God, and for him gives thanks to the Father, that he took upon him to die for all men upon the cross, leaving the baptism of regeneration as a type or symbol of it. He further praises God the Lord of all, that in the name of Christ and by the Holy Spirit, not rejecting mankind, he showed himself at diverse times in diverse providences towards them; giving Adam a habitation in a delicious paradise; then laying upon him a command in his providence, upon the transgression of which he expelled him in his justice, but in his goodness did not wholly cast him off, but disciplined his posterity in diverse manners, for whom in the end of the world he sent his Son, to be made man for the sake of men, and to take upon him all the affections of men, sin only excepted. After this thanksgiving, the priest is to call upon God, and say, Look down from heaven and sanctify this water; give it grace and power, that he that is baptized therein, according to the command of Christ, may be crucified with him, and die with him, and be buried with him, and rise again with him to that adoption which comes by him; that dying unto sin, he may live unto righteousness. Any one that will compare the form in our liturgy with this ancient form, will find a great resemblance between them, both in the thanksgiving, and the particular prayer of consecration.

Sect. 3. The sign of the cross used in this consecration.

Secondly, I observe, that together with this prayer, it was usual to make the sign of the cross also, not, as before, upon the person to be baptized, but as a circumstance of the consecration. This we learn not only from Dionysius,[16] but from St. Austin, who says,[17] The water of baptism was signed with the cross of Christ. And St. Chrysostom says, They

peccatorem sacramenta non celebrentur: quomodo exaudit homicidam deprecantem, vel super aquam baptismi, vel super oleum, vel super eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum quibus manus imponitur? Quæ omnia tamen et fiunt et valent etiam per homicidas, &c.

[8] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 6. cap. 25. Si non sanctificatur aqua, cum aliqua erroris verba per imperitiam precator effundit, multi non solum mali, sed etiam boni, fratres in ipsa ecclesia non sanctificant aquam. Multorum enim preces emendantur quotidie, si doctioribus fuerint recitatæ, et multa in eis reperiuntur contra fidem catholicam. Nunquid si manifestarentur aliqui baptizati, cum illæ preces dictæ super aquam fuissent, jubebuntur denuo baptizari?—Certa illa evangelica verba, sine quibus non potest baptismus consecrari, tantum valent, ut per illa sic evacuentur quæcunque in prece vitiosa contra regulam fidei dicuntur, quemadmodum dæmonium Christi nomine excluditur.

[9] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 1. c. 5. lib. 5. c. 2. De Spir. Sancto, lib. 1. c. 7.

[10] Basil. in Psal. xxviii. It. de Spir. Sancto, c. 27.

[11] Theodor. in 1 Cor. vi. 2. t. 3. p. 144.

[12] Nyssen. de Bapt. Christ. t. 3. p. 371. It. adv. eos qui Baptism. differunt, t. 2. p. 219.

[13] Theophil. Ep. Paschal. 1. Bibl. Patr. t. 3. p. 87.

[14] Victor. Utic. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 2. p. 602. Gelas. Cyzicen. et Pseudo-Athanas. de Communi Essentia, &c.

[15] Const. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 43.

[16] Dionys. de Hier. Eccl. cap. 2. p. 254.

[17] Aug. Hom. 27. ex 50. t. 10. p. 175. Quia baptismus, id est, aqua salutis, non est salutis, nisi Christi nomine con-

used[18] it in all their sacred mysteries; when they were regenerated in baptism, when they were fed with the mystical food in the eucharist, when they were ordained, that symbol of victory was always represented in the action, whatever religious matter they were concerned in. To which we may add the author under the name of St. Austin,[19] who runs over all the solemn consecrations of the church, and tells us, the symbol of the cross was used in every one, in catechising of new converts, in consecrating the waters of baptism, in giving imposition of hands in confirmation, in the dedication of churches and altars, in consecrating the eucharist, and in promoting priests and Levites to holy orders.

Sect. 4. The effects and change wrought by this consecration, the same as in the bread and wine in the eucharist.

Thirdly, I observe concerning the effects of this consecration, that the very same change was supposed to be wrought by it in the waters of baptism, as by the consecration of bread and wine in the eucharist. For they supposed not only the presence of the Spirit, but also the mystical presence of Christ's blood to be here after consecration. Julius Firmicus,[20] speaking of baptism, bids men here seek for the pure waters, the undefiled fountain, where the blood of Christ, after many spots and defilements, would whiten them by the Holy Ghost. Gregory Nazianzen[21] and Basil[22] say upon this account, That a greater than the temple, a greater than Solomon, a greater than Jonas is here, meaning Christ, by his mystical presence and the power of his blood. St. Austin[23] says, Baptism or the baptismal water is red, when once it is consecrated by the blood of Christ; and this was prefigured by the waters of the Red sea. Prosper[24] is bold to say, That in baptism we are dipped in blood; and therefore martyrs are twice dipped in blood, first in the blood of Christ at baptism, and then in their own blood at martyrdom. St. Jerom[25] uses the same bold metaphor, explaining those words of Isaiah, "Wash ye, make ye clean:" Be ye baptized in my blood by the laver of regeneration. And again,[26] speaking of the Ethiopian eunuch, he says, He was baptized in the blood of Christ, about whom he was reading. After the same manner, Cæsarius says,[27] The soul goes into the living waters, consecrated and made red by the blood of Christ. And Isidore[28] says, What is the red sea, but baptism consecrated in the blood of Christ? Others tell us, that we are hereby made partakers of the body and blood of Christ, and eat his flesh, according to what is said in St. John's Gospel, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." Upon which words Fulgentius[29] founds the necessity of baptism: Forasmuch as it may be perceived by any considering man, that the flesh of Christ is eaten and his blood drunk in the laver of regeneration. Hence Cyril of Alexandria says,[30] We are partakers of the spiritual Lamb in baptism. And Chrysostom,[31] That we thereby put on Christ, not only his Divinity, or only his humanity, that is, his flesh, but both together. And Nazianzen,[32] That in baptism we are anointed and protected by the precious blood of Christ, as Israel was by the blood upon the door-posts in the night. St. Chrysostom[33] says again, That they that are baptized, put on a royal garment, a purple dipped in the blood of the Lord. Philo-Carpathius says, The spouse of Christ, his church, receives in baptism the seal[34] of Christ, being washed in the fountain of his most holy blood. Optatus,[35] as we have heard before, says, Christ comes down by the invocation, and joins himself to the waters of baptism.

secrata, qui pro nobis sanguinem fudit, cruce ipsius aqua signatur.

[18] Chrys. Hom. 54. al. 55. in Matt. p. 475. ed. Commelin. Πάντα δι' αὐτȣ͂ τελεῖται τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς· κἂν ἀναγεννηθῆναι δέῃ, ϛαυρὸς παραγίνεται· κἂν τραφῆναι τὴν μυϛικὴν ἐκείνην τροφὴν· κἂν χειροτονηθῆναι, &c.

[19] Aug. Hom. 75. de Diversis in Append. t. 10. p. 702. Hujus crucis mysterio rudes catechizantur, eodem mysterio fons regenerationis consecratur, ejusdem crucis signo per manûs impositionem baptizati dona gratiarum accipiunt. Cum ejusdem crucis charactere basilicæ dedicantur, altaria consecrantur, altaris sacramenta cum interpositione dominicorum verborum conficiuntur: sacerdotes et Levitæ per hoc idem ad sacros ordines promoventur.

[20] Firmic. de Error Profan. Relig. c. 28. Quære fontes ingenuos, quære puros liquores, ut illic te post multas maculas cum Spiritu Sancto Christi sanguis incandidet.

[21] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 657.

[22] Basil. de Bapt. lib. 1. c. 2. t. 1. p. 558.

[23] Aug. Tract. 11. in Joh. p. 41. Significabat Mare Rubrum baptismum Christi. Unde rubet baptismus Christi, nisi Christi sanguine consecratus?

[24] Prosper. de Promissis, lib. 2. cap. 2. In cocco bis tincto martyria sancta rutilant, semel baptismo Christi sanguine tinguntur, atque suo effusionis cruore denuo retincti.

[25] Hieron. in Esai. i. 16. Baptizemini in sanguine meo per lavacrum regenerationis.

[26] Id. in Esai. liii. 7. Statim baptizatus in Agni sanguine quem legebat, vir meruit appellari, et apostolus genti Æthiopum missus est.

[27] Cæsar. Arelatens. Hom. 6. de Paschat. Bibl. Patr. t. 2. p. 276. Ingreditur anima vitales undas velut rubras sanguine Christi consecratas.

[28] Isidor. Hispal. in Exod. xix. Quid est mare rubrum, nisi baptismum Christi sanguine consecratum?

[29] Fulgent. de Bapt. Æthiop. cap. 11. p. 611. Quisquis secundum mysterii veritatem considerare poterit, in ipso lavacro sanctæ regenerationis hoc fieri providebit.—Quod etiam sanctos patres indubitanter credidisse ac docuisse cognoscimus.

[30] Cyril. in Exod. xii. lib. 2. t. 1. p. 270. Μέτοχος τοῦ νοετοῦ προβάτου, &c.

[31] Chrys. Serm. 27. de Cruce, t. 6. p. 293.

[32] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 646.

[33] Chrys. Hom. 60. ad Illuminandos, t. 1. p. 796.

[34] Philo. in Cantic. iv. 12. Fons signatus sponsa dicitur, quia in baptismate signaculum Jesu Christi accepit, ex ejus sacratissimi sanguinis fonte perlota.

[35] Optat. lib. 3. p. 62. Hic est Piscis, qui in baptismate per invocationem fontalibus undis inseritur.

Nay, Chrysostom,[36] in one of his bold rhetorical flights, scruples not to tell a man that is baptized, that he immediately embraces his Lord in his arms, that he is united to his body, nay, compounded or consubstantiated with that body which sits above, whither the devil has no access. Some tell us, as Isidore, that the water of baptism is the water[37] that flowed out of Christ's side at his passion: and others, as Laurentius Novariensis,[38] that it is water mixed with the sacred blood of the Son of God. Others tell us,[39] that the water is transmuted or changed in its nature by the Holy Ghost, to a sort of Divine and ineffable power. So Cyril of Alexandria, who frequently uses the word *μεταςοιχείωσις*, transelementation, both when he speaks of the water in baptism, and the bread and wine in the eucharist, or of any other changes that are wrought in the mysteries of the Christian religion. Cyril of Jerusalem and Gregory Nyssen have the same observation upon the change that is wrought in the oil, after consecration, which they make to be the same with that of the bread and wine in the eucharist. Beware, says Cyril,[40] that you take not this ointment to be bare ointment. For as the bread in the eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, is not mere bread, but the body of Christ; so this holy ointment, after invocation, is not bare or common ointment, but it is a gift of God, that makes Christ and the Holy Spirit to be present in the action. In like manner, Gregory Nyssen makes the same change to be in the mystical oil, and in the altar itself, and in the ministers by ordination, and in the waters of baptism, as in the bread and wine in the eucharist after consecration. Do not contemn, says he, the Divine laver, nor despise it as a common thing, because of the use[41] of water. For great and wonderful things are wrought by it. This altar, before which we stand, is but common stone in its own nature, differing nothing from other stones, wherewith our walls are built; but after it is consecrated to the service of God, and has received a benediction, it is a holy table, an immaculate altar, not to be touched by any but the priests, and that with the greatest reverence. The bread also is at first but common bread, but when once it is sanctified by the holy mystery, it is made and called the body of Christ. So the mystical oil, and so the wine, though they be things of little value before the benediction, yet, after their sanctification by the Spirit, they both of them work wonders. The same power of the word makes a priest become honourble and venerable, when he is separated from the community of the vulgar by a new benediction. For he who before was only one of the common people, is now immediately made a ruler and president, a teacher of piety, and a minister of the secret mysteries: and all these things he does without any change in his body or shape; for to all outward appearance he is the same that he was, but the change is in his invisible soul, by an invisible power and grace. Pope Leo[42] goes one step further, and tells us, that baptism makes a change not only in the water, but in the man that receives it; for thereby Christ receives him, and he receives Christ, and he is not the same after baptism that he was before, but the body of him that is regenerated is made the flesh of him that was crucified. From all which it is easy to observe, that in all these cases, the change which they speak of is not made in the substance of the things, but in the qualities only; the water is not the blood of Christ substantially and really, but only symbolically and mystically; nor is a man changed into the flesh of Christ thereby any other way, than as he is made a living member of his mystical body, participating of that Spirit whereby he rules and governs his church, as the Head of it. So that when the ancients speak of a Divine change or transelementation (for as yet the word transubstantiation was not known) in the bread and wine in the eucharist, they are to be interpreted, as here we do in baptism, of a change in qualities and powers, and not in substance; since all the words they used to express that change, are equally verified in the waters of baptism after consecration.

Sect. 5. How far these prayers of consecration reckoned necessary in the church.

I must further observe, to avoid all mistakes, that when the ancients speak of an absolute necessity of invocation of God to consecrate the waters of baptism, they then do not mean any new forms of prayer instituted by the church, but the very form of baptism instituted by Christ, which they rightly suppose to be an invocation of the holy Trinity; in which sense, no baptism can be duly performed without an invocation to consecrate the water, though it may be performed, in times of exigence, without the additional[43] prayers of the church.

[36] Chrys. Hom. 6. in Colos. p. 1359. *Αὐτὸν εὐθέως περιλαμβάνεις τὸν δεσπότην, ἀνακεράννυσαι τῷ σώματι, ἀναφήρη,* (leg. *ἀναφύρῃ*) *τῷ σώματι τῷ ἄνω κειμένῳ,* &c.

[37] Isidor. de Offic. Eccl. lib. 2. cap. 24. Aqua est, quæ tempore passionis Christi de latere profluxit.

[38] Laurent. Novar. Hom. 1. de Pœnitentia. Bibl. Patr. t. 2. p. 127. Asperges me aqua Filii tui sacro sanguine mixta.—Abluitur Adam corpore Christi, &c.

[39] Cyril. in Joh. iii. 5. p. 147. *Διὰ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ενεργείας τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὕδωρ πρὸς θείαν τινὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητον ἀναστοιχειοῦται δύναμιν.* Vid. Albertinum de Eucharistia, lib. 2. p. 488, where he has collected all the passages that speak of this transelementation.

[40] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 3. n. 3. *Ὅρα μὴ ὑπονοήσῃς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι· ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριςίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τȣ̃ Ἁγίȣ Πνεύματος, ȣ̓κ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριςȣ̃· ȣ̈τω τὸ ἅγιον τȣ̃το μύρον ȣ̓κ ἔτι ψιλὸν,* &c.

[41] Nyssen. de Baptismo Christi, t. 3. p. 369.

[42] Leo, Serm. 14. de Passione, p. 62. Susceptus a Christo, Christumque suscipiens, non idem est post lavacrum, qui ante baptismum fuit, sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi.

[43] Vid. Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 18.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE DIFFERENT WAYS OF BAPTIZING, BY IMMERSION, TRINE IMMERSION, AND ASPERSION IN THE CASE OF CLINIC BAPTISM.

Sect. 1. All persons anciently divested in order to be baptized.

Having thus far considered all things preceding the very act of baptizing, we are now to inquire into the manner how that was usually performed, whether by dipping and total immersion, or by aspersion and sprinkling, which is now the more general practice of the church. There is no question made but that either of these ways does fully answer the primary end of baptism, which is to purify the soul, and not the body, by washing away sin. But yet the ancients thought, that immersion, or burying under water, did more lively represent the death and burial and resurrection of Christ, as well as our own death unto sin, and rising again to righteousness; and the divesting or unclothing the person to be baptized, did also represent the putting off the body of sin, in order to put on the new man, which is created in righteousness and true holiness. For which reason they observed the way of baptizing all persons naked and divested, by a total immersion under water, except in some particular cases of great exigence, wherein they allowed of sprinkling, as in the case of clinic baptism, or where there was a scarcity of water. That persons were divested in order to be baptized is evident, partly from what has been said before of the unction, which was administered not only on the head, but on other parts of the body; partly from express testimonies which affirm it; and also from the manner of baptizing by immersion, which necessarily presupposes it. St. Chrysostom, speaking of baptism, says, Men were as naked as Adam in paradise, but with this difference; Adam was naked[1] because he had sinned, but in baptism, a man was naked that he might be freed from sin; the one was divested of his glory which he once had, but the other put off the old man, which he did as easily as his clothes. St. Ambrose[2] says, Men came as naked to the font, as they came into the world; and thence he draws an argument by way of allusion, to rich men, telling them, how absurd it was, that a man who was born naked of his mother, and received naked by the church, should think of going rich into heaven. Cyril of Jerusalem takes notice of this circumstance,[3] together with the reasons of it, when he thus addresses himself to persons newly baptized: As soon as ye came into the inner part of the baptistery, ye put off your clothes, which is an emblem of putting off the old man with his deeds; and being thus divested, ye stood naked, imitating Christ, that was naked upon the cross, who by his nakedness spoiled principalities and powers, publicly triumphing over them in the cross. O wonderful thing! ye were naked in the sight of men, and were not ashamed, in this truly imitating the first man Adam, who was naked in paradise, and was not ashamed. So also Amphilochius in the Life of St. Basil,[4] speaking of his baptism, says, He arose with fear and put off his clothes, and with them the old man. And Zeno Veronensis,[5] reminding persons of their baptism, bids them rejoice, for they went down naked into the font, but rose again clothed in a white and heavenly garment, which if they did not defile, they might obtain the kingdom of heaven. Athanasius, in his invectives against the Arians, among other things, lays this to their charge, that by their persuasions the Jews and Gentiles broke into the baptistery, and there offered such abuses to the catechumens as they stood with their naked bodies,[6] as was shameful and abominable to relate. And a like complaint is brought against Peter, bishop of Apamea, in the council of Constantinople, under Mennas,[7] that he cast out the neophytes, or persons newly baptized, out of the baptistery, when they were without their clothes and shoes. All which are manifest proofs that persons were baptized naked, either in imitation of Adam in paradise, or our Saviour upon the cross, or to signify their putting off the body of sin, and the old man with his deeds.

Sect. 2. No exception in this case either with respect to women or children.

And this practice was then so general, that we find no exception made, either with respect to the tenderness of infants, or the bashfulness of the female sex, save only where the case of sickness or disability made it necessary to vary from the usual custom. St. Chrysostom is an undeniable evidence in this matter. For writing about the barbarous proceedings of his enemies against him on the great sabbath, or Saturday before Easter, among other tragical things which they committed, he reports this for one, That they came armed into the church, and by violence expelled the clergy, killing many

[1] Chrys. Hom. 6. in Coloss. p. 2358. Ἐνταῦθα γυμνότης, κἀκεῖ γυμνότης· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν ἁμαρτήσας ἐγυμνώθη, ἐπειδὴ ἥμαρτεν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ, ἵνα ἀπαλλαγῇ γυμνοῦται, &c.

[2] Ambros. Serm. 20. Nudi in sæculo nascimur, nudi etiam accedimus ad lavacrum.——Quam autem incongruum ac absurdum est, ut quem nudum mater genuit, nudum suscipit ecclesia, dives intorire velit in cœlum?

[3] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 2. n. 2.

[4] Amphiloc. Vit. Basil. cap. 5.

[5] Zeno, Invitat. 2. ad Bapt. Bibl. Patr. t. 2. p. 442. Gaudete, in fontem quidem nudi demergitis, sed ætherea veste vestiti, mox candidati inde surgitis, quam qui non polluerit, regna cœlestia possidebit.

[6] Athan. Ep. ad Orthodoxos, t. 1. p. 946.

[7] Conc. Constant. Act. 1. p. 53. ed. Crab. Cum essemus in baptisterio neophytarum, sine tunicis et calceamentis existentium, venit episcopus noster Petrus, et ejecit nos foras una cum neophytis, &c.

in the baptistery, with which the women,[8] who at that time were divested in order to be baptized, were put into such a terror that they fled away naked, and could not stay in the fright to put on such clothes as the modesty of their sex required. And that so it was in the case of children also, is evident from the custom of immersion, which continued in the church for many ages; as also from what is particularly said of infants in the Ordo Romanus,[9] and Gregory's Sacramentarium, That after the priest has baptized them with three immersions, they are to be clothed, and brought to the bishop to be confirmed. For this clothing supposes that they were unclothed before in order to be baptized.

Sect. 3. Yet matters were so ordered as that no indecency might be committed.

But yet, that no indecency might appear in so sacred an action, two things were especially provided for by ancient rules. 1. That men and women were baptized apart. To which purpose the baptisteries were commonly divided into two apartments, the one for the men, the other for the women, as I have had occasion to show from St. Austin[10] in another place.[11] Or else the men were baptized at one time and the women at another, as Vossius[12] observes out of the Ordo Romanus, Gregory's Sacramentarium, Albinus Flaccus, and other writers. 2. There was anciently an order of deaconesses in the church, and one main part of their business was to assist at the baptism of women, where, for decency's sake, they were employed to divest them, and so to order the matter, that the whole ceremony, both of unction and baptizing, might be performed in such a manner as became the reverence that was due to so sacred an action; of all which I have given sufficient proofs in a former Book,[13] which I need not here repeat.

Sect. 4. Baptism usually performed by immersion.

Persons thus divested, or unclothed, were usually baptized by immersion, or dipping of their whole bodies under water, to represent the death and burial and resurrection of Christ together; and therewith to signify their own dying unto sin, the destruction of its power, and their resurrection to a new life. There are a great many passages in the Epistles of St. Paul, which plainly refer to this custom: Rom. vi. 4, "We are buried with him by baptism; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." So again, Col. ii. 12, "Buried with him in baptism, wherein ye are also risen with him, through the faith of the operation of God, who raised him from the dead." And as this was the original apostolical practice, so it continued to be the universal practice of the church for many ages, upon the same symbolical reasons as it was first used by the apostles. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions[14] says, Baptism was given to represent the death of Christ, and the water his burial. St. Chrysostom proves the resurrection from this practice: For, says he, our being baptized and immerged in the water,[15] and our rising again out of it, is a symbol of our descending into hell or the grave, and of our returning from thence. Wherefore St. Paul calls baptism our burial. For, says he, "we are buried with Christ by baptism into death." And in another place,[16] When we dip our heads in water as in a grave, our old man is buried; and when we rise up again, the new man rises therewith. Cyril of Jerusalem makes it an emblem of the Holy Ghost's effusion upon the apostles: For as he that goes down into the water[17] and is baptized, and surrounded on all sides by the water; so the apostles were baptized all over by the Spirit: the water surrounds the body externally, but the Spirit incomprehensibly baptizes the interior soul. The fourth council of Toledo keeps to the former reason,[18] The immersion in water is as it were the descending into the grave, and the rising out of the water a resurrection. And so St. Ambrose[19] explains it: Thou wast asked, Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? And thou didst answer, I believe: and then thou wast immerged in water, that is, buried. It appears also from Epiphanius and others, that almost all heretics, who retained any baptism, retained immersion also. Epiphanius[20] says, The Ebionites received baptism as it was practised in

[8] Chrys. Ep. 1. ad. Innocent. p. 680. *Γυναῖκες πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα ἀποδυσάμεναι κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν, γυμναὶ ἔφυγον ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τῆς χαλεπῆς ταύτης ἐφόδου· οὐδὲ τὴν πρέπουσαν γύναιξιν εὐσχημοσύνην συγχωρούμεναι περιθέσθαι.* Vid. Moschum Prat. Spir. c. 104.

[9] Gregor. Sacram. de Bapt. Infant. Baptizat cum sacerdos sub trina mersione, &c. Et vestitur infans. It. Ordo Roman. Cap. de Die Sabbati S. Paschæ. Cum vestiti fuerint infantes, pontifex confirmet eos. Vid. Athanas. de Parabolis Evangel. qu. 92. *Τὸ γὰρ καταδύσαι τὸ παιδίον*, &c.

[10] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8.

[11] Book VIII. chap. 7. sect. 1.

[12] Voss. de Bapt. Disp. 1. p. 36.

[13] Book II. chap. 22. sect. 8.

[14] Const. Apost. lib. 3. c. 17. *'Εστὶ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ 'Ιησοῦ διδόμενον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ ταφῆς.*

[15] Chrys. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 689. *Τὸ γὰρ βαπτίζεσθαι καὶ καταδύεσθαι, εἶτα ἀνανεύειν, τῆς εἰς ᾅδου καταβάσεως ἐστὶ σύμβολον, καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἀνόδου*, &c.

[16] Chrys. in Joh. iii. 5. Hom. 25. p. 656.

[17] Cyril. Catech. 17. n. 8. p. 247.

[18] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 6. In aquis mersio quasi ad infernum descensio est: et rursus ab aquis emersio resurrectio est.

[19] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 2. cap. 7. Interrogatus es, Credis in Deum, Patrem Omnipotentem? dixisti, Credo, et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es. Add also Tertul. de Bapt. c. 2. Homo in aquam demissus, et inter pauca verba tinctus, non multo vel nihilo mundior resurgit. Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Severum. Mira Dei pietas; peccator mergitur undis, &c. Nyssen. de Bapt. Christi, t. 3. p. 372. Athanas. de Parabolis, qu. 94. t. 2. p. 422.

[20] Epiphan. Hær. 30. Ebion. n. 2 et 16.

the church, but they added to it a quotidian baptism, immerging themselves in water every day. So the Marcionites were guilty of many errors in other respects about baptism: they would baptize no persons but either virgins[21] or widows, or unmarried men; they repeated their baptism three times;[22] and introduced some other errors about it: but still the baptisms which they administered, were in this respect conformable to those of the church, that they baptized by a total immersion, as Tertullian[23] witnesses of them. Other heretics, as the Valentinians, to their baptism by water, added another baptism by fire,[24] which is mentioned by Tertullian. But yet we find no charge brought against them for their first baptism, as if it were administered in any other way than by a total immersion. The only heretics against whom this charge is brought, were the Eunomians, a branch of the Arians, of whom it was reported by Theodoret,[25] that they baptized only the upper parts of the body as far as the breast. And this they did in a very preposterous way, as Epiphanius[26] relates, *τοὺς πόδας ἄνω, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κάτω*, with their heels upward, and their head downward. Which sort of men are called *histopedes*, or *pederecti*. Whence the learned Gothofred[27] conjectures, that in one of the laws of Theodosius, where it is now read, *Eunomiani spadones;* it should be *Eunomiani histopedes*, which signifies men hanged up by the heels, as he proves from Pausanias, Pollux, Hesychius, Harpocration, and others. So that these were the only men among all the heretics of the ancient church, that rejected this way of baptizing by a total immersion in ordinary cases.

Sect. 5. Yet aspersion, or sprinkling, allowed in some extraordinary cases.

Indeed the church was so punctual to this rule, that we never read of any exception made to it in ordinary cases, no, not in the baptism of infants. For it appears from the Ordo Romanus, and Gregory's Sacramentarium, that infants, as well as others, were baptized by immersion, and the rules of the church, except in cases of danger, do still require it. But in two cases a mitigation of this rule was allowed. 1. In case of sickness and extreme danger of life. Here that excellent rule, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," was always allowed to take place. Therefore that which the ancients called clinic baptism, that is, baptism by aspersion or sprinkling upon a sick bed, was never disputed against as an unlawful or imperfect baptism, though some laws were made to debar men who were so baptized, from ascending to the dignities of the church. For if men by neglect deferred their baptism to a sick bed, the church, in her prudence and discipline, (because this delay was a fault she always declaimed against,) thought fit to deny such men the privilege of ordination, as I have had occasion to show in a more proper place.[28] But yet she did not at any time attempt to annul such baptisms, or judge them imperfect as to what concerned the essence or substance of the action. This very question was moved by some, together with that of heretical baptism, in the time of Cyprian: but Cyprian, who determined against the validity of heretical baptism, makes no scruple in this case, but offers arguments to prove such clinic baptism by aspersion, to have all the necessary conditions of a true baptism. For though this was the case of Novatian, who had not been washed, but only sprinkled upon a sick bed; yet Cyprian[29] had no objection against his Christianity upon that account: but declares, that as far as he was able to judge, all such baptisms were perfect, where there was no defect in the faith of the giver or the receiver: for the contagion of sin was not washed away, as the filth of the body is, by a carnal and secular washing. There was no need of a lake or other such like helps to wash and cleanse it. The heart of a believer was otherwise washed, the mind of a man was cleansed by the merit of faith. In the sacraments of salvation, when necessity requires, God grants his indulgence by a short way of performing them. This lawfulness of aspersion in such cases he proves from those words of God in Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you." And from several other texts, Numb. xix. 19; viii. 7; and xix. 9, where the water of sprinkling is called the water of purification. Whence he concludes, that the sprinkling of water was as effectual as washing; and what the church did in

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[21] Tertul. cont. Marc. lib. 1. c. 29. Non tinguitur apud illum caro, nisi virgo, nisi vidua, nisi cœlebs, &c.

[22] Epiph. Hær. 42. n. 3. Οὐ μόνον παρ' αὐτῷ ἓν λουτρὸν δίδοται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕως τριῶν λουτρῶν, &c.

[23] Tertul. cont. Marc. lib. 1. cap. 28. Carnem mergit exsortem salutis.

[24] Tertul. Carmen cont. Marc. lib. 1. cap. 7. Namque Valentino Deus est insanus.—Bis docuit tingui, transducto corpore flamma. Vid. Hieron. in Ephes. iv.

[25] Theod. Hær. Fab. lib. 4. cap. 3.

[26] Epiphan. Hær. 76. Anomœorum, p. 992.

[27] Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæreticis, Leg. 17.

[28] Book IV. chap. 3. sect. 11.

[29] Cypr. Ep. 76. al. 69. ad Magnum, p. 185. Quæsisti etiam, fili charissime, quid mihi de illis videatur, qui in infirmitate et languore gratiam Dei consequuntur, an habendi sint legitimi Christiani, eo quod aqua salutari non loti sint, sed perfusi.——Nos quantum concipit mediocritas nostra, æstimamus in nullo mutilari et debilitari posse beneficia divina, nec minus aliquid illic posse contingere, ubi plena et tota fide et dantis et sumentis accipitur, quod de divinis muneribus hauritur. Neque enim sic in sacramento salutari delictorum contagia, ut in lavacro carnali et seculari sordes cutis et corporis, abluuntur, &c. Aliter pectus credentis abluitur, aliter mens hominis per fidei merita mundatur. In sacramentis salutaribus, necessitate cogente, et Deo indulgentiam suam largiente, totum credentibus conferunt divina compendia.

this case in compliance with necessity and men's infirmities, was neither displeasing to God, nor detrimental to the party baptized, who received a full and complete sacrament by the power of God, and the truth of his own faith together. And therefore he blames those who nicknamed these men clinics, instead of Christians. It further appears from the canons which speak of these,[30] that they were only denied orders, not the name of Christians. The council of Neocæsarea allows them in time of great exigence, or in case of great merit, to be ordained, as Novatian was for his pregnant parts, and the hopes which the church had conceived of him, as Eusebius[31] out of the epistle of Cornelius informs us. The council of Laodicea[32] appoints such, if they recover, to learn the creed, but says not a word of rebaptizing them. And it appears from the council of Auxerre,[33] that these clinics were allowed to be baptized at any time when necessity required, without a solemn festival. So that many things were indulged to them, which were not allowed by the ordinary rules of the church. 2. Another case in which sprinkling was accepted instead of immersion, was in times of difficulty, when a sufficient quantity of water could not be procured; as when a martyr was to be baptized in prison, or was to baptize any other under such a confinement. Thus we read in the ancient Acts of St. Laurence, referred to by Walafridus Strabo,[34] how one Romanus, a soldier, was baptized by him in a pitcher of water. And again, how one Lucillus was baptized by the same martyr[35] only by pouring water upon his head. But as both these were extraordinary cases, they only show us, how far the church could dispense with this rule upon reasons of necessity or charity, not what was her standing and ordinary practice. Some learned persons[36] think Tertullian alludes to the allowance of sprinkling in extraordinary cases, when, speaking of men's pretending to be baptized without true repentance, he says, No man would grant such false penitents[37] so much as one aspersion of water. And Gregory Nyssen perhaps refers to it also in that famous story, which he tells of one Archias, who having neglected his opportunity of receiving baptism, was at last suddenly surprised with death at a season when there was no possibility of obtaining it: and then he cried out in that languishing condition, O ye mountains[38] and woods, baptize me; O ye trees, and rocks, and fountains, give me this grace: and with these words, being wounded to death, he expired in the hands of his enemies. This man's condition he compares to those, who have the sudden summons of death upon a sick bed: they then begin to call for a vessel of water, a priest, and words to prepare them for baptism; but the violence of their disease prevents them from obtaining it. This seems to imply, that such a sprinkling as men might have upon a sick bed, in cases of extremity, was reputed a saving baptism; and it was an unhappiness in some, that they could not obtain even that at their last hour, which the church allowed as the last refuge only in such extraordinary cases.

Sect. 6. Trine immersion, the general practice for several ages. The reasons of this.

But I must observe further, that they not only administered baptism by immersion under water, but also repeated this three times. Tertullian speaks of it as a ceremony[39] generally used in his time: We dip not once, but three times, at the naming every person of the Trinity. The same is asserted by St. Basil,[40] and St. Jerom,[41] and the author under the name of Dionysius,[42] who says likewise, that it was done at the distinct mention of each person of the blessed Trinity. St. Ambrose is most particular in the description of this rite: Thou wast asked,[43] says he, Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? And thou repliedst, I believe, and wast dipped, that is, buried. A second demand was made, Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, and in his cross? Thou answeredst again, I believe, and wast dipped. Therefore thou wast buried with Christ. For he that is buried with Christ, rises again with Christ. A third time the question was repeated, Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost? And thy answer was, I believe. Then thou wast dipped a third time, that thy triple confession might absolve thee from the various offences of thy former life. Two reasons are commonly assigned for this

[30] Conc. Neocæsar. can. 12.

[31] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. [32] Conc. Laod. can. 47.

[33] Conc. Antissiodor. can. 18. Non licet absque Paschæ solennitate ullo tempore baptizare, nisi illos quibus mors vicina est, quos grabatarios dicunt.

[34] Acta Laurentii, ap. Surium, t. 4. Unus ex militibus, Romanus nomine, urceum afferens cum aqua, opportunitatem captavit, qua eam offerret B. Laurentio, ut baptizaretur. Vid. Strabo, de Rebus Eccles. cap. 26.

[35] Acta, ibid. Cum exspoliasset eum, fudit aquam super caput ejus.

[36] Vid. Bevereg. Not. in Can. Apost. 30.

[37] Tertul. de Pœnitent. cap. 6. Quis enim tibi tam infidæ pœnitentiæ viro asperginem unam cujuslibet aquæ commodabit?

[38] Nyssen. de Bapt. t. 2. p. 220.

[39] Tertul. cont. Prax. cap. 26. Non semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tinguimur. Id. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Dehinc ter mergitamur, &c.

[40] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, c. 27.

[41] Hieron. adv. Lucif. c. 4.

[42] Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. cap. 2.

[43] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 2. cap. 7. Interrogatus es Credis in Deum, Patrem Omnipotentem? Dixisti, Credo, et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es. Iterum interrogatus es, Credis in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum? Dixisti, Credo, et mersisti. Ideo et Christo es consepultus. Qui enim Christo consepelitur, cum Christo resurgit. Tertio interrogatus es, Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum? Dixisti, Credo. Tertio mersisti, ut multiplicem lapsum superioris ætatis absolveret trina confessio.

practice. 1. That it might represent Christ's three days' burial, and his resurrection on the third day. We cover ourselves in the water, says Gregory Nyssen,[44] as Christ did in the earth, and this we do three times, to represent the grace of his resurrection performed after three days. In like manner Cyril of Jerusalem[45] and the author of The Questions upon the Scripture,[46] under the name of Athanasius. Thus likewise Pope Leo among the Latins:[47] The trine immersion is an imitation of the three days' burial, and the rising again out of the water is an image of Christ rising from the grave. 2. Another reason was, that it might represent their profession of faith in the holy Trinity, in whose name they were baptized. St. Austin[48] joins both reasons together, telling us there was a twofold mystery signified in this way of baptizing. The trine immersion was both a symbol of the holy Trinity, in whose name we are baptized, and also a type of the Lord's burial, and of his resurrection on the third day from the dead. For we are buried with Christ by baptism, and rise again with him by faith. St. Jerom[49] makes this ceremony to be a symbol of the Unity as well as the Trinity. For, says he, we are thrice dipped in water, that the mystery of the Trinity may appear to be but one: we are not baptized in the names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but in one name, which is God. And therefore he adds, that though we be thrice put under water to represent the mystery of the Trinity, yet it is reputed but one baptism.

Sect. 7. The original of this practice.

The original of this custom is not exactly agreed upon by the ancients. Some derive it from apostolical tradition; others, from the first institution of baptism by our Saviour; whilst others esteem it only an indifferent circumstance or ceremony, that may be used or omitted, without any detriment to the sacrament itself, or breach of any Divine appointment. Tertullian,[50] St. Basil,[51] and St. Jerom,[52] put it among those rites of the church, which they reckon to be handed down from apostolical tradition. St. Chrysostom seems rather to make it part of the first institution. For he says, Christ delivered to his disciples[53] one baptism in three immersions of the body, when he said to them, "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And Theodoret[54] was of the same opinion: for he charges Eunomius as making an innovation upon the original institution of baptism, delivered by Christ and his apostles, in that he made a contrary law, that men should not be baptized with three immersions, nor with invocation of the Trinity, but only with one immersion into the death of Christ. Pope Pelagius brought the same charge against some others in his time,[55] who baptized in the name of Christ, only with one immersion, which he condemns as contrary to the gospel command given by Christ, who appointed every one to be baptized in the name of the Trinity, and that with three immersions, saying to his disciples, "Go, baptize all nations, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." And this was so far esteemed a Divine obligation by the authors of the Apostolical Canons,[56] that they order every bishop or presbyter to be deposed, who should administer baptism not by three immersions, but only one in the name of Christ; because Christ said not, Baptize into my death, but, "Go, baptize all nations in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." It is plain, all these writers thought this a necessary circumstance from our Saviour's institution. And the Eunomians, who first rejected this, are condemned by Theodoret and Sozomen, as making a new law of baptizing, not only against the general practice, but against the general rule and tradition of the church.

Sect. 8. When first the church allowed of any alteration in it.

Yet there happened a circumstance in the Spanish churches in after ages, which gave a little turn to this affair. For the Arians in Spain, not being of the sect of

[44] Nyssen. de Bapt. Christi, t. 3. p. 372.

[45] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 2. n. 4.

[46] Athan. de Parabolis Script. qu. 94.

[47] Leo, Ep. 4. ad Episc. Siculos, cap. 3. Sepulturam triduanam imitatur trina demersio, et ab aquis elevatio resurgentis instar est de sepulchro.

[48] Aug. Hom. 3. ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. 4. cap. 78. Postquam vos credere promisistis, tertio capita vestra in sacro fonte demersimus. Qui ordo baptismatis duplici mysterii significatione celebratur. Recte enim tertio mersi estis, qui accepistis baptismum in nomine Trinitatis. Recte tertio mersi estis, qui accepistis baptismum in nomine Jesu Christi, qui die tertia resurrexit a mortuis. Illa enim tertio repetita demersio typum Dominicæ exprimit sepulturæ, &c.

[49] Hieron. lib. 2. in Ephes. iv. p. 222. Ter mergimur, ut Trinitatis unum appareat sacramentum, et non baptizamur in nominibus Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti, sed in uno nomine, quod intelligitur Deus.—Potest et unum baptisma ita dici, quod licet ter baptizemur propter mysterium Trinitatis, tamen unum baptisma reputetur.

[50] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3.

[51] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, c. 27.

[52] Hieron. cont. Lucif. cap. 4. It. Sozomen. lib. 6. c. 26.

[53] Chrys. Hom. de Fide, t. 7. p. 290. Edit. Savil. Ἐν τρισὶ καταδύσεσι τοῦ σώματος ἓν βάπτισμα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς παραδέδωκε, &c.

[54] Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 236. Αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ἀνέτρεψε τὸν ἀνέκαθεν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἀποστόλων παραδοθέντα θεσμὸν, καὶ ἄντικρυς ἐνομοθέτησε, μὴ χρῆναι λέγων τρὶς καταδύειν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, &c.

[55] Pelag. Ep. ad Gaudentium, ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. 4. cap. 82. Multi sunt qui in nomine solummodo Christi, una etiam mersione se asserunt baptizare. Evangelicum vero præceptum, ipso Deo et Domino Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo tradente, nos admonet, in nomine Trinitatis, trina etiam mersione sanctum baptisma unicuique tribuere, dicente Domino discipulis suis, Ite, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti.

[56] Canon. Apost. can. 49. al. 50.

the Eunomians, continued for many years to baptize with three immersions: but then they abused this ceremony to a very perverse end, to patronize their error about the Son and Holy Ghost's being of a different nature or essence from the Father; for they made the three immersions to denote a difference, or degrees of Divinity, in the three Divine persons. To oppose whose wicked doctrine, and that they might not seem to symbolize with them in any practice that might give encouragement to it, some catholics began to leave off the trine immersion, as savouring of Arianism, and took up the single immersion in opposition to them. But this was like to prove matter of scandal and schism among the catholics themselves. And therefore, in the time of Gregory the Great, Leander, bishop of Sevil, wrote to him for his advice and resolution in this case. To which he returned this answer: Concerning the three immersions in baptism, you[57] have judged very truly already, that different rites and customs do not prejudice the holy church, whilst the unity of faith remains entire. The reason why we use three immersions, (at Rome,) is to signify the mystery of Christ's three days' burial, that whilst an infant is thrice lifted up out of the water, the resurrection on the third day may be expressed thereby. But if any one thinks this is rather done in regard to the holy Trinity, a single immersion in baptism does no way prejudice that; for so long as the unity of substance is preserved in three persons, it is no harm whether a child be baptized with one immersion or three; because three immersions may represent the Trinity of persons, and one immersion the unity of the Godhead. But forasmuch as heretics use to baptize their infants with three immersions, I think you ought not to do so; lest this multiplication of immersions be interpreted a division of the Godhead, and give them occasion to glory that their custom has prevailed. Yet this judgment of Pope Gregory did not satisfy all men in the Spanish church; for still many kept to the old way of baptizing by three immersions, notwithstanding this fear of symbolizing with the Arians. Therefore, some time after, about the year 633, the fourth council of Toledo, which was a general council of all Spain, was forced to make another decree to determine this matter, and settle the peace of the church. For while some priests baptized with three immersions, and the others but with one, a schism was raised,[58] endangering the unity of the faith. For the contending parties carried the matter so high, as to pretend, that they who were baptized in a way contrary to their own, were not baptized at all. To remedy which evil, the fathers of this council first repeat the judgment of Pope Gregory, and then immediately conclude upon it, That though both these ways of baptism were just and unblamable in themselves, according to the opinion of that great man; yet, as well to avoid the scandal of schism, as the usage of heretics, they decree, that only one immersion should be used in baptism, lest if any used three immersions, they might seem to approve the opinion of heretics, whilst they followed their practice. And that no one might be dubious about the use of a single immersion, he might consider, that the death and resurrection of Christ were represented by it. For the immersion in water was as it were the descending into hell or the grave, and the emersion out of the water was a resurrection. He might also observe the Unity of the Deity, and the Trinity of persons to be signified by it; the Unity by a single immersion, and the Trinity by giving baptism in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Some learned persons[59] find fault with this council for changing this ancient custom upon so slight a reason, as that of the Arians using it: which, if it were any reason, would hold as well against a single immersion, because the Eunomians, a baser sect of the Arians, were the first inventors of that practice. And therefore the exception made

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[57] Gregor. lib. 1. Ep. 41. ad Leand. De trina mersione baptismatis nil responderi verius potest, quam quod ipsi sensistis, quod in una fide nil officit sanctæ ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa. Nos autem quod tertio mergimus, triduanæ sepulturæ sacramenta signamus, ut dum tertio infans ab aquis educitur, resurrectio triduani temporis exprimatur. Quod si quis forte etiam pro summæ Trinitatis veneratione existimet fieri; neque ad hoc aliquid obsistit baptizando semel in aquis mergere: quia dum in tribus personis una substantia est, reprehensibile esse nullatenus potest, infantem in baptismate vel ter, vel semel immergere; quando et in tribus mersionibus personarum Trinitas, et in una potest Divinitatis singularitas designari. Sed quia nunc hucusque ab hæreticis infans in baptismo tertio mergebatur, fiendum apud vos esse non censeo: ne dum mersiones numerant, Divinitatem dividant; dumque quod faciebant faciunt, se morem vestrum vicisse glorientur.

[58] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 5. De baptismi autem sacramento, propter quod in Hispaniis quidam sacerdotes trinam, simplam quidam mersionem faciunt, a nonnullis schisma esse conspicitur, et unitas fidei scindi videtur. Nam dum partes diversæ in baptizandis aliqua contrario modo agunt, ab aliis non baptizatos esse contendunt.——Quapropter, quia de utroque sacramento, quod fit in sancto baptismo, a tanto viro reddita est ratio, quod utrumque rectum, utrumque irreprehensibile in sancta Dei ecclesia habeatur: propter vitandum autem schismatis scandalum, vel hæretici dogmatis usum, simplicem teneamus baptismi mersionem; ne videantur apud nos, qui tertio mergunt, hæreticorum approbare assertionem, dum sequuntur et morem. Et ne forte cuiquam sit dubium hujus simpli mysterium sacramenti, videat in eo mortem et resurrectionem Christi significari. Nam in aquis mersio, quasi ad infernum descensio est: et rursus ab aquis emersio, resurrectio est. Item videat in eo unitatem Divinitatis, et Trinitatem personarum ostendi. Unitatem, dum semel mergimus: Trinitatem, dum in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti baptizamus.

[59] Strabo de Offic. Eccl. cap. 26. Vossius de Bapt. Disp. 2. Thes. 4. p. 46.

by this Spanish council in the seventh century, cannot prejudice the more ancient and general practice of the church, which, as Strabo observed, still prevailed after this council; and if Vossius says true, the trine immersion, or what corresponds to it, the trine aspersion, is the general practice of all churches upon earth at this day. And such a custom could not well be laid aside, without some charge of novelty, and danger of giving offence and scandal to weaker brethren. I have now gone over the several circumstances and ceremonies accompanying baptism, so far as to make it a complete sacrament, and the instrument of salvation to all worthy receivers, if they happened to die without any further consummation, as sometimes they did, when baptism was administered to them with less solemnity, either in times of sickness, or at some distance from the mother-church; in both which cases they had the substance of the sacrament, but not all the ceremonies that were appointed to attend it. They were supposed to be made partakers of Christ's body, and to eat his flesh, and to be washed in his blood, which was drinking it by faith, in baptism as well as in the eucharist. And if they survived, they were also admitted immediately to the symbols of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist. But there were some other ceremonies following baptism, as it were to finish the solemnity of it; some of which were introductory and preparatory to the eucharist, as the second unction accompanying baptism, which we commonly call imposition of hands or confirmation. Of which, because it will be necessary to speak a little more distinctly, I shall make it, and the remaining ceremonies of baptism, the subject of another Book.

BOOK XII.

OF CONFIRMATION, AND OTHER CEREMONIES FOLLOWING BAPTISM, BEFORE MEN WERE MADE PARTAKERS OF THE EUCHARIST.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE TIME WHEN, AND THE PERSONS TO WHOM, CONFIRMATION WAS ADMINISTERED.

Sect. 1. Confirmation anciently given immediately after baptism, if the bishop were present.

IMMEDIATELY after the persons came up out of the water, if the bishop was present at the solemnity, they were presented to him in order to receive his benediction, which was a solemn prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon such as were baptized: and to this prayer there was usually joined the ceremony of a second unction, and imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross; whence the whole action many times took these names, *χρίσμα*, the unction, *χειροθεσία*, the imposition of hands, and *σφραγὶς*, the sign or seal of the Lord, which are names much more common among the ancients than that of confirmation. But by all these names they understood one and the same thing, which was the bishop's prayer for the descent of the Spirit upon persons newly baptized. This was always administered together with baptism, if the bishop, who was the ordinary minister of it, were present at the action. But if he was absent, as it usually happened to be in churches at a distance from the mother-church, or when persons were baptized in haste upon a sick bed, then confirmation was deferred till the bishop could have a convenient opportunity to visit them. This we learn from St. Jerom, who speaks[1] of it as customary in the church, for bishops to go and invocate the Holy Spirit by imposition of hands on such as were baptized by presbyters and deacons in villages and places remote from the mother-church. And it many times happened, that such persons died before the bishop could come to give them imposition of hands. To prevent which inconvenience, the canons in some places obliged bishops to visit their whole dioceses once every year; and if they were so large that they could not do so, then they were to divide their dioceses and make them less, as we find it decreed and practised in some of the Spanish councils.[2] But in case persons were baptized in the presence of the bishop, then without any delay they were immediately confirmed with imposition of hands and the holy unction. Tertullian says[3] very plainly, That as soon as they came out of the water, they were anointed with the oil of consecration, and then received imposition of hands, inviting down the Holy Spirit by that benediction. And so Cyril of Jerusalem represents it, when he tells the neophytes, that as soon as they come up out of the waters of the font,[4] they received the chrism or unction, with the antitype of which (that is, the Holy Ghost) Christ was anointed when he came up out of Jordan. In like manner the author of the Constitutions, describing the ceremonies of baptism, orders the priest,[5] as soon as he has baptized any one, to anoint him with the holy chrism, and give him imposition of hands, saying a prayer which is there appointed. Thus we find in the Life of St. Basil,[6] how Maximinus the bishop, who baptized him and Eubulus together, immediately clothed them with the white garments, and anointed them with the holy

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[1] Hieron. cont. Lucifer. cap. 4. Non abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritûs manum impositurus excurrat. And a little after, In villulis aut in castellis, aut in remotioribus locis per presbyteros aut diaconos baptizati, ante dormierunt, quam ab episcopis inviserentur. Vid. Conc. Eliber. can. 77.

[2] Conc. Lucens. Conc. t. 5. p. 874.

[3] Tertul. de Bapt. c. 7. Exinde egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione.——Cap. 8. Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum.

[4] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 3. n. 1. *Ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἀναβεβηκόσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κολυμβήθρας τῶν ἱερῶν ναμάτων, ἐδόθη χρίσμα, τὸ ἀντίτυπον ȣ̃ ἐχρίσθη Χριςὸς· τȣ̃το δὲ ἐςὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.*

[5] Const. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 43 et 44. *Μετὰ τȣ̃το βαπτίσας αὐτὸν, χρισάτω μύρω, ἐπιλέγων*, &c.

[6] Amphiloch. Vit. Basil. c. 5. Baptizavit Maximinus episcopus Basilium et Eubulum, et vestivit albis, atque ungens eos sancto chrismate, tradidit eis communionem.

chrism, and gave them the communion. The same may be observed in the description of the ceremonies of baptism given by the author under the name of Dionysius,[7] St. Ambrose, Optatus, Pacian, and all others amongst the ancients, who have made any mention of the time of administering confirmation.

Sect. 2. And this as well to infants as adult persons. Which is evidenced, first, From some plain testimonies.

Nor was this only true with respect to adult persons, but also with respect to infants, who were anciently confirmed by imposition of hands, and the holy chrism or unction, as soon as they were baptized. Which perhaps will seem a paradox to many, who look no further than to the practice of later ages; but it may be undeniably evidenced these two ways: 1. From plain testimonies of the ancients declaring it so to be; and, 2. From that known custom and usage of the church in giving the eucharist to infants, which ordinarily presupposes their confirmation. First, For the testimonies of the ancients, nothing can be plainer than those words of Gennadius, If they be infants that are baptized,[8] let those that present them to baptism, answer for them according to the common way of baptizing: and then let them be confirmed with imposition of hands and chrism, and so be admitted to partake of the eucharist. In like manner Pope Innocent, in one of his decrees,[9] says, Infants are not to be consigned or confirmed by any but the bishop. And in the Collection of Canons made by Martin Bracarensis[10] out of those of the Greek church, this is one, That a presbyter may not consign infants in the presence of the bishop, except he be particularly appointed by the bishop to do it. This practice continued in the church for many ages. For it is mentioned by Pope Gregory both in his Sacramentarium and in his Epistles,[11] and after him by all the writers in the eighth and ninth centuries. Alcuin, who wrote about the offices of the church in the time of Charles the Great, speaking of infant baptism,[12] says, After an infant is baptized, he is to be clothed and brought to the bishop, if he be present, who is to confirm him with chrism, and give him the communion; and if the bishop be not present, the presbyter shall communicate him. The same is in the Ordo Romanus, a book written and used as a liturgy about the same time; where, after the bishop has given the white garment to infants, he lifts up his hand and lays it upon their heads,[13] praying for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and signing them with the sign of the cross in the forehead, he says, I confirm thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Baluzius, in his Notes upon Regino,[14] gives us two ancient manuscript Pontificals of the ninth century, wherein this order for confirming infants is continued. And to these he adds[15] an epistle of Jesse, bishop of Amiens, describing the order of baptism, where the rule is for the bishop, After the child has been baptized with three immersions, to confirm him with chrism in the forehead, and then to confirm him (for so it is worded) or communicate him with the body and blood of Christ. These testimonies are so plain and convincing, that all learned men, who have exactly considered this matter, as well papists as protestants, are agreed, that this was the ancient and general practice of the church, to confirm infants as soon as they were baptized. For so I find not only Baluzius, but Peter de Marca,[16] Hugo Menardus,[17] Maldonat,[18] Estius,[19] Galenus,[20] among the papists, and Bishop Taylor[21] and Daillé[22] among the protestants, readily consenting. And some[23] tell us the same practice continues among the Greeks to this day. The learned reader may add to the former testimonies the authority of St. Austin, who witnesses for this practice in his own person. For he says,[24] He himself was used to

[7] Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccl. cap. 2. p. 260. Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 3. c. 2. Optat. lib. 4. p. 81. Pacian. Serm. de Baptismo, Bibl. Patr. t. 3. p. 77.

[8] Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccles. cap. 52. Si parvuli sint—respondeant pro illis qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi, et sic manûs impositione et chrismate communiti, eucharistiæ mysteriis admittantur.

[9] Innoc. Ep. 1. cap. 3. De consignandis vero infantibus, manifestum est non ab alio quam ab episcopo fieri licere.

[10] Martin Bracar. Collec. Canon. cap. 52. Presbyter præsente episcopo non signet infantes, nisi forte ab episcopo fuerit illi præceptum.

[11] Gregor. lib. 3. Ep. 9.

[12] Alcuin. de Offic. cap. de Sabbato Paschæ, Bibl. Patr. t. 10. p. 259. Postea vestiatur infans vestimentis suis. Si vero episcopus adest, statim confirmari eum oportet chrismate, et postea communicare; et si episcopus deest, communicetur a presbytero.

[13] Ordo Roman. cap. de Bapt. Bibl. Patr. t. 10. p. 63. Pontifex elevatâ et impositâ manu super capita omnium, dat orationem super eos cum invocatione septiformis gratiæ Spiritûs Sancti.——Et tincto pollice in chrismate faciat crucem in frontibus singulorum, ita dicendo, Confirmo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti.

[14] Baluz. Not. in Regino, lib. 1. cap. 69. Ex pontificali vet. MS. Statim autem confirmetur infans, et communicetur ab episcopo, ita dicente, Corpus et sanguis Domini. Item ex altero pontificali; Si episcopus adest, statim confirmari eum oportet chrismate, et postea communicari.

[15] Jesse Ambianens. Ep. de Ordine Baptismi, ap. Baluz. ibid. Post trinam mersionem episcopus puerum chrismate confirmet in fronte, novissime autem corpore et sanguine Christi confirmetur seu communicetur, ut Christi membrum esse possit.

[16] Marca, Not. ad Concil. Claramontan. p. 312.

[17] Menard. Not. ad Librum Sacramentor. p. 144.

[18] Maldonat. de Confirmat. qu. 2.

[19] Estius, Sentent. lib. 4. Dist. 7. n. 23. p. 101.

[20] Galen. Catechism. ap. Dallæ. de Confirm. p. 21.

[21] Taylor's Worthy Communicant, chap. 3. sect. 2. p. 209.

[22] Dallæ. de Confirmat. lib. 3. cap. 13.

[23] Pet. du Moulin's Buckler of Faith, p. 381.

[24] Aug. Tract. 6. in 1 John iii. t. 9. p. 254. Quando imposuimus manum istis infantibus, attendit unusquisque vestrûm utrum linguis loquerentur? Et cum videret eos linguis

give imposition of hands, or confirmation, to infants, that they might receive the Holy Spirit.

Sect. 3. And secondly, From the custom of giving the eucharist to infants for many ages.

If this matter needed further proof, we might insist upon that known practice and custom in the ancient church, of giving the eucharist to infants, which continued in the church for several ages. It is frequently mentioned in Cyprian, Austin, Innocentius, and Gennadius, writers from the third to the fifth century. Maldonat confesses it was in the church for six hundred years. And some of the authorities just now alleged, prove it to have continued two or three ages more, and to have been the common practice beyond the time of Charles the Great. Now, all men know, that in the common course of things confirmation always preceded the eucharist, unless there was some special cause, as sometimes it happened in the case of clinic baptism, or the bishop's absence, to prevent it. For in these two cases the eucharist was many times given before confirmation, as now it is in our large dioceses, where the bishop's presence cannot always be had to give confirmation, in places at a great distance, before the communion. But in all other cases, the usual way was to let confirmation usher in the communion. And therefore since it is evident, that the communion itself was given to infants, and that immediately from the time of their baptism; it would be reasonable to conclude from hence, were there no other evidence, that confirmation also was given to infants, together with baptism, because this rite by all ordinary rules and custom was prior and introductory to the communion.

Sect. 4. Whence it appears, that confirmation was not esteemed a proper sacrament distinct from baptism.

This observation may help us to understand some difficult passages in the ancients, and answer an objection which the Romanists draw from them, as if confirmation were a proper sacrament distinct from baptism. The ancients, it must be owned, sometimes give it the name of a sacrament, and call baptism and confirmation two sacraments. But then it is very evident, they take the word sacrament in a large sense, for any sacred ceremony, rite, or mystery, belonging to baptism: in which sense they suppose two sacraments, or chief mysterious ceremonies, to be in baptism, that is, the immersion in water, and the unction with the holy chrism, both which are spoken of as sacraments or ceremonies belonging to baptism. Thus in the council of Carthage, under Cyprian, Nemesianus à Tubunis says, It was not sufficient for men to be regenerated only by imposition of hands, but they ought to be born again[25] by both the sacraments in the catholic church; that is, as well by washing in water, as imposition of hands, both which he makes sacraments, that is, sacred rites of the same sacrament of regeneration. In the same sense Cyprian himself[26] says, both the sacraments of regeneration were required to complete men's sanctification. Which plainly shows, that by two sacraments he means no more but two of the principal ceremonies that belonged to a complete and perfect baptism, because he says men were regenerated or born again by them both. In like manner Optatus[27] makes imposition of hands and unction to be only parts and ceremonies completing baptism. For, speaking of the baptism of Christ, he says, He went not into the water, as if any thing in God could need cleansing; but it was necessary the water should go before the unction that was to follow after, to initiate and order and complete the mysteries or sacramental rites of baptism. When he was washed by the hands of John, the order of the mystery was settled; the Father fulfilled what the Son had asked, and what the Holy Ghost had foretold. The spiritual oil immediately descended in the image of a dove, and sat upon his head, and anointed him; from whence he began to be called Christ, because he was anointed of God the Father. And that imposition of hands might not seem to be wanting, the voice of God was heard from the cloud, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Here Optatus professes to describe the order, and parts, and mysteries of baptism, from the similitude of the baptism of Christ. In each of these he makes three sacraments or principal mysteries, the washing, the unction, and imposition of hands; which are not properly three distinct sacraments, but three parts or rites of the same sacrament of baptism, which, according to Optatus, were ordered, and shadowed, and completed in the baptism of Christ. Unless we take sacrament in this large sense, we shall have three proper sacraments in baptism, which neither Optatus nor any of the ancients

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non loqui, ita perverso corde aliquis vestrûm fuit, ut diceret, non acceperunt isti Spiritum Sanctum?

[25] Conc. Carthag. ap. Cypr. n. 5. p. 231. Male sibi quidam interpretantur, ut dicant, quod per manûs impositionem Spiritum Sanctum accipiant, et sic recipiantur: cum manifestum sit utroque sacramento debere eos renasci in ecclesia catholica.

[26] Cypr. Ep. 72. ad Stephan. p. 196. Parum est eis manum imponere ad recipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, nisi accipiant et ecclesiæ baptismum. Tunc enim demum plene sanctificari et esse Filii Dei possint, si sacramento utroque nascantur.

[27] Optat. lib. 4. p. 81. Descendit in aquam, non quia erat quod in Deo mundaretur, sed venturum oleum aqua debuit antecedere, ad mysteria initianda et ordinanda et complenda baptismatis. Lotus cum in Joannis manibus haberetur, secutus est ordo mysterii, et complevit Pater quod rogaverat Filius, et quod nunciaverat Spiritus Sanctus. Apertum est cœlum, Deo Patre ungente. Spiritale oleum statim in imagine columbæ descendit, et insedit capiti ejus et perfudit eum; unde cœpit dici Christus, quando unctus est a Deo Patre. Cui ne manûs impositio defuisse videretur, vox audita est Dei de nube dicentis, Hic Filius est meus, &c.

ever thought of, when they speak of the mysteries of baptism; but they allow both unction and imposition of hands to be sacraments, as they are parts or rites of the mystery of baptism. After this manner Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, makes also three sacraments of the mystery of baptism, viz. the laver or washing of water, the unction of the Spirit, and the hand and mouth of the priest. For he says, The seed of Christ, that is, the Spirit of God, brings forth a new man, by the hands of the priest, out of the womb of the church, which is the font, faith being the bridemaid to all this.[28] And without these three sacraments, the laver, the chrism, and the priest, this new birth is not effected. For by the laver, sin is purged away; by the chrism, the Holy Spirit is poured down upon us; and both these we obtain by the hand and mouth of the priest; and so the whole man is regenerated and renewed in Christ. Here we must of necessity say, either that the laver, the chrism, and words and action of the priest, are three sacraments, or else that they are but three parts or ceremonies of the same sacrament of baptism, which is what Pacian plainly intended; for he is speaking of the manner how men are regenerated in baptism, and he makes chrism to be one means of this regeneration; whence it is evident, he had no other notion of it, but as of an integral part of baptism, though not absolutely essential to it. This, then, is one plain reason why the ancients sometimes call the immersion in the water and the unction of chrism two sacraments, because they are parts, or rites, or ceremonies of the mystery of baptism. And there is nothing more usual with the ancients than this way of speaking, to call every sacred rite or ceremony used in the church, by the name of a sacrament or mystery. As St. Austin calls exorcism[29] a sacrament. And the salt which was given to the catechumens before baptism, is called the sacrament of the catechumens, both by St. Austin[30] and the third council of Carthage,[31] as has been observed in another place, where I speak particularly of this sacrament of the catechumens. Cyprian[32] speaks of sacraments in the Lord's prayer. And to insist no longer upon these, it is usual also with the ancients to divide the proper sacraments, baptism and the eucharist, each of them into two or more, meaning the several parts or rites belonging to them. Thus Isidore speaks of four sacraments[33] in the church, which are, baptism, chrism, the body of Christ, and the blood of Christ. As therefore the bread and wine are called two sacraments, though they be but two parts of the same eucharist; so the washing and the unction are called two sacraments, though they be but two rites of the same sacrament of baptism. The like style is used by Pope Innocent,[34] when he calls the bread and wine sacraments, in the plural. And Fulbertus Carnotensis[35] is more express, when he says, There are two sacraments of life, the body and blood of Christ. No wonder therefore the same author[36] should call the immersion in water and the unction of chrism, conveying the Spirit, by the name of the two sacraments of baptism. For nothing can be plainer, than that immersion and chrism are not properly two sacraments of baptism, but only two rites of it: as the bread and wine are not strictly two sacraments of the eucharist, but only different parts of the same communion. It were easy to add abundance more of such expressions out of other authors, many of which the reader may find collected together by the learned Daillé;[37] I shall only add the words of Haimo Haberstatensis, where he expressly makes confirmation a rite or ceremony of baptism, always accompanying, and administered at the same time with it, as the consummating act and perfection of it: The gift of the Holy Spirit, says he,[38] is given in baptism by the imposition of the bishop's hands. So that when the ancients call confirmation a sacrament, they always mean, that it is a part or ceremony of the sacrament of baptism. In which sense, they give the name of sacraments to many other things, which were only parts, or ceremonies, or attendants on it, such as exorcism, and the sign of the cross, which were sacraments in the same sense as confirmation.

Sect. 5. No, not when it was separate from baptism, as in the case of heretics who were baptized out of the church.

But it may be said, that confirmation, imposition of hands, or unction, was many times given to men at some years' distance from baptism, as in the case of heretics and schismatics, who

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[28] Pacian. Serm. de Bapt. Bibl. Patr. t. 3. p. 77. Christi semen, id est, Dei Spiritus, novum hominem, alvo matris agitatum, et partu fontis exceptum, manibus sacerdotis effundit, fide tamen pronuba.—Hæc autem compleri alias nequeunt, nisi lavacri, et chrismatis, et antistis sacramento. Lavacro enim peccata purgantur, chrismate Sanctus Spiritus superfunditur; utraque vero ista manu et ore antistitis impetramus; atque ita totus homo renascitur et innovatur in Christo.

[29] Aug. Hom. 83. de Diversis. Exorcismi sacramento quasi molebamini.

[30] Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. 2. cap. 26.

[31] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 5. See these cited, Book X. chap. 2. sect. 16.

[32] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 142.

[33] Isidor. Origin. lib. 6. c. 19. Sunt autem sacramenta baptismus, et chrisma; corpus et sanguis Christi.

[34] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. cap. 5. Non longe portanda sunt sacramenta.

[35] Fulbert. Ep. 1. Bibl. Patr. t. 3. p. 434. Duo vitæ sacramenta, id est, Dominici corporis et sanguinis.

[36] Fulbert. ibid. p. 436. Requiritur sane in baptismatis sacramentis aqua propter sepulturam, et Spiritûs Sanctus propter vitam æternam.

[37] Dallæ. de Confirm. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 150. It. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 386.

[38] Haimo in Hebr. xiii. cited by Daillé. Donum Spiritûs Sancti datur in baptismate per impositionem manûs episcoporum.

were baptized in infancy out of the church, and were received by imposition of hands when they returned to the church afterwards. To which I answer, that the imposition of hands which the church gave in this case separate from baptism, was what could not be avoided, because the church had no opportunity of administering it before; and therefore no argument is to be drawn from what she was forced to do upon such an exigence, being only an exception to her ordinary practice. It is owned, that the church gave imposition of hands to all heretics upon their return to the church: and this, as I have showed at large in another[39] discourse, was to supply the deficiencies of that outward form of baptism, which could not grant them the graces of the Spirit, whilst they remained in heresy or schism. And there I also observed, that some heretics retained the unction and imposition of hands as well as baptism, and administered it to infants together with baptism; which was the practice of the Donatists, and, it may be, of several others. But yet the church, though she neither repeated the outward form of baptism, nor always the unction of chrism; especially in the western parts, where St. Austin, Optatus, Alcimus, and Avitus lived; yet she always gave a new imposition of hands with prayer, to implore the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them. And though this was separating confirmation from baptism, yet it was only in an extraordinary case, when the church was not capacitated to do otherwise. In other cases she always joined these two ceremonies together, as well in infants as adult persons, as I suppose the allegations and proofs alleged in this chapter, do abundantly show to any candid reader, beyond possibility of contradiction.

Sect. 6. No necessity of giving confirmation to infants now, any more than the eucharist, from the example of the primitive church.

But some will be apt to object, that if this were the case, then all churches at present, as well protestant as popish, differ from the practice of the primitive church in this particular, that now they never administer confirmation to infants, but only to adult persons, who can confirm their baptismal vow in their own persons. And this difference is readily owned, as to practice. But then, if the question be about right, which is the more suitable and agreeable practice? and whether we ought not to conform in every circumstance to the practice of the primitive church? I suppose every church in this case is best judge for herself, what is most for the edification of her children. And as no church now thinks herself under any obligation to give the eucharist to infants, because the primitive church for eight hundred years did so; so neither does any church judge herself bound to give confirmation to infants from the same example: though some learned persons have pleaded for both, as Bishop Bedel,[40] among the protestants, for the communion of infants, and Matthew Galen,[41] among the papists, for giving them confirmation. Whilst others judge the modern practice the more edifying way, and think there are no sufficient arguments to engage the church to make an alteration.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE MINISTER OF CONFIRMATION.

Sect. 1. The consecration of chrism reserved only to the office of bishops by the canons.

Next to the persons to whom confirmation was given, we are to make inquiry about the ministry of it, and see by whom it was usually given. And here it will be necessary to distinguish the several parts and ceremonies of confirmation, and cases ordinary and extraordinary; as also the consecration of the chrism from the use of it, and the practice and custom of some churches from others: for one rule was not precisely observed in all these. Confirmation consisted of several acts, as we shall see in the next chapter: there was first the consecration of the chrism, which was always the bishop's act; then there was the unction itself, or the use of it, with consignation or the sign of the cross on the forehead or other parts of the body; then imposition of hands with prayer: there were also cases ordinary, when the bishop was present at baptism, and cases extraordinary, when he was absent, and the party in danger of death: there were also different practices according to the rules of different churches: and according to these distinctions the answer must be given to this general question. The consecration of the chrism was generally reserved to the bishop in all churches, and so the use of it was derived from his authority in all cases whatsoever. The second council of Carthage[1] forbids presbyters to have any concern in it, and refers to a former council, wherein the like prohibition was made before. The third council of Carthage allows presbyters, by the commission of the bishop, to consecrate virgins, but never[2] to consecrate the chrism. The fourth council of Carthage[3] obliges presbyters in country churches to go to the bishop yearly be-

[39] Scholast. Hist. of Lay Baptism, chap. 1. n. 21.

[40] See Bishop Usher's Letters, Ep. 163. p. 442.

[41] Galen. Catechism. ap. Dallæ. de Confirm. lib. 1. p. 21.

[1] Conc. Carth. 2. can. 3. Memini præterito concilio statutum fuisse, ut chrisma, vel reconciliatio pœnitentium, necnon et puellarum consecratio a presbyteris non fiant.

[2] Ibid. 3. can. 36. Ut presbyter inconsulto episcopo virgines non consecret, chrisma vero nunquam conficiat.

[3] Ibid. 4. can. 36. Presbyteri, qui per diœceses ecclesias regunt, non a quibuslibet episcopis, sed a suis, nec per minorem clericum, sed omni anno aut per seipsos, aut per illum qui sacrarium tenet, ante Paschæ solennitatem chrisma petant.

fore Easter, or else to send their sacrist to him for the chrism. In some churches of Spain the presbyters took upon them to consecrate it themselves, which occasioned the first council of Toledo to renew the decree against this as a usurpation,[4] forbidding any beside the bishop to do it from that day forward, and obliging presbyters, as before, to go to their own bishop for it before Easter. The like injunctions are made in the first council of Vaison,[5] the council of Auxerre,[6] the council of Barcelona,[7] the first and second council of Bracara,[8] and in the Collection of Greek Canons made by Martin Bracarensis;[9] as also in the Roman Decrees made by Pope Innocent,[10] Leo,[11] and Gelasius,[12] which I need not repeat at length upon this occasion. So that by this means the bishop's authority was secured, even in such cases where presbyters were allowed to have their share in this holy unction.

Sect. 5. The use of the chrism divided between the office of bishops and presbyters.

Now, this unction or consignation, in many churches, (particularly in the Roman church,) was distinguished into two sorts, the consignation of the forehead, and the consignation of the other parts of the body. And the former, in such churches where this distinction was made, was generally reserved to the bishop, to be administered with imposition of hands; but the latter was given by presbyters also. All churches did not allow of this distinction of chrism into two sorts, but such as did allow of two, granted authority to presbyters to administer the one, but not the other. The double chrismation was first brought in by Pope Innocent, and he thus divides the office between bishops and presbyters. A presbyter, says he,[13] baptizing either in the bishop's presence or absence, may anoint the baptized party with chrism, provided it be consecrated beforehand by the bishop; but he may not sign him in the forehead with the same oil, because it belongs to bishops only when they give the Holy Ghost. And so it is in the decrees of Gelasius,[14] and Pope Gregory,[15] his successor in the Roman see. But this double chrismation was not received in France, nor in any of the Eastern churches. In France it was the office of presbyters, and the imposition of hands was only reserved to the bishop. This is undeniably evident from the council of Orange,[16] which orders every minister, who had received the office of baptizing, wherever he went, to have the chrism with him, because it was agreed, that chrism should only be once used in baptism. But if by any necessity it had been omitted in baptism, then the bishop should be put in mind of that omission in confirmation. For it was agreed to have only one chrismation. This canon is repeated and referred to again in the second council of Arles,[17] and Valesius adds[18] to them an inscription in Gruter, confirming the same thing, That the bishop did not minister the chrism, except it had been omitted by the presbyter before. In the Eastern churches they had but one unction after baptism, and that performed by the bishop, except in some particular and extraordinary cases. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions makes this the office[19] of the bishop, to anoint those that were baptized with the holy chrism. And this, he says, was the confirmation of the professions which they had made in baptism.[20] The author under the name of Dionysius says the same,[21] That after the presbyters have baptized a man, they bring him to the bishop, and he anoints him with the divine chrism, and pronounces him capable of partaking of the holy eucharist. Now, this episcopal unction was not only in the forehead, as was usual in the Roman church, but in all other parts of the body. For, as Cyril of Jerusalem[22] tells those that were baptized, They were first anointed in the forehead, to wipe

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[4] Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 20. Quamvis pene ubique custodiatur, ut absque episcopo chrisma nemo conficiat, tamen quia in aliquibus locis vel provinciis, presbyteri dicuntur chrisma conficere, placuit, ex hac die nullum alium nisi episcopum chrisma conficere, et per diœcesim destinare, ita ut de singulis ecclesiis ad episcopum ante diem Paschæ diaconi destinentur, aut subdiaconi, qui confectum chrisma ab episcopo destinatum ad diem Paschæ possint ad tempus deferre.

[5] Conc. Vasense, 1. can. 3. [6] Conc. Antissiodor. can. 6.

[7] Conc. Barcinon. can. 2.

[8] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 37. Bracar. 2. can. 4.

[9] Martin Bracar. Collect. Can. cap. 51.

[10] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decentium, cap. 3.

[11] Leo, Ep. 88. ad Gallos.

[12] Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episcopos Lucaniæ, cap. 6.

[13] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 3. Presbyteris, seu extra episcopum, seu præsente episcopo, baptizant, chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum; non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur episcopis, cum tradant Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum.

[14] Gelas. Ep. 9. c. 6. [15] Greg. Ep. 9. lib. 3.

[16] Conc. Arausican. 1. can. 2. Nullus ministrorum, qui baptizandi recipit officium, sine chrismate usquam debet progredi, quia inter nos placuit semel in baptismate chrismari. De eo autem, qui in baptismate, quacunque necessitate faciente, non chrismatus fuerit, in confirmatione sacerdos commonebitur. Nam inter nos chrismatis ipsius non nisi una benedictio est.

[17] Conc. Arelaten. 2. can. 27. Nullum ministrum, qui baptizandi recepit officium, sine chrismate usquam debere progredi, quia inter nos juxta synodi constitutionem, placuit semel chrismari.

[18] Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 135. ex Gruter. p. 1177. de Marea, has this distich;

Tuque sacerdotes docuisti, chrismate sancto
Tangere bis nullum, judice posse Deo.

[19] Constit. Apost. lib. 3. cap. 16. *Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος χριέτω τοὺς βαπτισθέντας τῷ μύρῳ.*

[20] Ibid. cap. 17. Τὸ *μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας.* Vid. lib. 7. cap. 43.

[21] Dionys. de Hier. Eccl. c. 2. p. 254. Ὁ *ἱεράρχης τῷ μύρῳ τὸν ἄνδρα σφραγισάμενος*, &c.

[22] Cyril, Catech. Myst. 3. n. 3. *Πρῶτον ἐχρίεσθε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον*, &c.

away that shame which the first man by his transgression had contracted; and that they might now with open face behold the glory of the Lord. Then they were anointed on the ears, that they might have ears to hear the Divine mysteries. After that on the nose and breast, that they might be a sweet savour unto the Lord, and being armed with the breastplate of righteousness, might be able to withstand all the insults of the devil. Thus[23] also all such heretics as were to be received into the church without rebaptization, as having been baptized in due form before, are appointed to be received by consignation or unction of the holy chrism; first on the forehead, then on the eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, with this form of words, The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit. But though this whole ceremony of unction in the Eastern church was ordinarily to be performed only by the bishop, and not divided (as in the Roman) between the bishop and presbyters; yet in some special cases, in some particular churches this office devolved upon the presbyters. For at Alexandria, if the bishop was absent, it was usual for the presbyters to give this consignation at the same time that they baptized. As I think the words of the author under the name of St. Ambrose[24] are to be understood, when he says, In Egypt the presbyters consign in the bishop's absence. And this another author under the name of St. Austin[25] calls consecration. Which some learned persons, I know, take for the consecration of the eucharist. But that was nothing singular, but common to all the world, for presbyters to consecrate the eucharist in the bishop's absence in all churches, and therefore needed not to be noted as a peculiar custom in Egypt. Therefore I rather judge it to mean some consecration, which presbyters in many other churches were not allowed in the absence of the bishop, as the consecrating or consigning such as were baptized, with the chrism of confirmation, which a presbyter might not do in the Roman churches. But in some of the Eastern churches this was allowed, for the author of the Constitutions, speaking of the celebration of baptism, addresses himself both to bishops and presbyters, telling them in what order they should perform it: Thou bishop, or presbyter, shalt first anoint the party to be baptized with the holy oil; then thou shalt baptize him with water; and last of all[26] thou shalt sign him with the holy chrism. Where we see not only the unction preceding baptism, but that which followed after, which was the unction of confirmation, is commanded to the presbyter as well as the bishop; which must at least be interpreted to mean his doing it in the absence of the bishop; or in his presence, if he has a particular command and delegation. So that as to what concerned this first ceremony of confirmation, the unction of chrism, the practice of different churches varied much upon it. Some churches, as the Roman, divided the office between bishops and presbyters: others, as those of France, committed it wholly to presbyters, reserving to the bishop only the consecration of the oil, and imposition of hands in confirmation: others, as those of the East, reserved not only the consecration of the chrism, but the use of it, to the bishop entirely, when he was personally present, and in all ordinary cases; only allowing it to be used by presbyters in his absence, or some such extraordinary cases.

Sect. 3. The other ceremony, of imposition of hands, reserved more strictly to the office of bishops.

As to the other ceremony, of imposition of hands in confirmation, we find that more universally and strictly reserved to the office of bishops; yet not so absolutely and entirely, but that the canons authorized presbyters to do it in subordination to their bishop in some certain cases. It is certain Cyprian[27] speaks of it as the ordinary office of bishops or chief ministers of the church. For mentioning the imposition of hands given by the apostles to those whom Philip had baptized, Acts viii., he says, The same custom was now observed in the church, that those who were baptized, were presented to the governors of the church, that by their prayer and imposition of hands, they might receive the Holy Ghost, and be consummated with the seal of the Lord. In like manner, Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who was contemporary with Cyprian, makes bishops the ordinary ministers of this office,[28] whilst he draws a comparison between St. Paul giving imposition of hands to those whom he baptized at Ephesus, Acts xix., and the bishop's giving imposition of hands to such as returned from heresy or schism to the unity of the catholic church. So likewise the anonymous[29]

[23] Conc. Constant. 1. can. 7.

[24] Ambros. in Ephes. iv. 11. Denique apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus.

[25] Aug. Quæst. in Vet. et Nov. Test. qu. 101. In Alexandria et per totam Ægyptum, si desit episcopus, consecrat presbyter.

[26] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 22. Ὦ ἐπίσκοπε ἢ πρεσβύτερε, πρῶτον χρίσεις ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι, καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσεις μύρῳ.

[27] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 202. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur, et per nostram orationem ac manûs impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, et signaculo Dominico consummentur.

[28] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cypr. p. 221. Nisi si his episcopis, de quibus nunc, minor fuit Paulus; ut hi quidem possint per solam manûs impositionem venientibus hæreticis dare Spiritum Sanctum; Paulus autem idoneus non fuerit, qui a Joanne baptizatis Spiritum Sanctum per manûs impositionem daret, nisi eos prius etiam ecclesiæ baptismo baptizâsset.

[29] Anonym. de Bapt. Hæreticorum, ap. Cypr. p. 23. in Appendice. Per manûs impositionem episcopi datur unicuique credenti Spiritus Sanctus, sicut apostoli circa Samaritanos post Philippi baptisma manum eis imponendo fecerunt.

author, who writes of the baptism of heretics, at the end of St. Cyprian's works, makes imposition of hands the office of bishops, in imitation of the apostles giving imposition of hands to those who were baptized by Philip the deacon, Acts viii. And in another place[30] he says, If bishops were present at baptism, they gave imposition of hands together with baptism; but if any were baptized by the inferior clergy in time of necessity, then the bishops supplied this afterwards, or else the Lord supplied it as he saw fit. The council of Eliberis not long after made two canons to this purpose. In one of which[31] it is ordered, That if a layman baptized a catechumen, when he was dangerously sick at sea, or where there was no church near at hand, he should afterward bring him to the bishop, that he might perfect his baptism by imposition of hands. And in the other canon it is also ordered, That in case a deacon governing a country people,[32] where there is no bishop or presbyter present, shall baptize any of them, the bishop shall afterwards perfect them by his benediction. Or if they chanced to die before this could be done, they were to be reputed in a salvable condition by the faith in which they were baptized. We have heard St. Jerom[33] before testifying of this, as the general practice of the church, for bishops to go about the country villages and remoter places in their dioceses, to give imposition of hands to such as were baptized by presbyters and deacons: and some of these died before the bishop could come to them; which implies, not only that it was the bishop's ordinary office, but that presbyters and deacons did not administer imposition of hands, even in such cases of necessity; otherwise the party who wanted it, could not have died without it. This was evidently the practice of the Roman church, where, though the office of chrismation was in part allowed to presbyters, yet the consignation in the forehead, with imposition of hands, was still reserved to the bishop, as his peculiar office in confirmation: as we learn from the Letters of Pope Innocent,[34] Gelasius,[35] and Gregory[36] the Great, which have already been mentioned in the last section. To which we may add the testimony of Cornelius, who lived before all these in the time of Cyprian, as it is recorded by Eusebius. He there, speaking[37] of Novatian, who was baptized only with clinic baptism upon a sick bed, says, When he recovered from his distemper, he never received those things, which by the laws of the church he was obliged to receive, to wit, consignation by the hands of the bishops, &c. All those testimonies likewise, which require heretics to have imposition of hands from the bishop, in order to obtain the gift of the Holy Ghost, are a further evidence of this practice. To which purpose we have the decrees of Pope Leo,[38] and Siricius,[39] who particularly observes this to have been the general practice of the whole church, both Eastern and Western, as well as the church of Rome, in the reception of those who had been baptized in any heresy or schism. And as to all persons baptized in the church, St. Austin is a further witness, who says, That in propriety of speech, neither the apostles nor any other man, but Christ alone, as he is God, could give the Holy Ghost: for the apostles only[40] laid hands on men, that the Holy Ghost by their prayers might descend upon them; which custom the church now observed and practised by her bishops or governors also. In like manner, St. Ambrose[41] says, The spiritual seal, or seal of the Spirit, which was the completion of baptism, came after the font, when by the prayer of the priest, that is, in his language, the bishop, the Holy Ghost was poured upon them. From all which testimonies it is most undeniably evident, that the

[30] Id. p. 26. Et ideo cum salus nostra in baptismate Spiritûs, quod plerumque cum baptismate aquæ conjunctum, sit constituta, si quidem per nos baptisma tradetur, integre et solemniter et per omnia quæ scripta sunt adsignetur, atque sine ulla ullius rei separatione tradatur: aut si a minore clero per necessitatem traditum fuerit, eventum expectemus, ut aut suppleatur a nobis, aut a Domino supplendum reservetur.

[31] Conc. Eliber. can. 38. Peregre navigantes, aut si ecclesia in proximo non fuerit, posse fidelem, qui lavacrum suum integrum habet, nec sit bigamus, baptizare in necessitate positum catechumenum: ita ut si supervixerit, ad episcopum eum perducat, ut per manûs impositionem perficere possit.

[32] Ibid. can. 77. Si quis diaconus regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit. Quod si ante de seculo recesserint, sub fide qua quis crediderit, poterit esse justus.

[33] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer. cap. 4. See before, chap. 1. sect. 1.

[34] Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decentium, cap. 3.

[35] Gelas. Ep. 9. ad Episc. Lucan. cap. 6.

[36] Gregor. lib. 3. Ep. 9.

[37] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. Οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχε, διαφυγὼν τὴν νόσον, ὧν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα, τȣ͂ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τȣ͂ ἐπισκόπȣ.

[38] Leo, Ep. 37. ad Leonem Raven. cap. 2. Si ab hæreticis baptizatum quempiam fuisse constiterit——hoc tantum quod ibi defuit, conferatur, ut per episcopalem manûs impositionem virtutem Sancti Spiritûs consequatur.

[39] Siric. Ep. 1. ad Himerium, cap. 1. Arianos nos cum Novatianis——per invocationem solam septiformis Spiritûs, episcopalis manûs impositione catholicorum conventui sociamus. Quod etiam totus Oriens Occidensque custodit.

[40] Aug. de Trin. lib. 15. cap. 26. Neque enim aliquis discipulorum ejus dedit Spiritum Sanctum. Orabant quippe ut veniret in eos quibus manum imponebant, non ipsi eum dabant. Quem morem in suis præpositis etiam nunc servat ecclesia.

[41] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 3. cap. 2. Sequitur spirituale signaculum, quod audistis hodie legi, quia post fontem superest ut perfectio fiat quando ad invocationem sacerdotis Spiritus Sanctus infunditur.

bishop in all ordinary cases, was the only standing and regular minister of this part of confirmation, which consisted in imposition of hands and prayer, to invocate the gift of the Holy Ghost.

Sect. 4. Yet in some special cases presbyters, by commission, allowed to minister it also. As, 1st, when bishops particularly required their presbyters to do it, to such as were baptized in the church.

Yet there were some special and extraordinary cases, in which some churches, if not all, granted a licence by canon to presbyters, to minister this part of confirmation also. As when bishops, either in their presence or absence, appointed a presbyter by a particular delegation or command to do it. This was no encroachment upon the bishop's authority, nor infringement of his privilege and power, because what was done, was only done in subordination to him, and in pursuance of his command. This licence we find sometimes granted to presbyters, even in the bishop's presence; as is clear from that canon[42] in the collection of Martin Bracarensis, out of the canons of the Greek church, A presbyter shall not consign infants in the presence of his bishop, unless it be particularly enjoined him by his bishop. Here three things are manifestly implied: 1. That this consignation, or imposition of hands with the sign of the cross and prayer, was ordinarily the sole office of the bishop. 2. That by a special commission he might authorize presbyters to do it even in his presence. 3. That in his absence they were authorized to do it by a general commission, rather than infants or any other baptized persons should die without confirmation. And this agrees very well with what has been said before in the last section, concerning the practice of the churches of Alexandria and Egypt; though in the Western churches it was otherwise, as is evident from what has been alleged before out of Pope Innocent[43] and St. Jerom,[44] who tell us, That presbyters neither in the presence of the bishop, nor in his absence, were allowed to do it, but many men were forced to die without confirmation or imposition of hands, because the bishop did not come time enough to administer it to them.

Sect. 5. 2dly, Presbyters might administer to the energumens.

Yet also in the Western churches there were some special cases, in which this consignation was allowed to be performed by presbyters. Nay, and in one case by deacons also. As it was in the case of energumens, or persons possessed with evil spirits after baptism; concerning whom Pope Innocent makes this decree, in the same epistle where he prohibits presbyters from consigning in all ordinary cases: That if any one was seized[45] with an evil spirit after baptism, the bishop might give orders to a presbyter or a deacon to consign him in that condition. It was not to be done but by the bishop's authority; for he only had the power of imposition of hands; but because an energumen, who was at a great distance from the bishop, might have several chances in his journey, it was therefore thought more proper for the bishops to grant a commission to a presbyter or deacon, to give him imposition of hands at home, than to venture his falling into his distemper, by either coming to the bishop, or returning.

Sect. 6. 3dly, And to such as were baptized in heresy or schism, in case they were in danger of death.

Another extraordinary case in which this office of imposition of hands was granted to presbyters, was, when any who had been baptized by heretics or schismatics, were, upon their return to the church, seized with a violent sickness, and in imminent danger of death, before they could go to the bishop, or the bishop come to them, to give them imposition of hands, and confirm them with that grace of the Spirit, which they could not have in heresy or schism. In that case, rather than such persons should die without this office, a commission was granted to presbyters to administer it. This we find most expressly in the first council of Orange,[46] That heretics, if they be in extremity and apparent danger of death, when they desire to become catholics, shall, in the bishop's absence, be consigned by the presbyters with chrism and benediction, that is, imposition of hands in the benediction prayer. And the like decree is made in the council of Epone,[47] That if any heretics, who lay desperately sick, upon a death-bed, desired suddenly to be converted, in that case, for the salvation of their souls, which was heartily desired, a presbyter should be permitted to give them the consolation of chrism; which they that were in health were to go to the bishop for, at their conversion. Where we may observe, that the chrismation here spoken of, was not the chrismation which presbyters were ordinarily al-

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[42] Martin. Bracar. Collect. Canon. can. 52. Presbyter, præsente episcopo, non signet infantes, nisi forte ab episcopo fuerit illi præceptum.

[43] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. cap. 3.

[44] Hieron. cont. Lucif. cap. 4.

[45] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 6. De his vero baptizatis, qui postea a dæmonio, aut vitio aliquo, aut peccato interveniente, arripiuntur, quæsivit dilectio tua, si a presbytero vel diacono possint aut debeant consignari: quod hoc nisi episcopus concesserit, non licet: nam eis manus imponenda non est, nisi episcopus authoritatem dederit id faciendi. Ut autem fiat, episcopi est imperare, ut manus eis vel a presbytero, vel a cæteris clericis imponatur Nam quomodo id fieri sine magno labore poterit, ut longe constitutus energumenus ad episcopum deducatur, cum, si talis casus ei in itinere acciderit, nec perferri ad episcopum, nec referri ad sua facile possit?

[46] Conc. Arausican. 1. can. 2. Hæreticos in mortis discrimine positos, si catholici esse desiderent, si desit episcopus, a presbyteris cum chrismate et benedictione consignari placet.

[47] Conc. Epaunens. can. 86. Presbytero, propter salutem animarum, quam in cunctis optamus desperatis et in lecto recumbentibus hæreticis, si conversionem subitam petant, chrismate subvenire permittimus. Quod etiam omnes convertendi, si sani sunt, ab episcopo noverint expetendum. Vid. Pontifical. Damasi, Vit. Sylvestri. p. 229. ap. Crab. t. 1.

lowed to give in the Western church, but that which was joined with imposition of hands, which was peculiarly reserved to the bishop, except in such cases of extremity, when a presbyter was allowed to give it, rather than a converted heretic should die without it. And the reason of this concession was, because heretics, who were baptized out of the church, were supposed to be without the grace of the Spirit, till they received it by imposition of hands in the catholic church. For which reason, all heretics, as well those who used imposition of hands at baptism, as those that did not, received a new benediction when they returned to the unity of the church, as I have showed from St. Austin,[48] Optatus,[49] and Alcimus Avitus,[50] in another place. See Scholast. Hist. of Lay Baptism, part I. p. 86.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MANNER OF ADMINISTERING CONFIRMATION, AND THE CEREMONIES USED IN THE CELEBRATION OF IT.

Sect. 1. The first ceremony of confirmation, was the unction of chrism.

Having thus far considered both the subject of confirmation, or persons to whom it was administered, and the persons by whom it was administered, we are in the next place to take a view of the form and manner of its administration; in which we may observe four distinct ceremonies besides the consecration of the chrism, which were, the unction, the sign of the cross, imposition of hands, and prayer. The unction was commonly first in order, as we learn from that of Tertullian,[1] As soon as we are come out of the water, we are anointed with the blessed unction. And then we receive imposition of hands, invocating the Holy Spirit by a benediction.

Sect. 2. The original of this unction.

The first rise and original of this unction in the church is not exactly known, and the sentiments of learned men are various about it. The late famous writer, under the feigned name of Petrus Aurelius, in his book called Orthodoxus, against Sirmond, takes a great deal of pains to prove it an apostolical practice. But Habertus[2] calls this a dream and a mad undertaking, against the general stream and current of learned men. And Estius says,[3] The common opinion is, that the apostles, in the beginning of their preaching, used no chrism in the administration of this sacrament, as he calls it. So that what the Romanists now make the matter of their new sacrament, is confessed to be without any foundation in Scripture. Bishop Pearson[4] is of opinion, that the use of it came into the church shortly after the time of the apostles. Basnage[5] and Daillé[6] think not till the third century, when it is first mentioned by Origen[7] and Tertullian. Some indeed allege an author more ancient than either of these, which is Theophilus Antiochenus,[8] who says, That we are therefore called Christians, because we are anointed with the oil of God. But the unction he speaks of is a spiritual and mystical unction, such as, he says, the whole air and earth under heaven is anointed with, viz. the unction of light and the Spirit of God. So that there being no author before Tertullian, who mentions the material unction as used in confirmation, it is most probable it was a ceremony first begun about his time, to represent the unction of the Holy Ghost.

Sect. 3. The form and manner of administering it, together with the effects of it.

But when it was once admitted, it was usually magnified as the symbol, and sometimes the instrumental cause, of very great effects. The consecration of it was supposed to work a mystical change in its nature, answerable to the change wrought in the waters of baptism, and the bread and wine in the eucharist, which Cyril of Jerusalem compares together.[9] It was this unction, as the completion of baptism, to which they ascribed the power of making every Christian, in some sense, partaker of a royal priesthood. Which is not only said by Origen in the passage last mentioned, but by Pope Leo,[10] St. Jerom,[11] and many others.[12] To it they also ascribed the noble effects of confirming the soul with the strength of all spiritual graces on God's part, as well as the confirmation of the professions and

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[48] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 3. c. 16.

[49] Optat. lib. 7. p. 109.

[50] Avitus, Ep. 24. ad Stephanum.

[1] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 7. Exinde egressi de lavacro perunguimur benedictâ unctione.—Cap. 8. Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum.

[2] Habert. Archieratic. p. 702. Quod divinare quidam nos volunt, apostolos in libro Praxapostolor. confirmâsse cum chrismate, id rationem fugit. Præfracte id contra summos theologorum persuadere nititur Petrus Aurelius in Orthodoxo contra Sirmondum.

[3] Estius in Sent. lib. 4. Dist. 7. sect. 7. Communior sententia est, apostolos initio suæ prædicationis non usos fuisse chrismate in administratione hujus sacramenti.

[4] Pearson, Lect. in Act. v. n. 6. p. 69.

[5] Basnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 76.

[6] Daill. de Confirm. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 116, &c.

[7] Origen. in Levit. Hom. 9. p. 156. Omnes quicunque unguento sacri chrismatis delibuti sunt, sacerdotes effecti sunt, sicut et Petrus ad omnem dicit ecclesiam, Vos regale sacerdotium.

[8] Theophil. ad Autolycum, lib. 1. Bibl. Patr. G. L. t. 1. p. 110. Καλούμεθα Χριστιανοὶ, ὅτι χριόμεθα ἔλαιον Θεοῦ.

[9] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 3. n. 3.

[10] Leo, Ser. 3. de Assumptione sua, p. 3.

[11] Hieron. cont. Lucif. cap. 2.

[12] Vid. Prosper. Sentent. 342. Ambros. de Initiatis, cap. 6. Aug. Ser. 3. post 40. a Sirmondo editis, in Appendice, t. 10. p. 847.

covenant made on man's part. The author of the Constitutions makes it to be on man's part *βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας, καὶ συνθηκῶν*, the confirmation[13] of the confessions and compacts made with God in baptism; and on God's part, the collation of the Holy Spirit, represented by this ceremony of anointing. Which is so frequently mentioned in every Greek writer upon this subject, that it is superfluous to refer any learned reader to them. It will be sufficient only to hint the forms of prayer which they used upon this occasion; for these will evidently show what spiritual effects they expected from this unction. Now, of these we have two ancient forms remaining, a shorter and a longer, the one an express, and the other an implicit prayer. The shorter form was conceived in these words, *Σφράγις δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος Ἁγίου*, The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit, as we find it in the first general council of Constantinople,[14] where they order such as were baptized by heretics, to be confirmed by the unction of chrism in this form of words. And so again, in the council of Trullo[15] and some private writers.[16] Not to mention now, that this is the form still in use in the Euchologium of the present Greek church. But beside this shorter form, (which was only an implicit prayer, as if they had said, Let this unction be unto thee the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit,) they had also some larger forms, which were more express prayers; one of which is in the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, under the title of an *εὐχαριστία περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ μύρου*, a thanksgiving or benediction to be used in the unction of the mystical chrism, where the bishop is ordered to anoint the party baptized, saying these words,[17] O Lord God, the unbegotten, who hast no Lord, who art Lord of all, who madest the sweet savour of the knowledge of the gospel to go forth among all nations: grant now, that this chrism may be effectual in this baptized person, that the sweet savour of thy Christ may remain firm and stable in him, and that he being dead with him, may rise again and live with him. Now, this unction, in the Greek church, was not only in the forehead, but in several other parts of the body, all performed by the bishop in one and the same act; but the Latins divided the office in some places between the bishop and presbyters, as has been observed before: but whether united or divided, it was all reckoned the unction of confirmation. Which is evident from that canon of the council of Barcelona, which, speaking of presbyters receiving the consecrated chrism from their bishops, which they themselves were to use, says expressly,[18] that it was for confirming neophytes, or persons newly baptized. Which is a manifest proof, that that part of the ceremony of unction, which was committed to presbyters, was reckoned a part of confirmation. And so much of it might be committed to presbyters, acting in subordination to their bishop, as the rules of every church allowed. For this part of confirmation being wholly of ecclesiastical institution, it was in the power of the church to make orders in all things concerning it, both in what manner, and by what persons she would have it performed. Which is the true reason of so much variety, as we have observed, in different churches in the administering this first ceremony of confirmation.

Sect. 4. The second ceremony of confirmation was the sign of the cross.

Together with this unction they usually joined the sign of the cross. For this ceremony they used upon all occasions, and therefore would not omit it in this solemn act of confirmation. Of this we have several clear proofs in Tertullian, Pope Leo, and others, which, because they have been already recited at large,[19] in speaking of the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, I will not here repeat them; but only add, that the name consignation, which is so often used by the Latin writers to denote confirmation,[20] seems to have had its rise from this ceremony and custom of signing with the sign of the cross, when they gave the unction to persons baptized. And this in some measure answers to the Greek name *σφραγὶς*, which many times, though not always, denotes the sign of the cross, as used in baptism or confirmation, or any other office of religion; of which I need not here be more particular.

Sect. 5. The third and most noted ceremony, imposition of hands; and fourthly, prayer joined therewith.

The most noted ceremony in this whole affair, and that which most universally prevailed, was imposition of hands; a ceremony used in all sorts of benedictions, but more peculiarly applied to ordination, reconciling of penitents, and confirmation. The Latin writers commonly speak of confirmation under this title. But some think it was not in use among the Greeks, who, they say, only used chrism, and not imposition of hands, in confirmation. But this is a great mistake: for the author of the Constitutions,[21] in the same chapter where he rehearses the prayer of the mystical chrism, immediately sub-

[13] Constit. Apost. lib. 3. cap. 17. lib. 7. c. 22.

[14] Conc. Constant. 1. can. 7. [15] Conc. Trull. can. 95.

[16] Asterius Amasen. de Filio Prodigo, ap. Photium, Cod. 271. p. 1499.

[17] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. c. 44.

[18] Conc. Barcinon. can. 2. Statutum est, ut cum chrisma presbyteris diœcesanis pro neophytis confirmandis datur, nihil pro liquoris pretio accipiatur, &c.

[19] Book XI. chap. 9. sect. 6.

[20] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 3. De consignandis vero infantibus, &c. Martin. Bracaren. can. 52. Presbyter non signet infantes, &c.

[21] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 44. *Ἑκάστου γὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῆς χειροθεσίας· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἕκαστον τούτων ἡ ἐπίκλησις γένηται παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἱερέως τοιαύτη τις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, ὡς ἰουδαῖοι*, &c.

joins, This is the power of imposition of hands necessary for every one: for unless he that is baptized have this invocation of the holy priest, he only goes into the water as a Jew, and puts off the filth of the body, but not the filth of the soul. Therefore, though this imposition of hands be not so frequently mentioned in the Greek writers, yet it is always to be understood, as chrism is in the Latin writers, where only imposition of hands is mentioned.

Sect. 6. The original of this ceremony of imposition of hands.

The antiquity of this ceremony is by all ancient writers carried as high as the apostles, and founded upon their example and practice. There are three passages in Scripture from which they generally deduce it: Acts viii., where mention is made of the apostles' laying hands on those whom Philip had baptized. Acts xix., where St. Paul laid his hands on those whom he baptized after John's baptism. And Heb. vi. 2, where mention is made of imposition of hands among the first principles of religion. Cyprian derives it from the practice of the apostles[22] laying their hands on those whom Philip baptized: For, says he, the same custom is now observed in the church, that they who are baptized, are presented to the governors of the church, that by their prayer and imposition of hands they may receive the Holy Ghost. And in other places,[23] he refers it in general to apostolical institution and practice. The anonymous author of the book concerning heretical baptism, at the end of Cyprian,[24] deduces it likewise from the same example of the apostles' laying hands on the Samaritans whom Philip baptized. Firmilian compares the bishop's imposition of hands to invocate the Holy Spirit, to that of St. Paul,[25] upon those whom he baptized at Ephesus. St. Jerom owns the Luciferian's argument to be good, when he derives this custom[26] from the Acts of the Apostles, and the case of the Samaritans receiving imposition of hands after Philip had baptized them: though he thinks the practice and tradition of the church sufficient to authorize such a custom in this case, as well as in several other rites belonging to baptism and other things, which had the authority of laws, though they were no where expressly commanded in Scripture; as the triple immersion in baptism, and the tasting of milk and honey in token of a new birth. St. Austin in like manner affirms[27] this observation descended to the governors of the church from the apostles, who prayed over those on whom they laid their hands, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. And because it might be objected, that the apostolical practice was for a quite different end, to confer on men the miraculous gift of the Spirit, empowering them to speak with new tongues; he is very careful once or twice to answer this objection, and show, that notwithstanding any such difference, this practice of imposition of hands in order to obtain the Holy Spirit, might be said to descend from the apostles. For, says he,[28] by the Holy Ghost, which is given only in the catholic church by imposition of hands, our forefathers would have us to understand that which the apostle says, "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given us." For that is the charity, which they have not who are cut off from the communion of the catholic church; and though they speak with the tongues of men and angels, and know all mysteries and all knowledge, it profits them nothing. For they have not the love of God, who love not the unity of the church; upon which account it is rightly said, that the Holy Spirit is not received but only in the catholic church. For now the Holy Spirit, which is given by imposition of hands, does not appear with sensible and temporal miracles to attest it, as it was heretofore given to recommend the first plantation of faith, and to dilate the church in its infancy. For who now expects, that they to whom imposition of

[22] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 202. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur, ut per nostram orationem et manûs impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur.

[23] Cypr. Ep. 72. ad Stephan. p. 196.

[24] Anonym. de Bapt. Hæretic. ap. Cypr. in Append. p. 23. Per manûs impositionem episcopi datur unicuique credenti Spiritus Sanctus, sicut apostoli circa Samaritanos post Philippi baptisma manum eis imponendo fecerunt.

[25] Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cypr. p. 221.

[26] Hieron. cont. Lucifer. cap. 4. An nescis et jam ecclesiarum hunc esse morem, ut baptizatis postea manus imponatur, et ita invocetur Spiritus Sanctus? Exigis ubi scriptum sit? In Actibus Apostolorum. Etiamsi Scripturæ auctoritas non subesset, totius orbis in hac parte consensus instar præcepti obtinet. Nam et multa alia quæ per traditionem in ecclesiis observantur, auctoritatem sibi scriptæ legis usurpaverunt; velut in lavacro ter caput mergitare; deinde egressos lactis et mellis prægustare concordiam ad infantiæ significationem.

[27] Aug. de Trin. lib. 15. c. 26. Orabant ut veniret in eos quibus manus imponebant, non ipsi eum dabant. Quem morem in suis præpositis etiam nunc servat ecclesia.

[28] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 3. cap. 16. Spiritus autem Sanctus, quod in sola catholica per manûs impositionem dari dicitur, nimirum hoc intelligi majores nostri voluerunt, quod apostolus ait, Quoniam caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis. Ipsa enim est caritas, quam non habent qui ab ecclesiæ catholicæ communione præcisi sunt; ac per hoc etiamsi linguis hominum loquantur et angelorum, si sciant omnia sacramenta et omnem scientiam, &c., nihil eis prodest. Non autem habent Dei charitatem, qui ecclesiæ non diligunt unitatem; ac per hoc recte intelligitur dici, non accipi nisi in catholica Spiritus Sanctus. Neque enim temporalibus et sensibilibus miraculis attestantibus per manûs impositionem modo datur Spiritus Sanctus; sicut antea dabatur ad commendationem rudis fidei, et ecclesiæ primordia dilatanda. Quis enim nunc hoc expectat, ut ii quibus manus ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum imponitur, repente incipiant linguis loqui? Sed invisibiliter et latenter intelligitur per vinculum pacis eorum cordibus divina caritas inspirari, ut possint dicere Quoniam caritas, &c.

hands is given to receive the Holy Spirit, should immediately begin to speak with new tongues? But the love of God is supposed to be inspired into their hearts invisibly and latently by the bond of peace, so as they may truly say, "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost that is given us." He gives the same answer to this pretended difficulty in another place.[29] "Hereby," says he, "we know that he dwells in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us." If thou findest in thy heart the love of God, thou hast the Spirit to give thee knowledge. Which is a very necessary thing. In the first age the Holy Ghost fell on them that believed, and they spake with tongues, which they had never learned, as the Spirit gave them utterance. These were signs proper for that time; for then it was necessary that the Holy Ghost should be thus demonstrated in all kinds of tongues, because the gospel was to run throughout the whole world in all sorts of languages. But this demonstration once made, it ceased. For does any man now expect to hear them speak with new tongues, who receive imposition of hands as a means to obtain the Holy Spirit? Or, when we laid hands on these infants, did any of you look when they should speak with tongues? And when they did not speak with tongues, was any one so perverse in heart, as to say, They have not received the Holy Ghost? For if they had received it, they would have spoken with tongues, as was done heretofore. If, therefore, there be no such miracles now, to testify the presence of the Spirit, how knows any man that he has received the Holy Ghost? Let him ask his own heart: if he loves the brethren, the Spirit of God abideth in in him. Thus St. Austin derives imposition of hands for conveying the Spirit from the practice of the apostles, though there were very different effects then from what there are now: though men had not the gift of tongues conferred upon them, as in the days of the apostles; yet they might have other graces, sufficient both to testify the presence of the Spirit, and to entitle the act of imposition of hands to the dignity of an apostolical institution. From whence also we may observe, that charity and unity, or stedfastness in the love of God and religion, was a particular grace of the Spirit given by imposition of hands: which because heretics could not have, who were baptized out of the church, therefore they always received imposition of hands upon[30] their return to the church, whether they had received it in pretence among their own party before or not. For some heretics gave imposition of hands together with baptism, and others did not; but both of them received imposition of hands again upon their return to the catholic church. There is one passage more, upon which some of the ancients found this practice, which is Heb. vi. 2, where the apostle joins imposition of hands with baptism. Upon which, the author under the name of St. Ambrose[31] notes, That it means that imposition of hands, which is supposed to confer the Holy Ghost, which is ordinarily given by the chief priests or bishops after baptism, for the confirmation of men in the unity of the church of Christ. Which exposition is repeated by Haymo[32] and some later writers, and allowed as probable by Grotius and Calvin. There is one writer more, who seems to derive it from the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles at the day of Pentecost. He goes under the name of Eusebius Emissenus; but learned men suppose him to be Eucherius of Lyons, or Hilary of Arles, or some other writer about the time of Pope Leo, in the middle of the fifth century. Whoever he was, the account he gives of confirmation is very particular and instructive, and therefore the whole passage may be worth translating. That which imposition of hands,[33] says he, now gives to every one in confirming neophytes, the same did the descent of the Holy Ghost then confer on all believers. But because we have said, that imposition of hands and confirmation confers something on him that is born again and regenerated in Christ; perhaps some one will be ready to think with himself, and say, What can the ministry of confirmation profit me after the mystery of baptism? If, after the font, we want the addition of a new office, then we have not received all that was necessary from the font. It is not so, beloved. For, if you observe, in the military

[29] Aug. Tract. 6. in 1 Joan. iii. t. 9. p. 254. In hoc cognoscimus quia manet in nobis, de Spiritu quem dedit nobis. Si enim inveneris te habere caritatem, habes Spiritum Dei ad intelligendum. Valde enim necessaria res est. Primis temporibus cadebat super credentes Spiritus Sanctus, et loquebantur linguis quas non didicerant, quomodo Spiritus dabat eis pronunciare. Signa erant tempori opportuna. Oportebat enim ita significari in omnibus linguis Spiritum Sanctum; quia evangelium Dei per omnes linguas cursurum erat toto orbe terrarum. Significatum est illud, et transiit. Nunquid modo quibus imponitur manus ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, hoc exspectatur, ut linguis loquantur? Aut quando imposuimus manum istis infantibus, attendit unusquisque vestrum, utrum linguis loquerentur? Et cum videret eos linguis non loqui, ita perverso corde aliquis vestrum fuit, ut diceret, Non acceperunt isti Spiritum Sanctum? Nam si accepissent, linguis loquerentur, quemadmodum tunc factum est. Si ergo per hæc miracula modo testimonium præsentiæ Spiritûs Sancti non fit: unde cognoscit quisque accepisse se Spiritum Sanctum? Interroget cor suum: si diligit fratrem, manet Spiritus Dei in illo.

[30] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 5. cap. 23. Propter charitatis copulationem, quod est maximum donum Spiritûs Sancti, sine quo non valeant quæcunque alia sancta in homine fuerint, manus correctis hæreticis imponitur.

[31] Ambros. in Heb. vi. 2. Impositionis manuum per quam Spiritus Sanctus accipi posse creditur: quod post baptismum ad confirmationem unitatis in ecclesia Christi a pontificibus fieri solet.

[32] Haymo in Heb. vi. 2.

[33] Euseb. Emissen. Hom. de Pentecost.

life, when the emperor has chosen any one to be a soldier, he does not only set his mark or character upon him, but furnishes him with competent arms for fighting: so it is in a baptized person, the benediction is his armour. Thou hast made him a soldier; give him also the weapons of warfare. What doth it profit, though a father confer a great estate upon his child, if he do not also provide him a tutor? Now, the Holy Ghost is the keeper, and comforter, and tutor to those who are regenerated in Christ. As the Scripture saith, "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." Therefore the Holy Ghost, which descends with his saving presence on the waters of baptism, there gives us the plenitude of perfection to make us innocent; but in confirmation he gives us an augmentation of grace. Because in this world we are to live all our lives among invisible enemies, and to walk in the midst of dangers; in baptism we are born again to life, but after baptism we are confirmed to fight; in baptism we are washed, but after baptism we are strengthened. And so the benefits of regeneration are sufficient for those who presently leave this world; but to them who are to live in it, the auxiliary aids of confirmation are also necessary. Regeneration by itself alone saves those who are presently received in peace into a better world; but confirmation arms and prepares those who are reserved to fight the battles and combats of this world. He that, after baptism, goes immaculate, with the innocence which he has acquired, to death, is confirmed by death; because he cannot sin after death. If here we shall ask, what advantage the apostles had by the coming of the Holy Spirit after the passion and resurrection of Christ? the Lord himself evidently shows us, saying, "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now: howbeit, when he the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth." You see, when the Holy Ghost is given, the heart of a believer is dilated and enlarged with prudence and constancy. Before the descent of the Holy Ghost, the apostles were terrified even to the denial of Christ; but after his visitation they were armed with a contempt of death, even to suffer martyrdom for his sake. Thus it is that we have redemption by Christ, but the Holy Ghost gives us the gift of spiritual wisdom, by which we are illuminated, edified, instructed, and consummated to perfection. This is the account which the ancients generally give of the original of imposition of hands; which ceremony is now wholly laid aside and disused in the Roman church, though they pretend to make another sacrament of confirmation. But this only by the way.

Sect. 7. What opinion the ancients had of the necessity of confirmation.

From the account given by this author, we clearly learn, what the ancients supposed confirmation superadded to the benefit of regeneration. The new birth gave innocence and pardon of sins; but the invocation of the Spirit added wisdom and strength to preserve and establish men in innocence to perfection. He also shows us what opinion the ancients had of the necessity of confirmation. It was not absolutely the same as that of baptism. For if men died immediately after baptism without imposition of hands, they were saved by their innocence which they had acquired in baptism: they needed no other confirmation but death, which was a security against all other dangers. Confirmation was only necessary to those who were to live and fight with the world and invisible powers. And this is the sense of all other writers, who speak the highest of the necessity of confirmation. The council of Eliberis having said,[34] That it was necessary for the bishop to consummate those by his benediction, who were baptized by deacons; adds, Yet if any one die before this can be done, he is justified by the faith which he professed in baptism. And so the author of the Apostolical Constitutions says,[35] If there be neither oil nor chrism, the water alone is sufficient both for the unction of the Holy Ghost and the seal of the covenant. By which we are to mollify that other harsh expression of his in another place,[36] where he says, That baptism without this imposition of hands and prayer of the priest, is only a bodily washing, like that of the Jews, purging the filth of the body, but not of the soul. For unless some very candid interpretation be put upon this expression, it will be highly injurious and derogatory to the saving power of baptism, which purges away sin by a spiritual regeneration. And therefore it is but reasonable to let the harsh expressions of this author be interpreted by himself, when he owns that the water of baptism is sufficient to answer all the ends of chrism or confirmation, where that is omitted not by any contempt, but for want of opportunity to receive it. And this is plainly St. Jerom's meaning, when he says, That though the practice of imposition of hands descends from the acts of the apostles;[37] yet in many places

[34] Conc. Eliber. can. 77. Si quis diaconus regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero, aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit. Quod si ante de seculo recesserint, sub fide; qua quis crediderit, poterit esse justus.

[35] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. c. 22. Εἰ δὲ μήτε ἔλαιον ᾖ, μήτε μύρον, ἀρκεῖ ὕδωρ, καὶ πρὸς χρίσιν, καὶ πρὸς σφραγίδα.

[36] Constit. lib. 7. c. 44.

[37] Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. 4. Quod si obloqueris, Quare in ecclesia baptizatus nisi per manus episcopi non accipiat Spiritum Sanctum, quem nos asserimus in vero baptismate tribui; disce hanc observationem ex ea auctoritate descendere, quod post ascensum Domini Spiritus Sanctus descendit. Multis in locis id tamen esse factum reperimus ad honorem potius sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem. Alioquin si episcopi tantum imprecatione Spiritus Sanctus

it was observed rather for the honour of the chief priesthood, than for any absolute necessity of the thing. For otherwise, if the Spirit was only obtained by the prayer of the bishop, those men must be in a deplorable condition that were baptized in villages, and castles, and remote places, by presbyters and deacons, and died before the bishop could come to visit them. All, therefore, that was necessary to salvation was conferred in baptism, which ministered such a portion of the Spirit, as was sufficient to cleanse men from sin, and qualify them for eternal life. So that when some of the ancients say, That baptism does not minister the Spirit, which was only given by imposition of hands in confirmation; as Cornelius pleads in his letter[38] against Novatian; and Tertullian,[39] who says, That we do not obtain the Holy Ghost in baptism, but are only cleansed in the water and prepared for the Holy Ghost; they are to be understood as meaning only that the Holy Ghost is not given in that full measure in baptism, as afterward by imposition of hands. They do not deny that baptism grants men remission of sins by the power of the Holy Ghost, but only that there are some further effects and operations of the Holy Spirit, which are not ordinarily conferred on men, but by the subsequent invocation of the Spirit, the increase of which men were to desire, and to receive imposition of hands in order to obtain it. In which sense it is said in the Gospel, that "the Holy Ghost was not yet given," because the apostles had not yet received that plentiful effusion of it in the gift of tongues, which they afterwards had on the day of Pentecost, though they had before received such a measure of it as both enabled them to work several sorts of miracles, and also qualified them in every respect for the kingdom of heaven.

Sect. 8. How they punished those that neglected it.

But though the ancients did not think this imposition of hands so absolutely necessary, as that the want of it should exclude those who were baptized from the kingdom of heaven; yet they thought fit to punish the neglect of it, by setting some marks of disgrace and public censure upon such as voluntarily and carelessly omitted it, when they had opportunity to receive it. Such men were ordinarily denied the privilege of ecclesiastical promotion and holy orders. As appears from the objection made against Novatian, that he ought not to be ordained, because being baptized privately with clinic baptism, he had afterward neglected to receive his consummation from the hands of the bishop, which[40] he ought to have done by the laws of the church. And to this purpose the council of Neocæsarea[41] has a canon, forbidding such to be ordained; which is made part of the code of the universal church. The council of Eliberis also[42] excludes such as have not *lavacrum integrum*, their own baptism completed by imposition of hands, from the privilege of giving baptism to others, which in cases of necessity they allowed to all other laymen. So far they thought fit to discountenance the contempt and neglect of confirmation, though they neither esteemed it a distinct sacrament from baptism, nor of absolute necessity to salvation, but only as a proper means to strengthen men in their Christian warfare.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE REMAINING CEREMONIES OF BAPTISM FOLLOWING CONFIRMATION.

Sect. 1. Persons newly baptized, clothed in white garments.

MUCH about the same time as the unction of confirmation was administered to persons newly baptized, they were also clothed in white garments. In the Latin church it came immediately before confirmation, but in the Greek church it seems to have followed after. For Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of it as following the unction.[1] This was to represent their having put off the old man with his deeds, and having put on the new man Christ Jesus. Hence they were called *λευχειμονοῦντες*, and *grex Christi candidus et niveus*, the white flock of Christ,[2] as we find in Lactantius and many others. Palladius, in the Life of St. Chrysostom,[3] notes it particularly, as a great piece of barbarity in Arcadius, that when St. Chrysostom's presbyters in his exile had baptized three thousand persons at one festival, the emperor sent his soldiers to disperse them, as they were *λευχειμονοῦντες*, clothed in their white garments. This was otherwise called, the garment of Christ, and the mystical garment. For so Socrates[4] and Sozomen,[5] speaking of the ordination of Nectarius, bishop of Constan-

defluit, lugendi sunt qui in villulis aut in castellis aut in remotioribus locis per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati ante dormierunt, quam ab episcopis inviserentur.

[38] Ap. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. *Τούτου μὴ τυχὼν, πῶς ἂν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἔτυχε;*

[39] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 6. Non quod in aqua Spiritum Sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati, sub angelo Spiritui Sancto præparamur.

[40] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. [41] Conc. Neocæsar. can. 12.

[42] Conc. Eliber. can. 38.

[1] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 4. n. 2. *Ἐνδυσάμενος τὰ πνευματικὰ λευκὰ, χρὴ λευχειμονεῖν διαπαντὸς*, &c.

[2] Lactant. Carmen de Resur. Dom.

Fulgentes animas vestis quoque candida signat;
Et grege de niveo gaudia pastor habet.

Moschus, Prat. Spir. cap. 207. *Ἰδόντες αὐτὴν λευκοφοροῦσαν*, &c. Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 145.

Unde parens sacro ducit de fonte sacerdos
Infantes niveos corpore, corde, habitu.

[3] Pallad. Vit. Chrysost. cap. 9. [4] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 8.

[5] Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 8. *Τὴν μυστικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔτι ἠμφιεσμένος*, &c.

tinople, which was immediately given him after his baptism, say, He was ordained whilst he had his mystical garment on; meaning this white robe, which had just before been given him at his baptism. St. Jerom[6] also, writing to Fabiola, seems to allude to this, when he says, We are to be washed with the precepts of God, and when we are prepared for the garment of Christ, putting off our coats of skins, we shall put on the linen garment, that hath nothing of death in it, but is all white, that rising out of the waters of baptism, we may gird about our loins with truth, and cover the former filthiness of our breasts. Some also allege two other passages of his in his epistles to Pope Damasus,[7] where he speaks of his having put on the garment of Christ at Rome. But others, who have more exactly[8] considered the time of St. Jerom's baptism, and the same phrase as used by him in other places, more probably conclude, that he means the monastic habit, which he elsewhere[9] calls the garment of Christ, and not the *albes* of baptism. However, not insisting on those dubious passages of St. Jerom, the ancient custom is sufficiently attested from other authors.

Sect. 2. These sometimes delivered to them with a solemn form of words.

Some of which also tell us, that these garments were wont to be delivered to the neophytes with a solemn form of words, in the nature of a charge: such as that in Gregory's Sacramentarium,[10] Receive the white and immaculate garment, which thou mayest bring forth without spot before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou mayest have eternal life. Amen.

Sect. 3. Worn eight days, and then laid up in the church.

These garments were commonly worn eight days, and then laid up in the church. St. Austin, or some one under his name,[11] speaks of the Sunday after Easter, as the time appointed for this purpose. That was the conclusion of the Paschal festival, and then the neophytes changed their habit; whence that day is thought to have the name of *Dominica in Albis;* and Whit-Sunday is said to be so called from this custom of wearing white robes after baptism. These, being laid aside, were carefully preserved in the vestries of the church, as an evidence against men, if afterward they violated those professions which they had made in baptism. A remarkable instance of which we have related in Victor Uticensis, concerning one Elpidiphorus, a citizen of Carthage, who having a long time lived in the communion of the church, at last turned Arian, and became a bitter enemy to the orthodox in the Vandalic persecution. Among others, whom he summoned before him as their judge, was one Muritta, a deacon, who had been sponsor for him at his baptism. He, being ready to be put upon the rack, produced against him those white robes with which he had been clothed at his baptism; and with words[12] melting all the whole city into tears, he thus bespoke him: These are the garments, O Elpidiphorus, thou minister of error, which shall accuse thee, when the majesty of the great Judge shall appear; these I will diligently keep as a testimony of thy ruin, which shall depress thee to the bottom of the lake that burns with fire and brimstone. These are they that were girt about thee, when thou camest immaculate out of the holy font; these are they that shall bitterly pursue thee, when thou shalt begin to take thy portion in the flames of hell; because thou hast clothed thyself with cursing as with a garment, and hast cast off the sacred obligation of thy baptism, and the true faith which thou didst then profess and take upon thee. So that the design of this significant ceremony was, first to represent that innocence and angelical purity, which every man obtained by the remission of his sins in baptism, and then to remind them of the obligations and professions they had entered into, which, if they violated, would rise up as so many accusers at the day of judgment.

Sect. 4. The ceremony of lights and tapers. What intended by it. And at whose charge both these were provided.

To this ceremony of wearing white robes, they added another of the like nature, which was the carrying of lighted tapers in their hands. I cannot say this was so universal a practice as the former, but it is mentioned by Gregory Nazianzen among other ceremonies following baptism. The station, says he, when immediately after bap-

[6] Hieron. Ep. 128. ad Fabiol. Præceptis Dei lavandi sumus, et cum parati ad indumentum Christi, tunicas pelliceas deposuerimus, tunc induemur veste linea, nihil in se mortis habente, sed tota candida, ut de baptismo consurgentes, cingamus lumbos in veritate.

[7] Id. Ep. 57. ad Damas. Cathedram Petri, et fidem apostolico ore laudatam censui consulendam; inde nunc animæ postulans cibum, unde olim Christi vestimenta suscepi. It. Ep. 78. ad Damas. Christi vestem in Romana urbe suscipiens, nunc barbaro Syriæ limite teneor.

[8] See Wall of Infant Baptism, par. ii. chap. 3. sect. 10.

[9] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 1.

[10] Gregor. Sacrament. de Bapt. Infant. Vestitur infans dicente presbytero, Accipe vestem candidam et immaculatam, quam perferas sine macula ante tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam æternam. Amen. Ordo Roman. de S. Sabbato. Bibl. Patr. t. 10. p. 83. Deportantur ipsi infantes ante eum, et dat singulis stolam candidam et decem siliquas et chrismale, dicens, Accipe vestem candidam, &c.

[11] Aug. Hom. 86. de Diversis, in Octavis Paschæ, t. 10. p. 709. Paschalis sollennitas hodierna festivitate concluditur, et ideo hodie neophytorum habitus commutatur; ita tamen, ut candor, qui de habitu deponitur, semper in corde teneatur.

[12] Victor. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 5. Bibl. Patr. t. 7. p. 613. Hæc sunt linteamina, Elpidiphore, minister erroris, quæ te accusabunt, dum majestas venerit judicantis; custodiente diligentia mea ad testimonium tuæ perditionis, ad demergendum te in abysso putei sulphurantis. Hæc te immaculatum cinxerant de fonte surgentem; hæc te acriter persequentur, flammantem Gehennam cum cœperis possidere, &c.

tism thou shalt be placed before the altar, is an emblem of the glory of the life to come; the psalmody with which thou shalt be received, is a foretaste of those hymns and songs of a better life; and the lamps which thou shalt light,[13] are a figure of those lamps of faith, wherewith bright and virgin souls shall go forth to meet the Bridegroom. Others refer it to another reason, that it might be a symbol of their own present illumination, and as done in allusion to that saying of our Saviour, "So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." In some baptisms also of great men, we find these ceremonies enlarged and set off with greater pomp; for not only they themselves, but all their retinue and attendance were clothed in white garments, and all carried lamps in their hands. As it was in the magnificent baptism of the younger Theodosius, related in an epistle of Marcus Gazensis[14] published by Baronius; where he says, The procession from the church to the palace was extremely splendid; for the leaders of the people were all clothed in white, which made the company look as if it had been covered with snow; and all the senators, and men of quality, and soldiers in their ranks carried lamps in their hands, that one would have thought the stars had appeared upon earth. The expense of these things, especially when so very sumptuous and magnificent, we may reasonably suppose, was defrayed by every person at his own proper cost and charge. And so the objection which some make in Gregory Nazianzen against baptism, upon the account of the charge attending it, plainly intimates. For thus they object against it: Where is the gift that I shall offer at baptism? where is the garment[15] of light in which I must shine? wherewithal shall I entertain my baptizers? To which Nazianzen replies, That in great things men should not be concerned about such small matters as these. For the sacrament itself was far above these visible objects. Therefore offer thyself for a gift, put on Christ for a garment, and let thy entertainment of me, the minister, be a holy conversation. God requires no great thing of us, which the poor cannot give. From whence we may conclude, that either these ceremonies were omitted in the baptism of poor men, or else the church herself was at the charge of them. Which some think may be inferred from the donations of Constantine made to the baptisteries of Rome, mentioned in the Pontifical, in the Life of Pope Sylvester; but it may more certainly be proved from the epistles of Pope Gregory,[16] where he often mentions his giving these garments to the poor, who could not provide them for themselves.

Sect. 5. The kiss of peace given to persons newly baptized.

Another ceremony used to congratulate such as were newly baptized, upon their admission and incorporation into the church, was the kiss of peace. Which was observed even towards infants, as we learn from that objection raised against it in Cyprian; where the opponents pleaded for deferring baptism till the child was eight days old, because children at their birth were unclean, and every one abhorred to kiss them, as was necessary to be done after baptism, to testify their right of fraternity upon their adoption into God's family. To which Cyprian replied, That this was no impediment to their baptism; for all things were clean to them that were clean. No one ought to abhor that which God had vouchsafed to make. For though an infant was but just born, yet he was then in such a condition, as no one ought to abhor[17] in giving him the grace of baptism, or imparting to him the kiss of peace. This custom is also mentioned by St. Austin,[18] and it seems to be founded upon that apostolical rule, observed in the eucharist and other holy offices, of saluting one another with a holy kiss, in token of their most cordial affection, and acknowledging one another as brethren. St. Chrysostom gives another reason why it was called, the peace, or the kiss of peace, because men were now reconciled to God by baptism, and restored to his peace and favour. For elegantly comparing the two nativities of man together, the natural and the spiritual, he says, The first birth is always attended with tears and lamentations, nature as it were presaging the subsequent sorrows and miseries of life: but in the second birth it is otherwise: here are no tears or mournings, but salutations, and kisses, and embracings of the brethren, who acknowledge the person baptized as one of their own members, and receive

[13] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 672.

[14] Ap. Baron. an. 401. t. 5. p. 131. Baptizato juniori Theodosio, et ab ecclesia egresso in palatium, licebat rursus intueri decorem eorum qui præerant multitudini, et vestem eorum refulgentem. Erat enim omnes candidati, ut existimaretur multitudo esse nive repleta. Præcedebant autem patricii, illustres, et omnis dignitas cum ordinibus militaribus, omnes portantes cereos, ut putarentur astra cerni in terra.

[15] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 655. *Ποῦ δὲ ἐμφώτειος ἐσθὴς, ᾗ λαμπρυνθήσομαι*, &c.

[16] Greg. lib. 7. Ep. 24. ad Faustin. Quoscunque ex iis pauperes, et ad vestem sibi emendam non sufficere posse cognoscis: te eis vestem, quam ad baptisma habeant, comparare volumus ac præbere. Vid. lib. 4. Ep. 16.

[17] Cypr. Ep. 59. al. 64. ad Fidum, p. 160. Nam et quod vestigium infantis in primis partûs sui diebus constituti, mundum non esse dixisti, quod unusquisque nostrum adhuc horreat exosculari; nec hoc putamus ad cœlestem gratiam dandam impedimento esse oportere; scriptum est enim, Omnia munda sunt mundis. Nec aliquis nostrûm id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus est facere. Nam etsi adhuc infans a partu novus est, non ita est tamen, ut quisquam illum in gratia danda atque in pace facienda exosculari horrere debeat, &c.

[18] Aug. cont. Epist. Pelag. lib. 4. cap. 8.

him as one returning from a long peregrination out of his own country. For because before his baptism he was an enemy, but after baptism is made a friend of our common Lord, we therefore all rejoice with him: and upon this account, the[19] kiss has the name of peace, that we may learn thereby, that God has ended the war, and received us into familiarity and friendship with himself. Hence it is, that to give the peace to any one, is the same thing many times in the writings of the ancients, as to salute him with the holy kiss, in the phrase of the apostle.

Sect. 6. And a taste of honey and milk, in token of their new birth.

They were used also to give to the newly baptized a little taste of honey and milk: which Salmasius and some others[20] suppose to be given them instead of the eucharist; but that is a mistake, for the eucharist was given them at the same time. The ancients themselves give another reason for it. St. Jerom[21] and Tertullian[22] say it was to signify their new birth, and that they were now as children adopted into God's family. Tertullian says moreover,[23] That the Marcionites retained the custom for the same reason as they did many other usages of the church. St. Jerom[24] says further, That in some of the Western churches, the mixture was made up of milk and wine instead of honey, and this in allusion to those passages of the apostle, "I have fed you with milk, and not with strong meat;" and St. Peter's saying, "As new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word." For milk denotes the innocency of children. Clemens Alexandrinus also[25] takes notice of this custom, saying, As soon as we are born, we are nourished with milk, which is the nutriment of the Lord. And when we are born again, we are honoured with the hope of rest by the promise of Jerusalem which is above, where it is said to rain milk and honey. For by these material things we are assured of that sacred food. We learn further, from the third council of Carthage, that this milk and honey had a peculiar consecration distinct from that of the eucharist. It is there said to be offered at the altar,[26] on a day most solemn, (which means the great sabbath, or Saturday before Easter, which was the most solemn time of baptism,) and there to have its proper benediction for the mystery of infants, (that is, persons newly baptized, who are commonly called infants in the mystical sense,) that it might be distinguished from the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. This part of the canon indeed is omitted in some collections, but Labbe says it was in the ancient manuscripts, and it is now so read in the body of the African[27] Code; which puts the matter beyond all dispute. I have given this canon with a little explanatory paraphrase, because some learned men complain of the obscurity of it, and profess themselves to be in the dark about the mystery of infants, which seems to me evidently to refer to this custom of giving milk and honey to the newly baptized.

Sect. 7. Then required to say the Lord's prayer.

When persons were thus adopted into God's family, and acknowledged as brethren in Christ, then they were admitted as sons to call upon God their Father, and immediately required to do it in the form of words taught us by Christ. The author of the Constitutions[28] bids them repeat the Lord's prayer standing upright, because they were now risen with Christ from the dead: and after that repeat this other short form: "Almighty God, the Father of Christ, thy only begotten Son, give me an immaculate body, a pure heart, a watchful soul, an unerring knowledge, with the influence of the Holy Ghost, that I may possess and enjoy the fulness of the truth, through thy Christ, by whom all glory be to thee in the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen." St. Chrysostom[29] also mentions their repeating the Lord's prayer presently after their coming up out of the water; and that standing also, not falling upon their faces, but looking up to Christ, to whose body they are united, as he sits above in heaven, where Satan has no access. And this was the first time they were allowed to use this prayer. For till men were baptized, and made sons of God by regeneration, they were not allowed to call God their Father. And though they learned the Lord's prayer before baptism, yet they were not permitted till after baptism to use it as a prayer publicly in the church.

Sect. 8. Received with psalmody.

Among other ceremonies after baptism, Gregory Nazianzen mentions their reception with psalmody,[30] which,

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[19] Chrys. Serm. 50. de Util. Legendæ Scripturæ, t. 5. p. 686. *Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ φίλημα εἰρήνη καλεῖται, ἵνα μάθωμεν ὅτι πόλεμον κατέλυσεν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείωσιν ἐπανήγαγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.*

[20] Salmas. ap. Suicer. Thesaur. Part. 2. p. 1136.

[21] Hieron. cont. Lucif. cap. 4. Deinde egressos lactis et mellis prægustare concordiam ad infantiæ significationem.

[22] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. 3. Inde suscepti lactis et mellis prægustamus concordiam.

[23] It. cont. Marcion. lib. 1. cap. 14. Sed et ille usque nec aquam reprobavit creatoris, qua suos abluit, nec oleum quo suos unxit, nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua suos infantat, nec panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat.

[24] Hieron. in Esai. lv. 1. Lac significat innocentiam parvulorum. Qui mos ac typus in Occidentis ecclesiis hodie usque servatur, ut renatis in Christo vinum lacque tribuatur. De quo lacte dicebat et Paulus, Lac vobis potum dedi, non solidum cibum. Et Petrus, Quasi modo nati parvuli, rationale lac desiderate.

[25] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 103.

[26] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 24. Primitiæ vero, seu mel et lac, quod uno die solennissimo pro infantis mysterio solet offerri, quamvis in altari offeratur, suam tamen habet propriam benedictionem, ut a sacramento Dominici corporis ac sanguinis distinguatur.

[27] Codex Eccles. Afric. can. 37. ap. Justellum.

[28] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 44 et 45.

[29] Chrys. Hom. 6. in Colos. p. 1953.

[30] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 672.

he says, was a *præludium* or foretaste of those hymns and praises which should be the employment of the life to come. But whether this means any particular psalms appointed to be sung at baptism, or the common psalmody of the church, he does not inform us. If I may be allowed to conjecture, I should conclude for the former, because the common psalmody of the church was no more than what catechumens were allowed to hear before, as being part of the *missa catechumenorum*, or first service, at which not only catechumens, but professed Jews and heathens might be present. Perhaps they sung the 118th Psalm, in which are these words, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it;" because St. Austin,[31] speaking of the Easter festival, seems to refer to it, saying, This is the day which the Lord hath made, higher than all, brighter than all, in which he hath acquired to himself a new people by the Spirit of regeneration, and hath filled our minds with joy and gladness. And Paulinus[32] speaks of singing hallelujahs upon this occasion. But in doubtful matters I will not be over-positive to determine.

Sect. 9. And admitted immediately to the communion of the altar.

It is more certain, that as soon as the ceremonies of baptism were finished, men were admitted to a participation of the eucharist. For this was the τὸ τέλειον, the perfection or consummation of a Christian, to which he was entitled by virtue of his baptism. Therefore all the ancient writers speak of this as the concluding privilege of baptism, which in those days was always immediately subjoined to it. And this was observed, not only with respect to adult persons, but children also. For proof of which custom, at present it will be sufficient to allege the testimony of Gennadius,[33] who joins the baptism of infants, and confirmation, and the eucharist all together. And this continued to the ninth century, as appears from the rituals of that age, some of which have been produced before,[34] and many others might be added; but these belong to another place, where it will be more proper to treat of the communion of infants among other things that relate to the subject of the eucharist, which, together with the ancient psalmody, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, and prayers, which make up the whole ordinary service of the church, under the name of *missa catechumenorum*, and *missa fidelium*, will be the subject of the next volume, which is intended to give an account of the liturgy of the church.

Sect. 10. Of the ceremony of washing the feet, retained in some churches.

There was one ceremony more, used in some churches, but rejected by others, which it will not be improper to give some account of here in the close: that was the custom of washing the feet of the baptized. Vicecomes[35] thinks, at first it was a ceremony preceding baptism, and used on Maundy Thursday, or the same day that our Saviour (from whose example it was taken) washed his disciples' feet. And this seems to be clear, he says, from St. Austin's words, who has occasion to mention it in two of his epistles. But in the former epistle,[36] St. Austin is speaking of the custom of bathing the whole body before Easter, that the catechumens, who had neglected themselves in the observation of Lent, might not appear offensive when they came to be baptized: therefore Maundy Thursday was chosen as the day to cleanse themselves, by bathing, from the bodily filth which they had contracted. And because this was allowed to the catechumens, many others chose to bathe themselves with them on that day also, and relax their fast, because fasting and bathing would not agree together. So that this washing was not the washing of the feet, however Vicecomes came to mistake it, but the bathing of the whole body; and not used as a religious ceremony, but as a ceremony of convenience and civil decency, that they might not be offensive to the senses of others, when they came to baptism. In the other epistle he speaks particularly of washing the feet, but that was after baptism, on the third day, or the octaves, or such other time as those churches which retained the ceremony thought fit to appoint it. For many churches,[37] he says, would never admit of this custom at all, lest it should seem to belong to the

[31] Aug. Serm. 163. de Tempore, t. 10. p. 332. Hic est dies, dilectissimi, quem fecit Dominus, celsior cunctis, lucidior universis, in quo sibi novam plebem, ut videtis, regenerationis Spiritu conquisivit, &c.

[32] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever. p. 145.

Hinc senior sociæ congaudet turba catervæ;
Alleluia novis balat ovile choris.

[33] Gennad. de Eccles. Dogm. cap. 52. Si parvuli sint, qui doctrinam non capiant, respondeant pro illis qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi: et sic manûs impositione et chrismate communiti, eucharistiæ mysteriis admittantur.

[34] Book XII. chap. 1. sect. 2.

[35] Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. 3. cap. 20.

[36] Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januarium, p. 213. Si autem quæris, cur etiam lavandi mos ortus sit: nihil mihi de hac re cogitanti probabilius occurrit, nisi quia baptizandorum corpora per observationem quadragesimæ sordidata, cum offensione sensûs ad fontem tractarentur, nisi aliqua die lavarentur. Istum autem diem potius ad hoc electum quo cœna Domini anniversarie celebratur. Et quia concessum est hoc baptismum accepturis, multi cum his lavare voluerunt, jejuniumque relaxare.

[37] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 18. De lavandis vero pedibus, cum Dominus hoc propter formam humilitatis, propter quam docendam venerat, commendaret, sicut ipse consequenter exposuit, quæsitum est, Quonam tempore potissimum res tanta etiam facto doceretur, et in illud tempus occurrit, quo ipsa commendatio religiosius inhæreret. Sed ne ad ipsum sacramentum baptismi videretur pertinere, multi hoc in consuetudinem recipere noluerunt. Nonnulli etiam de consuetudine auferre non dubitarunt. Aliqui autem, ut hoc sacratiore tempore commendarent, et a baptismi sacramento distinguerent, vel diem tertium octavarum, quia ternarius numerus in multis sacramentis maxime

sacrament of baptism, when our Saviour only intended it as a lesson of humility. And other churches, for the same reason, abrogated the custom, where it had been received. And others, who retained it, that they might recommend it by fixing it to some more sacred time, and yet distinguish it from the sacrament of baptism, chose either the third day of the octaves, or the octave after baptism itself, as most convenient for this purpose. Among the churches which wholly refused, or abrogated this custom, the Spanish church is one, which in the council of Eliberis made a canon against it; forbidding at once the exacting any gift or reward for administering baptism, lest the priest should seem to sell what he freely received; (of which I have given a full[38] account, in speaking of the revenues of the church;) and also forbidding the priests,[39] or any other of the clergy, to wash the feet of such as were baptized. Among those churches which never received this custom, we may reckon the Roman church; and among those which always received it, the church of Milan, whose practice is opposed to the Roman by St. Ambrose, or whoever was the author of the books De Sacramentis, and De iis qui Mysteriis initiantur, among his works. He says,[40] In the church of Milan the bishop was used to wash the feet of the baptized. But the Roman church had not this custom. And he thinks they might decline it, becaase of the multitude of those that were baptized. But they of the Roman church pleaded, that it was not to be done by way of mystery in baptism or regeneration, but only by way of humility, as the custom of washing the feet of strangers. But on the contrary, the church of Milan pleaded, that it was not merely a business of humility, but of mystery and sanctification, because Christ said to Peter, "Except I wash thy feet, thou hast no part with me." This I urge, says our author, not to reprehend others, but to commend my own office. For though we desire to follow the Roman church, yet we are men that have our senses about us. And therefore we observe that practice, which we conceive to be righter in other churches. He adds further, That this was not done[41] to obtain remission of sins, for that was already done in baptism: but because Adam was supplanted by the devil, and the serpent's poison was cast upon his feet, therefore men were washed in that part for greater sanctification, that he might have no power to supplant them any further. These were the reasons given by the church of Milan, for their adhering to this practice: but they were not so strong as to prevail with others, and so this custom never got any great footing in the Christian church.

Sect. 11. A general reflection upon the whole preceding discourse, with relation to the practice of the present church.

I have now gone over the most material ceremonies and usages of the church, observed about the administration of baptism, as well those that went before, as those that accompanied the action itself, and those that followed after; and, as near as I could, delivered them in the same order and manner as she herself observed them. And shall here close the discourse only with one general reflection, which may be of some use to vindicate the practice of the present church, and give satisfaction to such sober dissenters as scruple our office of baptism for the sake of an innocent, significant ceremony or two retained in it. The candid reader may observe throughout this discourse, that not only one or two, but many significant ceremonies were observed by the ancient church in the administration of baptism; particularly, the sign of the cross was used at least four or five times in the whole process of the action. Therefore they who now raise objections against the present office, had they lived in the primitive times, must have had much more reason to complain of the ancient practice. And yet we do not ordinarily find objections raised against the baptism of the church, upon the account of the ceremonies she used therein, no, not even by those who in other things differed from her. Which consideration, methinks, should a little satisfy those, who really value the peace and unity of the church, and be an argument to them not to dissent from the practice of the present church, for those things which must more forcibly have obliged them to have been dissenters in all ages. I know not how far this consideration may prevail upon any, but I know how far it ought to prevail upon

excellit, vel etiam ipsum octavum, ut hoc facerent, elegerunt.

[38] Book V. chap. 4. sect. 14.

[39] Conc. Eliber. can. 48. Emendari placuit, ut hi qui baptizantur (ut fieri solet) nummos in concham non mittant, ne sacerdos, quod gratis accepit, pretio distrahere videatur. Neque pedes eorum lavandi sunt a sacerdotibus vel clericis.

[40] Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 3. cap. 1. Succinctus summus sacerdos pedes tibi lavit.——Non ignoramus, quod ecclesia Romana hanc consuetudinem non habeat, cujus typum in omnibus sequimur et formam: hanc tamen consuetudinem non habet, ut pedes lavet. Vide ergo ne propter multitudinem declinarit. Sunt tamen qui dicant, et excusare conentur, quia hoc non mysterio faciendum est, non in baptismate, non in regeneratione: sed quasi hospiti pedes lavandi sunt. Aliud est humilitatis, aliud sanctificationis. Denique audi, quia mysterium est, et sanctificatio. Nisi lavero tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem. Hoc ideo dico, non quod alios reprehendam, sed mea officia ipse commendem. In omnibus cupio sequi ecclesiam Romanam, sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus. Ideo quod alibi rectius servatur, et nos recte custodimus.

[41] Ibid. In baptismate omnis culpa diluitur. Recedit ergo culpa: sed quia Adam supplantatus a diabolo est, et venenum ei suffusum est supra pedes, ideo lavas pedes, ut in ea parte, in qua insidiatus est serpens, majus subsidium sanctificationis accedat, quo postea te supplantare non possit. He repeats this reason in his Book de Initiatis, cap. 6.

all that love the peace and study the quiet of the church, and therefore I could not but in this place here seasonably suggest it.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE LAWS AGAINST REBAPTIZATION BOTH IN CHURCH AND STATE.

Sect. 1. But one baptism, properly so called, allowed by the church. And why.

To what has been said about baptism, it will not be improper to add something about the laws made both in church and state against the repetition of it, when once duly performed. The ancients generally determine against a repetition of baptism; though Vossius thinks[1] their reasons are not always strictly conclusive. Some argued, that baptism was not to be repeated, because we are baptized into the death of Christ, who died but once. So St. Basil,[2] and St. Austin.[3] But Vossius thinks there is no weight in this argument, because that which is but once done, may be often represented; as the sacrament of the eucharist is often repeated, though it also be in remembrance of the Lord's death till he come. Others prove it from those words of our Saviour, John xiii. 10, "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." This argument is used by Optatus, St. Austin, Fulgentius, Pacianus, and St. Ambrose. But Vossius thinks there is as little force in this reason as the former; because men may become polluted and unclean after baptism, and so have need of a second washing, if there were no other reason against it. Others argued from those words of the apostle, Heb. vi. 4, "It is impossible for those who are once enlightened, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance." The ancient expositors, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Primasius, Sedulius, and Haimo, understand this as a prohibition of renewing men to repentance again by a second baptism; for they do not deny absolutely the possibility of a second repentance or pardon, but only upon a second baptism. And so Vossius says it is also expounded by Epiphanius,[4] Cyril of Alexandria,[5] St. Jerom,[6] St. Austin,[7] and St. Ambrose.[8] But he thinks their exposition not so agreeable to this place, as that of others, who interpret the falling away, either to mean the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, or what St. John calls "a sin unto death," or a total apostacy from the Christian religion, for which there is no renewal of repentance. But I will not be so positive as Vossius, that any of these are better interpretations of that text, which is so unanimously urged by the ancients against the Novatians, as a prohibition, not simply of a second repentance, but of a repentance by a second baptism. Others made use of those words of the apostle, Eph. iv. "One faith, one baptism." Which is the argument urged by Cyril of Jerusalem and Pope Leo against rebaptization. But this, as Vossius observes, probably was not intended as a prohibition of a second baptism, but only to declare the community of that baptism, which is received one and the same by all, without exception. As the apostle calls the eucharist "one bread," not because it was only once to be received, but because it was that common bread, of which all were partakers. The true reason, Vossius thinks, why baptism is not to be repeated, is the Divine will that so appointed it. For there is no command to reiterate baptism, as there is to repeat the eucharist, in the words of institution. Neither is there any example of any rebaptization in Scripture, though we often read of men's falling into gross and scandalous sins after baptism. To which may be added, that baptism succeeds in the room of circumcision, being the entrance and seal of the covenant, which, on God's part, is never broken: so that as circumcision was never repeated, though the passover was yearly; in like manner, men enter into the covenant by baptism, and their breaches of the covenant are not to be repaired by repeated baptisms, but by confession and repentance, which is the method prescribed by the apostle for restoring fallen brethren. St. Jerom[9] observes, that though there were many heretics in the apostles' days, as the Nicolaitans and others, yet there was no command given to rebaptize them upon their repentance. And Optatus[10] makes the unity of circumcision a good argument for the unity of baptism, in which both the catholics and Donatists agreed. For though the Donatists rebaptized the catholics, yet they did it not under the notion of a second baptism, but as supposing they had received no true baptism before.

Sect. 2. Only the Marcionites allowed baptism to be thrice repeated.

Indeed, among all the ancient heretics, we find none for a plurality of baptisms, but only the Marcionites. Which Epiphanius observes to have been an invention of Marcion, their first founder,

[1] Voss. de Bapt. Disp. 17. n. 5. p. 210.
[2] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 15.
[3] Aug. de Vera et Falsa Pœnit. cap. 3.
[4] Epiphan. Hær. 59. Novatianor.
[5] Cyril. lib. 5. in Joan. xvii.
[6] Hieron. cont. Jovin. lib. 2.
[7] Aug. Com. in Rom.
[8] Ambros. de Pœnit. cont. Novat. lib. 2. cap. 2.
[9] Hieron. cont. Lucifer. cap. 8. De Apocalypsi quoque approbemus, hæreticis sine baptismate debere pœnitentiam concedi. Nunquid dixit, Rebaptizentur qui in Nicolaitarum fidem baptizati sunt?
[10] Optat. lib. 1. p. 35. Quid magis dici pro nobis, et nostrum esse potest, quam quod dixisti, in comparationem baptismatis semel factum esse diluvium? Et singularem circumcisionem salubriter profecisse populo Judæorum, magis pro nobis, quasi noster locutus es.

in regard to his own conversation:[11] for he having been guilty of deflowering a virgin, invented a second baptism, asserting, that it was lawful to repeat baptism three times for the remission of sins. So that if any man fell, he might receive a second baptism after the first, and a third after that, upon his repentance. Which he pretended to ground upon those sayings of our Saviour, "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and I have a cup to drink;" which have no reference to any other baptism in water, but to his baptism in blood, that is, his death and passion. Of which the ancients speak much, as they do of some other sorts of baptism, which are only metaphorical, as the baptism of afflictions, the baptism of tears and repentance, and the baptism of fire at the last day. But here the question is only about proper baptism by water, which the Marcionites affirmed might be repeated three times in the same way, which the church never allowed of.

Sect. 3. What the church did in doubtful cases, not reckoned a rebaptization.

It is true, indeed, there were some doubtful cases, in which it might happen accidentally that a man might be a second time baptized; but these were such cases only, in which the party was reputed not to have received any former baptism at all. As when a man could neither give any account of his own baptism, nor were there any other credible witnesses that could attest it. Which often happened to be the case of those who were taken captives in their infancy, and made slaves by the heathen. When any such were redeemed or recovered by the Christians, the church made no scruple to baptize them; because, though they might perhaps have received a former baptism, yet no evidence of it appeared. And so this was not reputed a rebaptization. A decree was made to this purpose in the fifth council of Carthage,[12] upon a question put by the bishops of Mauritania, who affirmed that they redeemed many such captive children from the hands of the barbarians: the council ordered, That in this case, as often as it happened, that there were no certain witnesses found, who could give undoubted testimony of their baptism; nor were they able of themselves to affirm, by reason of their age, that they ever had received it; they should be baptized without any scruple, lest a hesitation in this case should deprive them of the purgation of the sacraments. The like determination was also given in one of the Roman synods under Leo upon the same case, where it was concluded,[13] That in such a doubtful case, neither the baptizer nor the baptized incurred the crime of rebaptization. And Leo resolves the matter[14] himself after the same manner in other places. Neither was it reckoned any crime, though it afterward appeared that the party had been baptized before, because it was done in ignorance: but yet, like clinic baptism, it was a sort of blemish to him, that deprived him of ecclesiastical promotion, except in some extraordinary case, as we learn from Theodore's[15] Pœnitentiale, cited by Gratian.

Sect. 4. Nor when she baptized those who had been unduly baptized before in heresy or schism.

Neither was it reckoned properly a second baptism, when the church baptized any who had before been unduly baptized in heresy or schism. For then she did it only on presumption that they had received no true baptism before. Some heretics corrupted baptism by altering the necessary form, and others corrupted it by changing the matter of it into some other substance of their own appointing; and the baptisms of all such were looked upon as no baptisms; and therefore the church ordered all those to be baptized upon their return to her communion, in the very same manner as Jews and Gentiles, as supposing their former pretence of baptism to be nothing at all, but her own baptism the first true baptism that was given them. And even the Cyprianists, who baptized all that had been baptized in any heresy or schism whatsoever without distinction, did it still only upon this supposition, that the baptism which they had received before, was no baptism at all, but a mere nullity. But if any had been baptized in the catholic church, and after that turned heretics or schismatics, or even apostates, Jews or Gentiles, they never gave such another baptism upon their return to the church again.

Sect. 5. Apostates never rebaptized in the catholic church.

For the Cyprianists in this agreed with the rest of the catholic church, that catholic baptism was never to be repeated in the greatest apostates. This doctrine is not only inculcated by St. Austin,[16] but even by Cyprian himself and his followers, where they plead so much for baptizing those who had been baptized

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[11] Epiphan. Hær. 42. Marcionit. n. 3.

[12] Conc. Carthag. 5. can. 6. Placuit de infantibus, ut quoties non inveniuntur certissimi testes, qui eos baptizatos esse sine dubitatione testentur, neque ipsi sint per ætatem idonei de traditis sibi sacramentis respondere, absque ullo scrupulo eos esse baptizandos, ne ista trepidatio eos faciat sacramentorum purgatione privari. Hinc enim legati Maurorum fratres nostri consuluerunt, quia multos tales a barbaris redimunt. Vid. Cod. Eccl. Afric. can. 72. et Conc. Trull. can. 84.

[13] Leo, Ep. 37. ad Leon. Raven. Non potest in iterationis crimen devenire, quod factum esse omnino nescitur.

[14] Id. Ep. 92. ad Rustic. cap. 16. Si nulla existant indicia inter propinquos aut familiares, nulla inter clericos aut vicinos, quibus hi, de quibus quæritur, baptizati fuisse doceantur; agendum est ut renascantur, ne manifeste pereant, in quibus quod non ostenditur gestum, ratio non sinit ut videatur iteratum.

[15] Theodor. Pœnitent. ap. Gratian, Dist. 4. de Consecrat. cap. 117. Qui bis ignoranter baptizati sunt, non indigent pro eo pœnitere: nisi quod secundum canones ordinari non possunt, nisi magna aliqua necessitas cogat.

[16] Aug. de Bapt. lib. 2. cap. 1. Cont. Liter. Petil. lib. 2. cap. 7 et 48. Cont. Crescon. lib. 2. cap. 16.

in any heresy or schism; they still except those heretics who had originally been baptized in the catholic church: though they turned apostates they were not to be received again by baptism,[17] but only by repentance, as was determined in the council of Carthage, over which Cyprian presided. St. Austin refers us to this very passage, and thence concludes this was a point agreed upon universally in the catholic church, that no lapse or crime could make it necessary to give a second baptism to any who had once been truly baptized within the pale of the church. A longer penance indeed was imposed upon such deserters and apostates as had been baptized in the church, than upon those who had been baptized among heretics originally, as the Rules of Pope Innocent[18] inform us; the one were obliged to go through a long course of penance for their apostacy, but the other were admitted immediately by imposition of hands upon their recantation: yet still the church kept strict to her rule, that whatever way she admitted them she would not do it by a second baptism.

Sect. 6. What heretics rebaptized the catholics.

Several heretics pretended to observe the same rule; for they rebaptized the catholics; yet they said this was not a second baptism, because the catholics were reputed heretics with them, and therefore their baptism of no value in their account. Upon this ground the Novatians rebaptized the catholics, as we learn from Cyprian,[19] and the epistle of Pope Innocent last cited. The Donatists followed the Novatians in this sacrilegious practice, as the charge is often brought against them by St. Austin,[20] and many others. And the Eunomians not only rebaptized the catholics, but all others of the Arian sects that were not of their own particular faction, as is noted by Epiphanius[21] in his account of them. And the other Arians, though they were at first averse to this practice, (as Papebrochius[22] and Pagi[23] rightly observe, in order to refute the story of Constantine's being baptized by Pope Sylvester, and rebaptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia; for at that time the Arians had not taken up the practice of rebaptizing the catholics,) yet afterwards they gave way to it about the time of St. Austin. For he charges it upon them more than once,[24] that they rebaptized the catholics. And it appears from Victor Uticensis,[25] that they insisted stiffly upon it in the time of the Vandalic persecution, and we afterwards meet with the same in the epistles of Vigilius.[26] Valesius[27] cites the Life of Fulgentius, and the author of the Breviarium Fidei, published by Sirmondus, to the same purpose. By which last author[28] we find, that the Arians not only rebaptized the catholics, but also made an argument of it, (as some Romanists in another case have since argued against the protestants,) that their baptism was better than the catholics', because the catholics never rebaptized those that came over from the Arians, but reconciled them only by imposition of hands; but the Arians, whenever they could seduce any from the catholics, always gave them a second baptism.

Sect. 7. What punishments were inflicted on rebaptizers by the laws of church and state.

Now, to prevent this petulant humour from spreading in the church, many and severe laws were made against it, both by the ecclesiastical and the secular power. The church by her canons[29] not only censured and condemned all such rebaptizations, as impious and sacrilegious, as a crucifying of Christ again, a doing despite to the Spirit, as a mockery of the Divine mysteries, and derision of holy things; but also inflicted penalties on all those who were either actively or passively concerned in them. The council of Lerida[30] forbids the faithful so much as to eat with persons that suffered themselves to be rebaptized. The canons of Pope Innocent enjoin them a long penance to

[17] Conc. Carthag. ap. Cypr. n. 8. p. 232. Censeo omnes hæreticos et schismaticos, qui ad catholicam ecclesiam voluerint venire, non ante ingredi, nisi exorcisati et baptizati prius fuerint; exceptis his sane qui in ecclesia catholica fuerint ante baptizati, ita tamen ut per manûs impositionem in pœnitentiam ecclesiæ reconcilientur. See the same, ibid. n. 22. And Cypr. Ep. 71. ad Quintum, p. 194. Ep. 74. ad Pompeium, p. 216.

[18] Innoc. Ep. 2. ad Victricium, cap. 8. Ut venientes a Novatianis vel Montensibus, per manûs tantum impositionem suscipiantur. Quia quamvis ab hæreticis, tamen in Christi nomine sunt baptizati: præter eos, si qui forte a nobis ad illos transeuntes, rebaptizati sunt: hi si resipiscentes, et ruinam suam cogitantes, redire maluerint, sub longa pœnitentiæ satisfactione admittendi sunt.

[19] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 198. Nec nos movet, quod in literis tuis complexus es, Novatianenses rebaptizare eos, quos a nobis sollicitant.

[20] Aug. cont. Fulgent. cap. 7. Da mihi aliquem sanctorum post Trinitatem rebaptizare, quod facis. It. de Hæres. c. 69. Audent etiam rebaptizare catholicos, &c. Vid. Cod. Theodos. lib. 16. Tit. 6. Ne sanctum baptisma iteretur. Leg. 4. Honorii.

[21] Epiphan. Hær. 76. Anomœor. p. 992.

[22] Papebroch. Vit. Constant. Mai. 21. t. 5. p. 17.

[23] Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 324. n. 12.

[24] Aug. de Hæres. cap. 49. Rebaptizari quoque ab his catholicos novimus, utrum et non catholicos nescio. It. de Hæres. cap. 7. Baptizato ingerit baptismum, &c.

[25] Victor. de Persec. Vandal. lib. 1. Bibl. Patr. t. 7. p. 590.

[26] Vigil. Ep. 2. ad Euther. cap. 3. It. Conc. Tolet. 3. Præfat.

[27] Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. 6. cap. 26.

[28] Breviar. Fidei adversus Arianos. Dicere etiam solent de baptismo, quod in eo melius sit ipsorum baptismum, quam nostrum; quia qui de illis ad nos convertuntur, non eos rebaptizamus, sed per manûs impositionem reconciliamus. Illi vero, si quos de nostris seducere possint, inconsideranter rebaptizant.

[29] Vid. Cod. Eccles. Afric. can. 48. Constit. Apost. lib 6. cap. 15.

[30] Conc. Ilerdens. can. 14. Cum rebaptizatis fideles religiosi nec in cibo participent.

make satisfaction.[31] And those of Pope Leo[32] require even those who through fear or terror were rebaptized against their wills, to do penance at the discretion of the bishop, before they were admitted again to communion. If they were bishops, presbyters, or deacons, who thus suffered themselves to be rebaptized, then they were to be degraded, and obliged to do penance all their lives, without being suffered to communicate with the church either in the prayers of the faithful, or the prayers of the catechumens, and were only to be admitted to lay communion at the hour of death, because they had not only denied their orders, but their Christianity, and openly professed themselves pagans, by being rebaptized. This we find in the decrees of Felix III., made in a Roman council,[33] with respect to the African churches, where such rebaptizations were often practised, by the power of the Arians, who compelled the catholics to be rebaptized. This was the ancient discipline of the church toward those, who were only passive in admitting a second baptism, after they had once been truly baptized with catholic baptism before. Then again for those who were actively concerned in such rebaptizations, the Canons appointed, that if any bishop or presbyter presumed to give a second baptism after a true one once received,[34] he should be degraded: and this penalty was confirmed by the civil law; for Valentinian put forth an edict against such rebaptizers, declaring them unworthy of the priesthood.[35] But because such sort of penalties did not much affect either the Donatists or the Eunomians, who were already out of the church, and little regarded her censures; therefore Honorius reinforced the former laws by adding a civil penalty to them. For in two laws made against the Donatists, who were chiefly concerned in this crime, he enacted,[36] That it should be confiscation of all a man's goods, whoever was found to rebaptize another. And Theodosius junior[37] laid the same penalty upon the Eunomians, and those that were rebaptized by them, commanding their goods to be confiscated, and their persons to be banished. Such was the care both of the civil and ecclesiastical governors to preserve the unity of baptism in the catholic church. But as Gothofred, I think, rightly observes, these laws seem only intended against heretics rebaptizing catholics. For if heretics rebaptized heretics, as the Eunomians did the other Arians, it does not appear, that in that case the penalties of these laws affected them, but only were designed to restrain their insolencies against the catholic church. Some catholics continued still, after the Cyprianic way, to rebaptize all heretics and schismatics whatsoever, without distinguishing those that were baptized in the name of the Trinity from those that were not: and though this was contrary to the general custom and discipline of the church, yet I conceive the penalties of these laws did not affect them neither. And the same may be said of those, who thought themselves obliged to rebaptize those who were only baptized by laymen. For though it was reckoned a rebaptization by those churches which practised otherwise, yet it was not that criminal rebaptization, against which these laws were chiefly intended: and these being something more of doubtful and disputed cases, about which good catholics themselves were divided, a greater allowance was made in these, so long as men only observed the custom and practice of the churches in which they lived, about them: which was St. Basil's advice to the churches of Asia, which were divided upon these questions.

[31] Innoc. Ep. 2. ad Victric. cap. 9. Qui rebaptizati sunt, sub longa pœnitentia et satisfactione admittendi sunt.

[32] Leo, Ep. 79. ad Nicetam, cap. 6. Qui ad iterandum baptismum vel metu coacti sunt——non nisi per pœnitentiæ remedium, et per impositionem episcopalis manûs, communionis recipiant unitatem.

[33] Felix, Ep. 7. cap. 2. Eos, quos episcopos, presbyteros, vel diaconos fuisse constiterit, et seu optantes forsitan, seu coactos lavacri illius unici salutarisque claruerit fecisse jacturam; et Christum, quem non solum dono regenerationis, verum etiam gratia percepti honoris induerant, exuisse; cum constet neminem ad secundam tinctionem venire potuisse, nisi se palam Christianum negaverit, et professus fuerit se esse paganum;——usque ad exitus sui diem, si resipiscunt, jacere conveniet, nec orationi non modo fidelium, sed nec catechumenorum omnimodis interesse, quibus communio laica tantum in morte reddenda est.

[34] Vid. Canon. Apost. can. 47.

[35] Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 16. de non Iterando Bapt. Leg. 1. Antistitem, qui sanctitatem baptismi iterata usurpatione geminaverit, et contra instituta omnium eam gratiam iterando contaminaverit, sacerdotio indignum esse censemus.

[36] Ibid. Leg. 4. Quisquis post hæc fuerit rebaptizasse detectus——Facultatum omnium publicatione multatus, inopiæ pœnam expendat. Vid. ibid. Leg. 5. Honorii.

[37] Ibid. Leg. 7. Theodosii. Nefarios Eunomianorum cœtus, ac funesta conventicula penitus arceri jubemus. Eos qui episcoporum, seu clericorum, vel ministrorum nomine usurpato, hujusmodi cœtibus præsunt——cum in hoc fuerint scelere deprehensi, stilum proscriptionis incurrere, et bonorum amissione coerceri. Eos vero qui fide, ut dictum est, imbutos immani furore rebaptizare deteguntur, cum his qui rebaptizantur (arceri jubemus).

BOOK XIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO DIVINE WORSHIP IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

SOME NECESSARY REMARKS UPON THE ANCIENT NAMES OF DIVINE SERVICE, WHICH MODERN CORRUPTIONS HAVE RENDERED AMBIGUOUS.

Sect. 1. The partition of this work.

WE have hitherto seen the method of introducing men into the church, through the various steps of their catechumenship, and baptism, and confirmation: we are now to view their practice in the worship of God after their admission, and to examine into the manner of their holding religious assemblies, and performing there the several public offices of Divine service. Some things of this kind are general considerations, that run through all offices, and relate to every part of Divine worship; such as the object of their worship, and the circumstances of language, and forms, and habits, and gesture, and time; and therefore of these general things I shall discourse first in this Book. After this I shall consider the several parts of their most solemn worship on the Lord's day; such as their psalmody, and reading of the Scriptures, and preaching, and prayer, and receiving the communion, which were their solemn acts of worship on every festival. And because some of these were such as the catechumens and all others were allowed to be present at, for their benefit and edification; whilst other parts of Divine service were more restrained to persons baptized, who were complete and perfect Christians (who were therefore called communicants, because they had a more peculiar right to all the privileges of Christian communion); I shall upon this account speak of their worship under these two heads, according to their own distinction; the *missa catechumenorum*, and the *missa fidelium*, the service of the catechumens, and the service of the communicants; or, as we may otherwise term them, the ante-communion service, and the communion service.

Sect. 2. Of the *missa catechumenorum*, or first part of Divine service, to which all orders of men were admitted.

The *missa catechumenorum* comprehended all that part of the service, which preceded the common prayers of the communicants at the altar; that is, the psalmody, the reading of the Scriptures, the sermon, and the particular prayers that were made over the catechumens and other orders of penitents, energumens, &c., before they were dismissed. For by the ancient rules and discipline of the church, the method of Divine service was so ordered that all persons, except some very scandalous sinners, had liberty to be present at some parts of it. The psalms, and lessons, and sermons were for the instruction, not only of believers, but also of catechumens and heathens, Jews and infidels, unbelievers and heretics: and therefore by some canons all these had liberty to stay in the church, till this part of the service, called *missa catechumenorum*, was ended. The fourth council of Carthage[1] has a rule to this purpose, That the bishop shall not prohibit any one to enter the church, and hear the word of God, whether he be Gentile, Jew, or heretic, till the service of the catechumens was ended. A like canon was made by the first council of Orange, That the catechumens[2] should have the liberty to stay and hear the Gospels read in all their churches. The council of Valentia[3] in Spain extends the privilege to heretics and heathens, as well as catechumens, and therefore orders

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[1] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 84. Ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam, et audire verbum Dei, sive Gentilem, sive hæreticum, sive Judæum, usque ad missam catechumenorum.

[2] Conc. Arausican. 1. can. 18. Evangelia placuit deinceps catechumenis legi apud omnes provinciarum nostrarum ecclesias.

[3] Conc. Valentin. can. 1 Ut sacrosancta evangelia ante munerum illationem, in missa catechumenorum in ordine lectionum post legantur, quatenus salutaria præcepta Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel sermones sacerdotis, non solum fideles sed etiam catechumeni ac pœnitentes, et omnes qui e diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant. Sic enim pontificum prædicatione audita, nonnullos attractos ad fidem evidenter scimus.

that the Gospel should be read before the oblation was brought forth, in the usual order of the lessons; so that not only the communicants, but the catechumens, and penitents, and Gentiles, and heretics, who were of the contrary part, might have liberty to hear the saving precepts of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the sermons of the bishops. For they had learned by experience, that by the bishops' preaching many had been brought over to the faith. And by this we may interpret an obscure canon[4] of the council of Lerida, which orders, That incestuous persons, so long as they continued in their sin, should not be permitted to stay any longer in the church, save only during the service of the catechumens, that is, to hear the psalmody, the lessons, and the sermon. St. Chrysostom abundantly confirms this observation: for in many of his homilies[5] he speaks not only of catechumens, but of heretics and heathen being present as part of his auditory. Particularly in his homily[6] upon the forty-fourth Psalm, he wishes all the Jews and heathens had been then present to have heard him expound that prophetical Psalm of Christ. In another homily[7] upon the forty-eighth Psalm, he brings in a heathen using this form of complaint against Christians: I went into a Christian church, and there I heard Paul say to their women, that they should not adorn themselves with gold or pearl; but I saw every thing contrary in their practice. And, says Chrysostom, will not the heathen, when he comes into the church, and sees the women thus adorned in the galleries above, and hears Paul thus speaking below, be ready to say, our religion is mere pageantry and fable? It is not so indeed; but the heathen is scandalized and offended at this contrariety in our practice. This plainly implies, that the heathens had free liberty to come into the Christian churches, and hear the Scriptures read, and the sermon preached. And it is very remarkable, what Sozomen[8] observes of St. Chrysostom, that by this means he brought over many of those who heard him in the church, to acknowledge the Divinity of Christ. Which some understand of the scholars of Libanius, but Valesius, I think, more truly interprets it of heathens and heretics in general, who flocked to St. Chrysostom's church to hear him. There is but one thing that can be said against all this, and that is, that the council of Laodicea has a contrary canon, which absolutely forbids[9] the permitting of heretics to enter into the house of God. But this is only a local ordinance; and the thing being a matter of pure discipline, there might be prudential reasons for denying heretics in some places the privilege that was allowed them in others. Or else the canon may be understood of not permitting them to come into the church for prayers or communion, which was a thing forbidden by all canons whatsoever, till after their recantation. Some indeed think, that in Tertullian's time the catechumens were excluded before sermon, because he objects it to the heretics,[10] that there were such confusions in their assemblies, that no one could tell who was a catechumen, and who was a communicant, because they all met, and heard, and prayed together. And heathens, if they came in among them, were not excluded from the very mysteries of their religion. But in this, as Schelstrate[11] has observed against Albaspinæus and Christianus Lupus, Tertullian does not object to the heretics, that they admitted catechumens to hear their sermons, but that they made no distinction in their assemblies, as the church did; but without any observation of decency or order, suffered their catechumens to mingle themselves with communicants, whom the catholics always confined to a separate place in the church, while heretics admitted them confusedly, not only to hear sermons, but to be present at their prayers, and the oblation of the eucharist also. So that this passage of Tertullian rather confirms the thing asserted, that the *missa catechumenorum*, or service of the catechumens, lasted to the end of the sermon. After which, it was usual for the deacon to call to the heathens and heretics, if there were any present, to be gone: Μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων: Let none that are only hearers, none of the unbelievers, be present, as the author of the Constitutions[12] words it. Then followed the prayers for the catechumens, of the order called prostrators; and after their dismission, prayers for the energumens; and after them, the prayers for the candidates of baptism; and last of all, the prayers for the penitents. All which was included in the general name of *missa catechumenorum*, the service of the catechumens, or ante-communion service.

Sect. 3. Of the *missa fidelium*, or communion service, peculiar to communicants only.

After this was ended, it was usual for the deacon to make another solemn proclamation to all orders of non-communicants to withdraw: Οἱ ἀκοινώνητοι

[4] Conc. Ilerden. can. 4. De his qui incesta pollutione se commaculant, placuit, ut quousque in ipso detestando et illicito carnis contubernio perseverant, usque ad missam tantum catechumenorum in ecclesia admittantur.

[5] Chrys. Hom. 41. de Pelagia, t. 1. p. 560. Hom. 72. de Phoca. t. 1. p. 878. Hom. 8. t. 5. p. 124. Hom. 1. in Mat. p. 5. Hom. 27. in Mat. p. 271. Hom. de Prophet. Obscuritate, t. 3. p. 926. Hom. 2. p. 946. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688.

[6] Hom. in Psal. xliv. al. xlv. t. 3. p. 206.

[7] Hom. in Psal. xlviii. al. xlix. p. 806.

[8] Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 2.

[9] Conc. Laodic. can. 6. Περὶ τοῦ μὴ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[10] Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæreticos, cap. 41. In primis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est: pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant: etiam ethnici si supervenerint, sanctum canibus, et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt.

[11] Schelstrat. de Concilio Antiocheno, p. 200.

[12] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 5.

περιπατήσατε, Ye that cannot communicate, walk off and be gone. Let no catechumen be present, no hearer, no infidel, no heterodox or heretical person, as the author of the Constitutions words it.[13] And, as St. Chrysostom acquaints[14] us, he was used to add further, *ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους*, Ye that are communicants, discern and know one another: see that there be no catechumen, none of those that cannot eat of the sacrifice, no spy, no one that cannot see the heavenly blood shed for the remission of sins, no one unworthy of the living sacrifice, no unbaptized person, no one that may not touch the tremendous mysteries with his polluted lips. And here began the *missa fidelium*, or communion service, so called, because none might be present at it but communicants only, as appears from these solemn forms of dismissing all others before it began. This contains all those prayers which were said at the altar, and were properly called *εὐχαὶ πιστῶν*, prayers of the faithful or communicants, in opposition to the prayers of the catechumens, which went before: these were the prayers for the whole state of the church, and peace of the world, which preceded the oblation and consecration of the eucharist; and then the consecration prayers, and prayers again for all orders of men in the church, with proper forms of communicating, and doxologies, hymns, and thanksgivings after reception; of which we discourse particularly in the last of these Books, under the general title of *missa fidelium*, or communion service. This part of the service being wholly spent in prayers, and that by the communicants only, is therefore peculiarly distinguished by the name of *εὐχαὶ πιστῶν*, the prayers of the faithful, by the council of Laodicea,[15] which speaks of them as coming after the prayers of the catechumens and their dismission. In other canons they are called the common prayers of the people, and absolutely, the prayers, without taking notice of any other prayers in the church. Whence in the council of Nice,[16] speaking of penitents, the phrase, communicating in prayers with the people without the oblation, denotes joining in this part of the service of the church, distinguished by the name of prayers, or communion service, which belonged not to the catechumens, but the body of the people, in which the penitents of the highest class, called co-standers, were allowed to join, though they might neither make their oblations, nor partake of the eucharist with the faithful. And in the same sense the council of Ancyra[17] speaks of penitents, who, as they were to be three years substrators among the catechumens, and bow down under the bishop's hands for benediction; so were they for two years to communicate in prayers only, without the oblation. And so communicating in prayers with the people is taken in the council of Antioch, when they say, All such as come to church, and hear the Holy Scriptures read, but will not communicate[18] in prayers with the people, or withdraw themselves disorderly from partaking of the eucharist, shall be cast out of the church. Where, as reading of the Scriptures is put for the whole service of the catechumens, which was the first service; so communicating in prayers and the eucharist, denotes the second part of the service, peculiar to communicants, or persons baptized; from which, as catechumens were debarred, so others might not withdraw themselves, under pain of ecclesiastical censure. This was the true order of the first and second service in the ancient church, and the true distinction between the *missa catechumenorum* and *missa fidelium*, of which I intend to give a full account in the two next Books.

Sect. 4. The true original and meaning of the ancient name, *missa*, the mass, which in its primitive use denotes every part of Divine service; but no where an expiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.

At present we may observe, how shamefully they have abused the ancient name *missa*, under the appellation of mass, who apply it only to denote the office of consecrating bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and offering that as an expiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead. For anciently the name *missa* signified no such thing, but was a general name for every part of Divine service. It signified, as we have seen already, the service of the catechumens, as well as the service of the altar, and is often used for the psalmody, for the lessons, and for the prayers at evening, when there was no communion, as well as for the prayers used in time of celebration of the eucharist. Thus Cassian[19] often mentions the *missa nocturna*, by which he means the morning prayers and psalmody before day, when it is certain they had no communion. The council of Agde[20] speaks of evening mass, as well as morning, which meant no more but morning and evening prayer, without any communion. For they had no communion either morning or evening at their daily prayers, but only on festivals, at a distinct hour from both those. So the emperor Leo, in his Tactics,[21] speaks of the *μίσαι ἑσπεριναί*, a word plainly borrowed from the

[13] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 12.

[14] Chrys. Hom. 1. cont. Judæos, t. 1. p. 440. et Hom. 37. de Filio Prodigo, t. 6. p. 375.

[15] Conc. Laodic. can. 19.

[16] Conc. Nicen. can. 11. *Δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.*

[17] Conc. Ancyr. can. 24. *Ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιπτέτωσαν· τρία ἔτη ὑποπτώσεως, καὶ δύο ἔτη εὐχης χωρὶς προσφορᾶς.*

[18] Conc. Antioch. can. 2. *Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ κοινωνοῦντας δὲ εὐχῆς ἅμα τῷ λαῷ, ἢ ἀποστρεφομένους τὴν μετάληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας κατά τινα ἀταξίαν, τούτους ἀποβλήτους γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*

[19] Cassian. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 13. lib. 3. cap. 5 et 6.

[20] Conc. Agathen. can. 30. In conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos capitella de psalmis dici, &c.

[21] Leo, Tactic. cap. 11. num. 18, cited by Bishop Usher.

Latin *missa*, (for the Greeks had originally no such name,) to signify only evening prayer. And Bishop Usher, in his Religion of the Ancient Irish,[22] gives us another such instance out of Adamnanus, who uses the name *vespertinalis missa* for what is commonly called evening prayer. And the late learned Mabillon[23] has observed out of the Rules of Cæsarius Arelatensis and Aurelian, that the word *missa* is sometimes used for the lessons also. For it is one of Aurelian's Rules, That they should take six *missas*, that is, lessons, out of the prophet Isaiah, *Facite sex missas de Esaia propheta.* And Mabillon very judiciously remarks further,[24] That the word *missa* has at least three significations. It sometimes signifies the lessons, sometimes the collects or prayers, and sometimes the dismission of the people. And indeed the third sense is the original notation of the word. For *missa* is the same as *missio.* And it was the form used in the Latin church, *Ite missa est,* which answers to the Greek Ἀπολύεσθε and Προέλθετε, the solemn words used at the dismission of the catechumens first, and then of the whole assembly afterwards, at the end of their respective services. Whence the services themselves at last took their names from these solemn dismissions, the one being called *missa catechumenorum*, and the other *missa fidelium*, neither of which ever signify more than the Divine service, at which the one or the other attended.

In vain, therefore, do many learned men labour to deduce its original from foreign languages, to make it signify something agreeable to the modern notion of the Roman mass, when it is so plainly of Latin extraction. Baronius,[25] after Reuclin and Genebrard, would have it come from the Hebrew word *missah*, an oblation: but Durantus[26] has a good reason against that; because if it had been of Hebrew extraction, the Greeks would have retained it in their language, as they do the words hosanna, sabaoth, allelujah, and amen: whereas there is no Greek writer uses it till the time of Leo Sapiens, who first borrows it from the Latin in his Tactics. Albaspinæus has still a wilder conjecture; he says, the word *mess*, among the northern nations, signifies a festival, and therefore he imagines the name *missa* and mass might come from that: which is only to invert the origination, and make the daughter to become the mother; since it is evident the name *mess* comes from *missa*, and not *missa* from that. Cardinal Bona[27] takes a great deal of pains to confute these and all other false opinions, and establishes the true one with undeniable evidence from Alcimus Avitus, and all the ancient ritualists, Isidore, Rabanus Maurus, Florus Magister, Remigius Altissiodorensis, Alcuinus, Gregory's Sacramentarium, Hugo Victorinus, and Bernoldus, who all agree in this, that *missa* comes from the dismission of the people, and not from any other original. So that I think it needless to trouble my reader with any of these authorities, since the matter is now cleared beyond all contradiction by Mabillon and Bona, two such eminent writers of the Roman communion.

Sect. 5. In what sense Divine service anciently called *sacrificium.*

Another general name of the ancient service, which in later ages has met with some abuse, is *sacrificium*, sacrifice; a name borrowed from the Jewish carnal sacrifices, and applied to the spiritual sacrifices of Christians, viz. their prayers and praises, and preaching, and devoting themselves entirely, body and soul, to the service of Christ by the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. Hence every part of Divine worship had the name of sacrifice, and not only the service of the altar. For they commonly call their evening hymns and prayers by the name of evening sacrifice. Thus St. Jerom bids Læta accustom her daughter not only to the morning hymns, and daily hours of prayer, the third, the sixth, and the ninth, but also when night comes, and the lamps are lighted, then in like manner to render to God her evening sacrifice.[28] And so St. Hilary, upon those words of the psalmist, "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice," says, The sacrifice of Christians is their prayers, recommended to God by stretching forth their hands to relieve the poor. For we, says he, upon whom[29] the ends of the world are come, do not sacrifice to God with blood or burnt-offerings: but the evening sacrifice which is pleasing to God, is that which Christ teaches in his Gospel, "I was an hungry, and ye fed me; thirsty, and ye gave me drink," &c. This is the evening sacrifice, that is, the sacrifice of the last times. In this we are to lift up our hands; for by such prayers the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven is prepared for those that are blessed of God, from the foundation of the world. In the same sense Eusebius calls the prayers of Christians the rational sacrifices,[30] that are offered without blood to God. And Clemens Alexandrinus says, The sacri-

[22] Usher, Relig. of the Ancient Irish, chap. 4. p. 26. ex Adamnani Vita Columban. lib. 3. cap. 31.

[23] Mabil. de Cursu Gallicano, lib. 2. p. 107.

[24] Ibid. p. 393.

[25] Baron. an. 34. n. 59.

[26] Durant. de Ritibus, lib. 2. cap. 1. n. 1. So also Bellarmine and Bona both refute it.

[27] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 1. sect. 6, where he censures Genebrard, as nimis addictus rebus Hebraicis.

[28] Hieron. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. Accensa lucerna reddere sacrificium vespertinum.

[29] Hilar. in Psal. cxl. p. 330. Non enim sanguine et holocaustis nos, in quos consummatio sæculorum devenit, sacrificamus Deo: sed quod sacrificium vespertinum placitum sit, audiamus Dominum——Hoc sacrificium vespertinum, id est, temporum novissimorum est. In hoc manus elevandæ sunt: quia istiusmodi orationibus jam ab initio mundi benedictis Dei, regni cœlestis præparata possessio est.

[30] Euseb. de Laud. Constant. Orat. p. 659. Τὰς ἀναίμους καὶ λογικὰς θυσίας τὰς δι' εὐχῶν. Vid. de Vit. Constant. lib. 4. cap. 45. Θυσίαις ἀναίμοις, &c.

fices of Christians are their prayers and praises,[31] and reading of the Scriptures, and psalms and hymns before meals, and at their meals, and at bedtime, and in the night. And there are hundreds of passages in the ancients, both of public and private prayers, to the same purpose, besides what is said of the sacrifice of the eucharist, or communion service, of which we shall have reason to say something more upon another occasion. Here it is sufficient to have hinted the grounds, upon which the ancients gave the general name of sacrifice to all parts of Divine service.

Sect. 6. And *sacramenta*.

Another name, though neither so ancient nor so common as the former, is that of *sacramenta*, which in some authors signifies not what we now call sacraments, but the order or manner of performing Divine offices, and that as well the prayers and service in general, as the particular offices of administering baptism and the Lord's supper. For the word *sacramentum*, answering to the Greek *μυςήριον*, is a word of a large extent, denoting not only the proper sacraments, but all sacred ceremonies and usages of the church, that have any thing of symbolical or spiritual significancy in them, representing something more to the understanding than appears to the outward senses; and in a more restrained, though not the strictest sense, it denotes the manner or method of performing Divine offices in the church, whether relating to the sacraments properly so called, or any other parts of Divine service, as the prayers, hymns, lessons, in morning or evening service. In this sense, it is observed by learned men,[32] that the book of Divine offices composed by Gregory the Great for the use of the Roman church, bears the title of Liber Sacramentorum, The Book of Sacraments, that is, a book or method for performing Divine offices in the church. And Gelasius did the same thing before him under the title of Codex Sacramentarius, lately published by Thomasius at Rome, 1680. And Gennadius[33] says, Musæus, a presbyter of Marseilles, composed Volumen Sacramentorum, a large Book of Sacraments, that is, Divine offices, to direct what lessons, and psalms, and hymns were to be used in the communion service, according to the seasons of the year, and what prayers and thanksgivings were to make up the service of the church. And it is the opinion of two very learned men, Menardus and Bishop Stillingfleet,[34] that both St. Austin and St. Ambrose give the name of Sacramenta to the books of liturgic offices used in their time. And they observe that the old Missal published by Illyricus, bears the name of Ordo Sacramentorum, which can mean nothing but the manner of performing Divine offices in the administration of the eucharist and other parts of public worship.

Sect. 7. And *cursus ecclesiasticus*.

These offices are by other writers styled *cursus ecclesiasticus*, the order or course of Divine offices. For under this title, Gregory Turonensis is said to have composed a book, De Cursibus Ecclesiasticis, for the use of the Gallican church, which is now lost; but he himself[35] mentions it in his history. And Bishop Usher[36] cites an ancient manuscript out of the Cotton library, which says, that Germanus and Lupus brought Ordinem Cursus Gallorum, the Gallican liturgy, into Britain with them. And this was the liturgy of the British churches for some ages, till by degrees the Cursus Romanus was brought in upon them. Bede says,[37] In the time of Pope Agatho, Joannes Abbas, the Roman precentor, was sent over to settle the Roman *cursus*, or psalmody for the whole year, according to the usage and way of St. Peter's church at Rome. And the council of Calchuth,[38] some time after Bede, speaks of the liturgy under the same title, ordering all churches at the canonical hours reverently to perform their *cursus*. And Mabillon[39] cites the Lives of Walaricus and Senericus, where there is frequent mention of the Cursus Gallicanus.

Sect. 8. The names *λειτουργία*, *ἱερουργία*, *ἱερὰ*, and *μυςαγωγία*, most usual in the Greek church.

Among the Greek writers we seldom meet with any of these names, but they usually style all holy offices, and all parts of Divine service, by the general name of *λειτουργία*, and *ἱερουργία*, liturgy, and sacred service. Though liturgy in its extended sense denotes any public office or ministration, as the apostle uses it, Phil. ii. 30, and 2 Cor. ix. 12, for the ministration of charity; and ecclesiastical writers do the same, often applying it both to civil and sacred functions, as to the office of a magistrate or a bishop, as Casaubon[40] shows at large; yet in a more limited sense it is put to signify those sacred offices which make up the several parts of

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[31] Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. lib. p. 860. Ed. Oxon. *Θυσίαι τῷ Θεῷ, εὐχαί τε καὶ αἶνοι, καὶ αἱ πρὸ τῆς ἑςιάσεως ἐντεύξεις τῶν γραφῶν*, &c. Vid. Cassian. Instit. lib. 3. c. 3. Conc. Aurelian. 3. can. 23. Martin. Bracarensis Capitul. c. 63.

[32] Menard. Not. in Sacrament. Gregor. p. 1. et Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. p. 225.

[33] Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. 79. Composuit Sacramentorum egregium et non parvum volumen, per membra quidem pro opportunitate officiorum et temporum, pro lectionum textu, psalmorumque serie et decantatione discretum, &c. Id. cap. 78. de Voconio. Composuit Sacramentorum Volumen.

[34] Menard. ibid. Stillingfleet, ubi supra.

[35] Greg. Turon. Hist. lib. 10. cap. ult. De Cursibus Ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi.

[36] Usser. de Primord. Eccles. p. 185.

[37] Bede, Hist. lib. 4. c. 18. Quatenus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annuum, sicut ad Sanctum Petrum Romæ agebatur, edoceret.

[38] Conc. Calchuthens. can. 7. Conc. t. 6. p. 1865. Ut omnes ecclesiæ publicæ canonicis horis cursum suum cum reverentia habeant.

[39] Mabil. de Cursu Gallican. p. 420.

[40] Casaub. Exercit. in Baron. 16. n. 41. p. 471.

Divine worship, as prayers, reading, preaching, and administration of the sacraments. But it is never used, as the Romanists would appropriate it, for the business of sacrificing only. The council of Ephesus speaks both of evening[41] and morning liturgies, which doubtless mean evening and morning prayers only. And so Casaubon observes, that Justinian[42] takes it for the office of reading the Scripture as well as administering the eucharist, when he says of a certain monastery, that the Divine liturgy was performed in it, as it was used to be in the churches, both by reading the Holy Scriptures and receiving the holy communion. And Antiochus[43] applies the name of liturgy, not only to morning prayer, but also to the service of their midnight assemblies. Neither of which was in his time the ordinary hours of the communion service. So that Erasmus and others are governed more by prejudice than reason, who would have that passage of Acts xiii. 2, *λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν*, to be rendered, *sacrificantibus illis*, as if there were no Divine service without sacrifice in their notion of it; when yet the Vulgar translation renders it ministering, and the old Syriac and Arabic, as Beza observes, have it praying; which is agreeable to the notion of liturgy for Divine service. Yet when the epithet of *mystica* was added to *liturgia*, then it commonly signified the communion service. As when Theodoret says, that the salutation of St. Paul, 2 Cor. xiii. 14, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c., is the beginning of the mystical liturgy,[44] he means the communion office, where this form of salutation was always used. And so in the Clementina Epitome,[45] the sacred liturgy denotes the service of the altar, which came after the *εὐχὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ὕμνων*, prayers used in psalmody, or the service of the catechumens. And it is Bona's observation[46] out of Vincentius Riccardus,[47] that except the words sacred, or mystical, be added to the name liturgy, it is never to be taken for the sacrifice of the altar, but for some other part of Divine service: though, I think, this is more than can be fairly proved. As on the other hand, when the epithet of mystical is added, it does not always, but only for the most part, as I said before, mean the eucharistical service. For the service of baptism was ever esteemed a mystical service, as well as that of the eucharist. And the name *μυϛαγωγία*, communion in the sacred mysteries, is upon that account frequently given by St. Chrysostom,[48] Theodoret,[49] and others, to baptism, as well as the Lord's supper; as may be seen at large in Suicerus's[50] Collections upon that subject. It is certain the author under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, uses the title of *mystagogia*, as well when he is describing the ceremonies and service of baptism, as the eucharist: and Cyril's Mystagogical Catechisms are equally an exposition of the rites observed in administering baptism and confirmation, as of those of the other sacrament; these being the two great mystical services of the Christian church. The names *ἱερὰ*, *ἱερουργία*, and *θυσία*, are all words of the same importance: they most commonly signify the communion service, or the sacrifice of prayers at the altar. But sometimes they denote the offices of baptism, preaching, reading the Scripture, and psalmody; these being the spiritual sacrifices of Christians. It is certain the apostle calls preaching the gospel by the name of *ἱερουργία*, Rom. xv. 16, and the conversion of the Gentiles thereby, the offering them up or sacrificing them to God. Upon which words Chrysostom[51] observes, That the apostle does not call this service barely *λατρεία*, but *λειτουργία*, and *ἱερουργία*, sacrifice, or sacred service. For this is my priesthood, to preach and publish the gospel; this the sacrifice that I offer to God. And St. Basil[52] gives the same names of *ἱερουργία* and *θυσία* to the duty of praise and thanksgiving: "I will offer unto thee the sacrifice of praise." And we have seen before (sect. 5.) how the evening prayer is commonly styled *sacrificium vespertinum*, evening sacrifice, by the Latin writers.

Sect. 9. Liturgy sometimes taken for set forms of prayer.

It is further to be observed, that as the Latins, by the names *missa*, *cursus*, *ordo*, and *officium*, mean not only the Divine worship itself, but also the books containing the method and prescriptions for the regular performance of it, which we usually call set forms of prayer; so the Greeks sometimes understand the same thing by the name of liturgy; and that not only when they speak of the forms of administering the sacraments, but of any other parts of Divine service. It is plain the author of the Constitutions[53] takes the word in this sense, when he applies it to

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[41] Conc. Ephes. Epist. Synod. ad Imperat. ap. Casaubon. ibid. *Τὰς ἑσπερινὰς ἢ τὰς ἑωθινὰς λειτεργίας.*

[42] Justin. Novel. 7. *Ἱερὰ γέγονε λειτεργία——τῶν τε θείων ἀναγινωσκομένων γραφῶν, τῆς τε ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀῤῥήτε μεταδιδομένης κοινωνίας.*

[43] Antioch. Hom. 19. Bibl. Patr. G. L. t. 1. p. 1056. *Ἐξέγειρον ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ ἑωθινὰς λειτεργείας.*

[44] Theod. Ep. 146. p. 1032. *Ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς μυϛικῆς λειτεργίας προοίμιον.*

[45] Clementina Epitome de Gestis Petri, ap. Coteler. t. 1. p. 796. *Τε πατριάρχε τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκτελέσαντος λειτεργίαν.*

[46] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 3. n. 3.

[47] Riccard. Comment. in Proclum de Tradit. Missæ.

[48] Chrys. Hom. 21. t. 1. ad Popul. Antioch. p. 272.

[49] Theod. in cap. 1. Canticorum.

[50] Suicer. Thesaur. voce *Μυϛαγωγία.*

[51] Chrys. Hom. 29. in Rom. p. 302. *Οὐχ ἁπλῶς λατρείαν λέγων, ἀλλὰ λειτεργίαν καὶ ἱερεργίαν· αὕτη γάρ μοι ἱερωσύνη, τὸ κηρύττειν καὶ καταγγέλλειν· τάυτην προσφέρω τὴν θυσίαν.*

[52] Basil. in Psal. cxv. p. 275. *Ἱερεργήσω σοι τὴν τῆς αἰνέσεως θυσίαν.*

[53] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 6. *Ἡ θεία λειτουργία, ἐν ᾗ προσφώνησις ὑπερ τῶν κατηχουμένων.*

the forms of prayer then made for the catechumens. And Casaubon observes,[54] That all those forms of worship which go under the names of Peter, James, Andrew, Chrysostom, and Basil, bear the name of liturgies, which the Latins call *ordo*, and *officium*, and the modern Greeks, *ἀκολουθία*. These were sometimes also, among the ancient Greek writers, termed *εὐχῶν διατάξεις*, the order of prayers; which is the name that Nazianzen gives the liturgy of St. Basil,[55] composed by him by the direction of his bishop, whilst he was presbyter of Cæsarea; and those forms and orders of Divine worship collected by the author of the Constitutions, bear the same title, *διατάξεις*. In Chrysostom they are styled *νόμοι*, the rules or appointments of the church; and the prayers particularly are distinguished into two sorts of forms, both by him[56] and the council of Laodicea,[57] the one called *εὐχαὶ κατηχουμένων*, the prayers of the catechumens, and the other, *εὐχαὶ πιστῶν*, the prayers of the faithful, or believers. But I shall say no more of liturgies here, considered as set forms or prescriptions of worship, because they will come to be discoursed of more fully hereafter in their proper place.

Sect. 10. Of litanies. This at first a general name for prayers. How and when it came to be appropriated to certain particular forms of worship, called rogations.

There is one general name more, which the first writers use to denote all sorts of public prayers, but the middle ages have appropriated it to a particular form of worship, that is, litanies, in Greek called *λιτανεῖαι*, and *λιταί*: in Latin, *supplicationes*, and *rogationes*. These words, in their original signification, are but another name for prayers in general, of whatever kind, that either were made publicly in the church, or by any private person. Eusebius, speaking of Constantine's custom of making his solemn addresses to God in his tent, before he went out to battle, says, He endeavoured to render God propitious to him by supplications and litanies,[58] that he might obtain his favour, assistance, and direction in his enterprises. And again, he says,[59] A little before his death he spent some time in the house of prayer, making supplications and litanies to God. In which places, litany seems to be a general name, and not to intend any particular sort of prayers. So Chrysostom also uses the word litany, when he says[60] to his people, To-morrow I shall go forth with you to make our litany, that is, the public service. And again,[61] speaking of the solemn form of words, *Pax vobis*, Peace be with you, he says, The bishop used it in all offices when he first entered the church, when he made the prayers and litanies, and when he preached. And Arcadius, in one of his laws[62] made against heretics about the same time, takes litany in the same sense for prayers in general, when he forbids heretics to hold profane assemblies in the city, either by night or by day, to make their litany. Where it is plain, his intent was, not to prohibit heretics from making any particular sort of prayers, but all prayers in general within the city, and to cut off all opportunities of meeting either by night or by day for that purpose: and so Gothofred understands him. For this law was made with a direct view to the Arian assemblies for psalmody in their night stations, which had occasioned some tumults and murder in the city, as Socrates[63] and Sozomen inform us. So that the morning hymns, and psalmody, and prayers then came all under the general name of litany, and the Arians were forbidden in this sense to make any litanies within the city by this law of Arcadius. What Hamon L'Estrange[64] alleges out of St. Austin, Cyprian, and Tertullian, proves nothing, but that there were always prayers made in the church to implore God's mercy and favours; which no one ever denied: neither is the name litany used by any of them. It is more to the purpose, what St. Basil[65] says to the church of Neocæsarea, where Gregory Thaumaturgus was bishop; that though in Gregory's time they had no litanies, yet afterward, before St. Basil's time, they had admitted the use of them. By which argument, he defends the nocturnal prayers, and psalmody, and vigils, against those who objected that they were not used in St. Gregory's time. For neither were litanies used in his time, and yet now they were in use, and no one objected novelty against them. This shows, that St. Basil takes litanies for a peculiar sort of prayers lately set up in the church. For it cannot be doubted, but that they had prayers before, though not of this particular kind.

Some think, that litanies, in this new limited sense, were first introduced by Mamercus, bishop of Vienna in France, about the year 450. But St. Basil's testimony proves them to be earlier in the East. And it is a mistake in those who assert Mamercus to be the first author of them in the West: for Sidonius Apollinaris, who lived in the time of Mamercus, and wrote some epistles to him, says

[54] Casaubon. Exerc. 16. in Baron. n. 41. p. 472.

[55] Naz. Orat. 20. in Laud. Basil. p. 340.

[56] Chrys. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740.

[57] Conc. Laodic. can. 19.

[58] Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 2. cap. 14. *Τὸν Θεὸν ἱκετηρίαις καὶ λιταῖς ἱλεούμενος*, &c.

[59] Id. lib. 4. cap. 61. *Εὐκτηρίῳ ἐνδιατρίψας οἴκῳ, ἱκετηρίους εὐχάς τε καὶ λιτανείας ἀνέπεμπε τῷ Θεῷ.*

[60] Chrys. Hom. antequam iret in exilium, t. 4. p. 965. *Αὔριον εἰς λιτανεῖον ἐξελεύσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν.*

[61] Chrys. Hom. 3. in Colos. p. 1338. *Ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἰρήνην, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς*, &c.

[62] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæreticis, Leg. 30. Interdicatur his omnibus, ad litaniam faciendam intra civitatem noctu vel interdiu profanis coire conventibus.

[63] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 8.

[64] L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, cap. 4. p. 100.

[65] Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæs. p. 97. *Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ λιτανεῖαι ἐπὶ Γρηγορίου, ἃς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιτηδεύετε.*

expressly, that he was not the first inventor of them, but only of the Rogation fast days before Ascension, to which he applied the use of these litanies, which were in being long before, though not observed with such solemnity, nor fixed to any stated times, but only used as exigences required, to deprecate any impending judgment. This he declares at large in an epistle to Mamercus himself,[66] styling him the author of the Rogation days, and showing both the reasons of their institution, and the manner of observing them, with ardent supplications and fastings, in imitation of the Ninevites, to avert the threatening judgments of fire, or earthquakes, or inundations, or hostile invasions. But that we may not think Mamercus was the first author of litanies, because he applied their use particularly to the Rogation days, he speaks more expressly in another epistle,[67] where he says, that Mamercus indeed first brought in the observation of the Rogation solemnities, which spread by his example: but supplications or litanies were in use before, when men had occasion to pray against excessive rains or droughts; though they were observed but in a cold and disorderly manner, without fasting or full assemblies: but those which he instituted, were observed with fasting, and praying, and singing, and weeping. What Sidonius says here, proves that Mamercus was the author of the Rogation fast in France; but litanies were in use before: and if Savaro judge right of one of St. Austin's homilies,[68] the Rogation fast must have been observed long before in the African churches. For among his homilies de Tempore, there is one upon the vigil of the Ascension, where he speaks of a fast[69] observed for three days before Ascension day, advising all men to keep those days with fasting, prayer, and psalmody. However, from the time of Mamercus we are sure these Rogation days and litanies were celebrated with great solemnity in the church, being frequently mentioned by Alcimus Avitus,[70] Cæsarius Arelatensis,[71] Eucherius Lugdunensis junior,[72] and Gregory of Tours,[73] to name no later writers. The first council of Orleans, anno 511, established them[74] by a decree, ordering the three days before Ascension to be kept a fast with abstinence after the manner of Lent, and with rogations or litanies, and that on these days servants should rest from their labours. In the Spanish churches they deferred these rogations to the week after Pentecost: for they kept to the old rule of the ancient church, not to have any fast during the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide; therefore, as Walafridus Strabo observes of them,[75] they would not observe the Rogation fast in the time that the Bridegroom was with them. But by an order of the council of Girone,[76] these litanies and this fast was put off to the week after Whitsuntide. And they ordered a second litany to be used on the first day of November. The fifth council of Toledo[77] appointed another such litany and fast to be celebrated yearly for three days, commencing on the thirteenth day of December. The sixth council of Toledo[78] confirmed this decree about two years after, anno 638, and made it a general rule for all the churches of Spain and Gallicia, and Gallia Narbonensis, which was at this time under the government of the Gothic king Chintillan. And in the seventeenth council of Toledo,[79] anno 694, under King Egicanes, a more general decree was made, That such litanies should be used in every month throughout the year. And so

[66] Sidon. lib. 7. Ep. 1. ad Mamercum. Solo tamen invectarum, te auctore, Rogationum palpamur auxilio, quibus inchoandis, instituendisque populus Arvernus cœpit initiari, &c.

[67] Id. lib. 5. Ep. 14. Rogationum nobis solennitatem primus Mamercus pater et pontifex, reverentissimo exemplo, utilissimo experimento, invenit, instituit, invexit. Erant quidem prius (quod salva fidei pace sit dictum) vagæ, tepentes, infrequentesque, utque sic dixerim, oscitabundæ supplicationes, quæ sæpe interpellantium prandiorum obicibus hebetabantur, maxime aut imbres aut serenitatem deprecaturæ :——In his autem, quas suprafatus summus sacerdos nobis et protulit pariter et contulit, jejunatur, oratur, psallitur, fletur.

[68] Savaro, Not. in Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 14. p. 354.

[69] Aug. Hom. 173. de Temp. t. 10. p. 338. Sine dubio peccatorum suorum vulnera diligit, qui in istis tribus diebus, jejunando, orando, et psallendo medicamenta sibi spiritualia non requirit.

[70] Avitus, Hom. de Rogationibus.

[71] Cæsar. Hom. 33.

[72] Eucher. Hom. de Litaniis.

[73] Greg. Turon. lib. 2. cap. 34.

[74] Conc. Aurelian. 1. can. 27. Rogationes, id est, litanias, ante ascensionem Domini placuit celebrari, ita ut præmissum triduanum jejunium in Dominicæ ascensionis solennitate solvatur, &c.

[75] Strabo, de Offic. Eccles. cap. 28. Hispani autem, propter hoc quod scriptum, Non possunt filii sponsi lugere, quamdiu cum illis est sponsus, infra Quinquagesimam Paschæ recusantes jejunare, litanias suas post Pentecosten posuerunt.

[76] Conc. Gerunden. can. 2. Ut litaniæ post Pentecosten a quinta feria usque in sabbatum celebrentur. So it is in the title of the canon: and in the body of it, Ut per hoc triduum abstinentia celebretur. Ibid. can. 3. Item secunda litania facienda est kalendis Novembris.

[77] Conc. Tolet. 5. can. 1. Ut a die iduum Decembrium litania triduo ubique annua successione peragatur, &c.

[78] Conc. Tolet. 6. can. 2. Universalis authoritate censemus concilii, ut hi dies litaniarum, quæ in synodo præmissa sunt instituti, annuo recursu omni observatione habeantur celeberrimi.

[79] Conc. Tolet. 17. can. 6. Quando priscorum patrum institutio, per totum annum, per singulorum mensium cursum, litaniarum vota decreverit persolvenda——decernimus, ut deinceps per totum annum, in cunctis duodecim mensibus, per universas Hispaniæ et Galliarum provincias pro statu ecclesiæ Dei, pro incolumitate principis nostri, atque salvatione populi, et indulgentia totius peccati, et a cunctorum fidelium cordibus expulsione diaboli, exomologeses votis gliscentibus celebrentur.

by degrees these solemn supplications came to be used weekly, on Wednesdays and Fridays, the ancient stationary days, in all churches.

Sect. 11. Of the distinction between greater and lesser litanies.

In the mean time, Gregory the Great instituted some such rogations at Rome, and one particularly on the twenty-fifth day of April, which goes by the name of *litania septiformis*, because he ordered the church to go in procession in seven distinct classes; first the clergy, then the laymen, next the monks, after them the virgins, then the married women, next the widows, and last of all the poor and the children. This is mentioned both by Gregory[80] himself and Walafridus Strabo,[81] who give it the name of *litania major:* whence some have been led into a mistake, to think the Roman litanies were distinguished by the name of the greater litanies from those of Mamercus, which they call the less. So Hamon L'Estrange,[82] and others, in their accounts of these things. But the French writers do not allow of this distinction. Cellotius[83] says, The rogation or *litania* of Mamercus, was always dignified with the title of *litania major* by their old writers, as well as that of Gregory, and that Gregory's litany was of little use among them. It is certain, the council of Mentz,[84] and the Capitulars of Charles the Great,[85] which repeat the words of that council, applied the name of *litania major* to their own rogations before Ascension. And Cellotius says, Gaulterus Aurelianensis and Strabo both give it the same title. But still he does not tell us what they mean by the *litania minor*, the lesser litany, in contradistinction to the greater. If the reader will take my conjecture, it is no more but the known form, *Kyrie, eleison,* as the Latins read it, from the Greek, Κύριε ἐλέησον, Lord, have mercy upon us, or, Lord, have mercy upon them, if they were praying for others. As this was the constant response made by the people to each petition of their larger supplications for the catechumens and others (as we shall see hereafter); so it was used sometimes by itself, in all their offices, as a shorter form of supplication: and then it had the nature of a litany by itself, and was not a part of a larger prayer. This is evident from the order made in the council of Vaison,[86] for introducing the use of it into the French churches: Whereas, say they, it is a very useful and agreeable custom in the Roman church, and all the provinces of Italy and the East, to use the frequent repetition of the *Kyrie, eleison,* Lord, have mercy upon us, with great affection and contrition; we therefore decree, That the same holy custom be introduced into all our churches, both at morning and evening prayer, and in the communion service. The Greeks usually said, Lord, have mercy upon us, without adding the other part, Christ, have mercy upon us: but the Latins used both clauses, and repeated them alternately, as we now do, first the minister, and then the people; whereas by the Greeks the supplication was made by the common voice of all together. This difference is noted by Gregory the Great;[87] but it does not detract from our observation, but rather confirms it, that this was a short form of supplication used one way or other in all churches, and that as a part of all their daily offices; whence it borrowed the name of the lesser litany, in opposition to the greater litanies, which were distinct, complete, and solemn services, adapted to particular times, or extraordinary occasions. I must note further, that the greater litanies are sometimes termed *exomologeses,* confessions;[88] because fasting, and weeping, and mourning, and confession of sins, was usually joined with supplication to avert God's wrath, and reconcile him to a sinful people.

Sect. 12. Of their processions.

Sometimes to these solemn supplications they added processions, which at first had nothing of harm or superstition in them . for they were only of the same nature with their processions at a funeral, when they carried a corpse with the solemnity of psalmody to its interment. They sometimes made their processions, and sometimes their litanies, as occasion required, in the open field: but here was no pomp of relics, nor exposing of the eucharist to adoration, in such solemnities; they only carried the cross, as they did also in some of their night processions for psalmody, as the badge of their profession, before them. Of this indeed there are some instances as early as Chrysostom; for it is noted in his Life by Palladius,[89] that his enemies trampled under foot the sign of the cross, which the people carried on their shoulders as they made their litanies in the field. And in those vigils which he set up at Constantinople in opposition to the Arians, the historians[90] say, they had silver crosses given them by the empress for this purpose. And the laws of Justinian[91] expressly provided, That

[80] Greg. lib. 11. Ep. 2. [81] Strabo de Offic. Eccles. cap. 28.

[82] L'Estrange, Alliance, cap. 4. p. 100.

[83] Cellot. Not. in Capitula Gualteri Aurelianensis. Conc. t. 8. p. 649.

[84] Conc. Moguntin. an. 813. can. 33.

[85] Carol. Capitular. lib. 5. c. 85.

[86] Conc. Vasens. 2. can. 3. Quia tam in sede apostolica, quam etiam per totas Orientis atque Italiæ provincias, dulcis et nimium salubris consuetudo intromissa est, ut Kyrie, eleison, frequentius cum grandi affectu ac compunctione dicatur: placuit etiam nobis, ut in omnibus ecclesiis nostris ista consuetudo sancta, et ad matutinum, et ad missas, et ad vesperam, Deo propiciante, intromittatur.

[87] Greg. lib. 7. Ep. 64. ad Joan. Syracusan.

[88] Vid. Conc. Moguntin. can. 32.

[89] Palladius, Vit. Chrysost. cap. 15. p. 27. in Appendice, t. 2. Crucis signum venerabile, quod illi ferentes in humeris, litanias in campo agebant, pedibus suis concultantes.

[90] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 8.

[91] Justin. Novel. 123. cap. 32. Omnibus laicis interdicimus litanias facere sine sanctis episcopis, et qui sub eis sunt reverendissimis clericis,——sed et ipsas honorandas cruces

as these litanies should not be celebrated without the bishop or the clergy; so the crosses to be used in these solemnities should not be reposited in any places but the churches, nor be carried by any but such as were appointed. And because in these solemn processions some were inclined to appear in pomp unsuitable to the occasion, with gay clothing, and on horseback; therefore both these things were particularly forbidden. Sidonius[92] notes it as a great absurdity for men to appear, *castorinati ad litanias*, dressed up in their rich beaver cloths at a litany, because sackcloth and ashes were more becoming such solemnities, which were intended for fasting, and mourning, and supplication, and humiliation, and confession of sins, after the example of the Ninevites, in their solemn addresses to God. And for this reason the canons[93] forbade any one to appear on horseback or in rich apparel at the rogation solemnities, but rather discalceate in sackcloth and ashes, unless he had the excuse of infirmity to hinder him. For these rogations were intended to implore God's mercy in the most humble manner; and, with the most ardent affections of soul, to beseech him to avert all sicknesses, and plagues, and tribulations; to repel the evils of pestilence, war, hail, and drought; to compose the temper of the air, so that it may be for the health of men's bodies, and fertility of the earth; that he would keep all the elements in due order and harmony, and grant men peaceable times; as Eucherius[94] relates the chief heads of them in his sermon upon this subject. Whereas, yet, we may observe, no prayers or intercessions were made to saints or angels, as in the modern litanies of the Romish church, but to God only, as shall be showed at large in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THAT THE DEVOTIONS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH WERE PAID TO EVERY PERSON OF THE BLESSED TRINITY.

Sect. 1. Proofs of the worship of Christ, as the Son of God, or the second person of the blessed Trinity, in the first century.

HAVING thus distinguished the ambiguity of the names of the ancient worship, and settled the true meaning of them, our next inquiry must be into the object of the Christian worship, to see what persons they were to whom they paid their devotion. That which makes this inquiry necessary, which otherwise might have been omitted, is the prevalency of two contrary errors, too much reigning in these later ages; one of which asserts, that the Father alone was the sole object of true Divine worship, and not the Son or Holy Ghost; and the other, that saints and angels had also a share in it. To show the falseness of both which pretences, I shall a little detain the reader with the proofs and evidences of the contrary assertions. And first to show, that Christ, as the Son of God, and the second person of the ever blessed Trinity, was the object of Divine worship in all ages, we will begin with the original of Christian worship, and carry the inquiry through the three first centuries. For the first age, the Scripture is sufficient evidence of the Christians' practice. For not to insist on the precept of honouring the Son, as they honoured the Father; or the form of baptism, in which they are commanded to join the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in one act of worship; or the injunction to believe in the Son, as they believed in the Father; with many other acts of internal worship peculiar to God alone; I only argue from their example and practice. St. Stephen, the protomartyr, when he was sealing his confession with his blood, breathed out his last in a prayer to Christ, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit:" and, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," Acts vii. 59, 60. St. Paul professes he never baptized any but only in the name of Christ, 1 Cor. i. 13. And his common forms of blessing were with invocation of the name of Christ: "Grace be to you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ;" and, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all:" as the solemn forms run almost in all his epistles, both in the beginning and the conclusion of them. Nay, so common was this practice, that among other titles of the believers, at their first rise and appearance in the world, they were distinguished by the character of those that called on the name of Christ, Acts ix. 14, 21; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 22. Some critics, I know, would have the phrase, ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα Χριστοῦ, to be taken passively only for those who were named by the name of Christ, that is, Christians; but this criticism is of no weight; for they were called invokers, or worshippers of Christ, before the name Christian was known in the world: for this name was not used till some time after St. Paul's conversion, when, as St. Luke says expressly, Acts xi. 26, "the disciples were first called Christians in Antioch." But they were worshippers of him before, and therefore were distinguished by the cha-

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(cum quibus et in litaniis ingrediuntur) non alibi nisi in venerabilibus locis reponi, &c.

[92] Sidon. lib. 5. Ep. 7. ad Thaumastum. p. 327. Libenter incedunt armati ad epulas, albati ad exequias, pelliti ad ecclesias, pullati ad nuptias, castorinati ad litanias.

[93] Conc. Mogunt. can. 33. Sicut sancti patres nostri instituerunt, non equitando, nec preciosis vestibus induti, sed discalceati, cinere et cilicio induti, nisi infirmitas impedierit. Vide Burchard. lib. 13. cap. 7.

[94] Eucher. Hom. de Litaniis.

racter of the men that called upon his name. Many other such like evidences are obvious to any one that reads the New Testament: I only add that of Revelation v. 8—13, where the church in heaven and earth together is represented as offering both prayers and hymns to Christ: "When he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne and the beasts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever."

Sect. 2. Proofs of the same in the second century.

We have here seen the model of the worship of Christ, as begun and settled in the practice of the church in the first age. And we shall find it continued in the same manner in those that followed immediately after. For Pliny, who lived in the beginning of the second century, and, as a judge under Trajan, took the confessions of some revolting Christians, says, They declared to him, they were[1] used to meet on a certain day before it was light, and among other parts of their worship, sing a hymn to Christ, as to their God. Which is a plain indication of their worship of Christ on the Lord's day. Not long after this lived Polycarp, who[2] joins God the Father and the Son together in his prayers for grace and benediction upon men: The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ himself, the eternal High Priest, the Son of God, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness, to live without anger, in patience, in long-suffering, and forbearance, and give you a lot and part among the saints, and to us with you, and to all them that are under heaven, who shall believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, and in his Father, who raised him from the dead. And so he begins his epistle, Mercy and peace from God Almighty, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you. And when he came to his martyrdom, he made a prayer to God at the stake, before he was burnt, concluding it with this doxology to the whole Trinity:[3] I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee for all things, together with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son; with whom unto thee, and the Holy Spirit, be glory both now and for ever, world without end. Amen. When Polycarp was dead, the church of Smyrna wrote a circular epistle to other churches, to give an account of his sufferings, wherein they relate this remarkable occurrence, that as soon as he was dead, the Jews suggested to the heathen judge, that he should not suffer the Christians to take Polycarp's body and bury it, lest they should[4] leave their crucified Master, and begin to worship this other. Not considering, says the epistle, that we can never either forsake the worship of Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all those who are saved in the whole world, the just for the unjust; or worship any other. For we worship him as being the Son of God; but the martyrs we only love, as they deserve, for their great affection to their King and Master, and as being disciples and followers of their Lord, whose partners and fellow disciples we desire to be. This is an unanswerable testimony, to prove both the Divine worship of Christ, as the true Son of God, and that no martyr or other saint was worshipped in those days. Not long after this lived Justin Martyr, who, in his second Apology, to wipe off the charge of atheism, brought against them by the heathens, who objected to them, That they had cast off the worship of God; answers, That they worshipped and adored still the God of righteousness, and his Son, (that

[1] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. Affirmabant, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire; carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem.

[2] Polycarp. Ep. ad Philip. n. 12. Deus autem et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi; et ipse sempiternus Pontifex, Dei Filius, Christus Jesus, ædificet vos in fide et veritate, et in omni mansuetudine, &c.; et det vobis sortem et partem inter sanctos suos, et nobis vobiscum, et omnibus qui sunt sub cœlo, qui credituri sunt in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum et in ipsius Patrem.

[3] Martyrium Polycarpi, ap. Coteler. Patr. Apostol. t. 2. p. 199. Περὶ πάντων αἰνῶ σε, εὐλογῶ σε, δοξάζω σε, σὺν τῷ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἀγαπητῷ σοῦ παιδὶ, μεθ' οὗ σοι καὶ Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν. Eusebius, lib. 4. c. 15. ex Epist. Ecclesiæ Smyrnensis, reads this with a little variation of the particles: Διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδὸς· δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ ἡ δόξα, &c. But this makes no alteration in the sense; for still it concludes with a doxology to the three Divine persons: By whom and with whom unto thee and the Holy Spirit be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

[4] Smyrn. Eccles. Epist. ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 15. et ap. Coteler. p. 200. Μὴ, φησὶν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξωνται σέβεσθαι——ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτὲ καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα σέβεσθαι· τοῦτον γὰρ, Υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ, προσκυνοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, &c.

came from him, and taught both them and the host of good angels, who followed him, and were made like unto him,) as also the Holy Spirit of prophecy:[5] to these they paid a rational and true honour, as they always frankly owned to all such as were disposed to learn. Bellarmine[6] very fraudulently urges this place, to prove the worship of angels: as if Justin had said, that they worshipped the Father, the Son, the angels, and the Holy Spirit; whereas he says nothing of the worship of angels, but that the angels were taught by the Son, and that the Son, together with the Father and Holy Spirit, were the object of Christian worship. Which he repeats again in his foresaid Apology,[7] saying, in answer to the same objection, that they could demonstrate, that as they worshipped God the Creator of all things, so with equal reason they worshipped Jesus Christ in the second place, and the Holy Spirit of prophecy in the third, knowing Jesus Christ to be the Son of the true God. For whereas the heathens objected further, that it was madness in them, next to the immutable and true God, Maker of all things, to give the second place to a crucified man, he tells them, They understood not the mystery of this practice. Which shows, that as they worshipped Christ, so they worshipped him as the true Son of God, and not as a creature: for he tells the emperors a little after,[8] they held it unlawful to worship any but God alone. Therefore in their practice they also showed their belief of his true Divinity; since they worshipped him only upon this foundation and supposition, that he was truly God, and not a mere man; and to have done it upon any other supposition, had been gross idolatry by their own confession. Which I wish were duly considered by those who now write against the Divinity of Christ, and absurdly pretend that all the fathers of the three first ages were of their opinion. For this is only to make them guilty of the grossest idolatry, and involve them in a monstrous contradiction; whilst they pretended to worship none but God alone, and yet gave Divine honour to one, whom (if our modern representers say true) they did not believe to be truly God by nature, but only a creature.

But to go on with the inquiry, as to what concerns the object of their worship in practice. Athenagoras answers the charge of atheism, after the same manner as Justin Martyr had done before him: We are no atheists,[9] who worship the Creator of all things, and his Word that proceedeth from him. Minucius Felix, to another objection, That they worshipped a crucified man, answers, That they were mistaken in the charge; for he whom they worshipped[10] was God, and not a mere mortal man: miserable is he whose hope is only in man; for his help is at an end, when the life of man is extinct. About this time lived Lucian the heathen, who, in one of his Dialogues, takes notice of the Christian worship. For, bringing in a Christian instructing a catechumen,[11] he makes the catechumen ask this question, By whom shall I swear? And he that personates the Christian, answers, By the God that reigns on high, the great, immortal, heavenly God, and the Son of the Father, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father, one in three, and three in one. Take these for your Jupiter, imagine this to be your God. Which evidently shows, that Lucian had learned this from the Christian institutions, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, were the object of their Divine worship. And he elsewhere objects to them the worship of their crucified impostor,[12] as he blasphemously terms our blessed Lord. Not long after Irenæus, speaking of the miracles which the church wrought in his time, particularly in casting out devils, says, She did this[13] not by invocation of angels, nor by enchantments, nor by any other wicked piece of curiosity, but by directing her prayers, clean, and pure, and openly, to the God over all; and by invocating the name of Jesus Christ she works miracles for the benefit of men, and not for their seduction. And that this was so, appears further from some of the forms of prayer used then in the church for the energumens in the public service, one of which is recorded by the author of the Con-

[5] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 56. *'Αλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν ἐλθόντα, καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἑπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, Πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν*, &c.

[6] Bellarm. de Beatitud. Sanctor. lib. 1. cap. 13. t. 1. p. 1957.

[7] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 60. *Τὸν δημιουργὸν—καὶ 'Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν, Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ μαθόντες, καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, Πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει, ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν, ἀποδείξομεν.* It. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 302, he styles him *Θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ προσκυνητὸν*, the mighty God that was to be adored.

[8] Ibid. p. 64. *Θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν*, &c.

[9] Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis, Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 1. p. 76. *Οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἄθεοι, ἄγοντες τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Λόγον.*

[10] Minuc. Dial. p. 88. Quod religioni nostræ hominem noxium et crucem ejus adscribitis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis, qui putatis Deum credi aut meruisse noxium, aut potuisse terrenum. Næ ille miserabilis, cujus in homine mortali spes omnis innititur: totum enim ejus auxilium cum extincto homine finitur.

[11] Lucian. Philopatris, prope finem.

'Υψιμέδοντα Θεὸν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα,
Υἱὸν Πατρὸς, Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,
Ἓν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία,
Ταῦτα νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τὸν δ' ἡγοῦ Θεὸν.

[12] Lucian. de Morte Peregr. p. 277. *Τὸν ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν προσκυνεῖν.*

[13] Iren. lib. 2. cap. 57. Nec invocationibus angelicis facit, nec incantationibus, nec aliqua prava curiositate, sed munde et pure et manifeste orationes dirigens ad Dominum, qui omnia fecit, et nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi invocans, virtutes secundum utilitates hominum, sed non ad seductionem perficit.

stitutions,[14] directed personally to Christ, under the title of the only begotten God, who binds the strong one, that is, the devil: which prayer I need not repeat here, because the reader may find it at length hereafter[15] in the service of the catechumens.

About the same time with Irenæus lived Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, who, though he does not expressly mention the worship of Christ, yet he acknowledges him to be God of God,[16] and says the world was made by him: For when the Father said, "Let us make man in our own image," he spake this to no other,[17] but to his own Word and his own Wisdom, that is, the Son and Holy Spirit. Whom he expressly styles by the name of Trinity[18] in the Godhead; and says elsewhere, that God is to be worshipped, and nothing[19] else besides him, who is the true God, the ordainer of kings; who may be honoured, but not worshipped, because they are only men, and not God. From all which it is easy to infer, that Theophilus thought Christ the object of Divine worship, as the living and true God; and that it would be idolatry to give Divine worship to Christ, upon any other supposition, than that he is true God as well as man.

In the same age, Clemens Alexandrinus is an illustrious witness of this practice. For in his exhortation[20] to the Gentiles, he styles him the living God, that was then worshipped and adored: Believe, says he, O man, in him who is both man and God: believe, O man, in him who suffered death, and yet is adored as the living God. In the end of his Pædagogue, he himself addresses his prayers to the Son jointly with the Father, in these words: Be merciful to thy children, O Master, O Father, thou Ruler of Israel, O Son, and Father, who are both One, our Lord.[21] And in the conclusion of the book, he has this doxology to the whole Trinity: Let us give thanks[22] to the only Father and Son, to the Son and the Father, to the Son, our Teacher and Master, with the Holy Spirit; one in all respects; in whom are all things; by whom all things are one; by whom is eternal existence; whose members we are; whose is the glory and the ages; who is the perfect good, the perfect beauty, all-wise, and all-just: to whom be glory, both now and for ever. Amen.

Contemporary with Clemens was Athenogenes the martyr, who suffered about the year 196. St. Basil[23] says, He composed a sacred hymn, setting forth the glory of the Holy Ghost. From whence we may collect, that it did the same for Christ as the Son of God. The learned Doctor Cave,[24] by a little mistake of what St. Basil says, supposes Athenogenes to have been the author of those two ancient hymns, called the Morning and Evening Hymns, which the reader will find related at length[25] hereafter, under the titles of the Great Doxology, "Glory be to God on high," &c., and the Hymnus Lucernalis. But it is plain from St. Basil, that the hymn of Athenogenes was distinct from these. For he makes no mention of the Morning Hymn, and says expressly of the Evening Hymn, that he knew not who was the author of it. However, it was a hymn of ancient use in the church, addressed immediately to Christ, and containing this doxology to the whole Trinity, Ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, We laud the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit of God. Which St. Basil urges, as we do here, as a distinct testimony from that of Athenogenes, and as a further instance of the church's ancient practice in giving Divine honour and worship, not only to the Father, but to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

About the same time, suffered Andronicus the martyr: in the Acts of whose passion it is objected to him by the heathen judge,[26] that Christ whom he invocated and worshipped, was a man that had suffered under the government of Pontius Pilate, and that the Acts of his passion were then extant. Their worship of Christ was so well known to the heathens, that at every turn, we see, it was objected to them. And their answer was always the same, that they worshipped him indeed, but not as a mere man, but God, the Son of God by nature, and of the same substance with the Father. Which is the answer that Tertullian (who is the last writer of the second age) makes to this objection. For whereas it was objected,[27] that they were worshippers of a man, whom all the world knew to be a man, and the Jews had condemned as a man: to this he answers,[28] not by denying that they worshipped him, but by explaining the reasons and foundation of

[14] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 7. [15] Book XIV. chap. 5. sect. 7.

[16] Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. 2. p. 130. Θεὸς ὢν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ πεφυκὼς.

[17] Ibid. lib. 2. p. 114. Οὐκ ἄλλῳ δὲ τινι εἴρηκε, Ποιήσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ Λόγῳ, καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ Σοφίᾳ.

[18] Ibid. lib. 2. p. 106. Τύποι Τριάδος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Σοφίας αὐτοῦ.

[19] Ibid. lib. 1. p. 30. Θεῷ δὲ τῷ ὄντως Θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνῶ, &c.

[20] Clem. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 84. Edit. Oxon. Πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε, ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ Θεῷ· πίςευσον, ἄνθρωπε, τῷ παθόντι, καὶ προσκυνουμένῳ Θεῷ ζῶντι.

[21] Id. Pædagog. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 311. Ἵλαθι τοῖς σοῖς, παιδαγωγὲ, Πατὲρ, ἡνίοχε Ἰσραὴλ, Υἱὲ καὶ Πατὲρ, ἓν ἄμφω, Κύριε.

[22] Ibid. p. eadem. Τῷ μόνῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, Υἱῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, παιδαγωγῷ καὶ διδασκάλῳ Υἱῷ, σὺν καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· πάντα τῷ ἑνί· ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα, &c. ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν. Vid. Strom. lib. 7. cap. 7. p. 851. Σέβειν ἐγκελευόμεθα τὸν Λόγον, &c.

[23] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 29. t. 2. p. 359.

[24] Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. 1. p. 60.

[25] See chap. 10. sect. 9. chap. 11. sect. 5.

[26] Acta Andronici, ap. Baron. an. 290. n. 26. Non scis, quem invocas Christum, hominem quendam factum, sub custodia Pontii Pilati punitum; cujus extant Acta passionis?

[27] Tertul. Apol. cap. 21. Sed et vulgus jam scit Christum, ut aliquem hominum, qualem Judæi judicaverunt, quo facilius quis nos hominis cultores existimaverit.

[28] Ibid. Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, et prolatione

their worship, because they knew him to be the true natural Son of God, by a spiritual generation, and therefore called God and the Son of God, because he was of one and the same essence or substance. For God was a Spirit; and the Son was Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as Light is of Light. In that manner he was begotten of God, so as to be God and the Son of God, as they were both one. In another place, dissuading Christian women from marrying with unbelievers, among other arguments, he uses this,[29] That in such a family there could be no mention of God, no invocation of Christ, no cherishing of faith by their joint reading of the Scripture. At the same time, he tells us,[30] a Christian could pray to no other but the eternal, the living, and true God: he could not ask such things, as they were wont to ask in prayer, of any other but him, from whom he knew he could obtain them, and who alone was able to give them. Now, this had been absurd and ridiculous arguing to the heathens, had not Christians believed Christ to be the eternal, living, and true God. Their arguments might easily have been retorted, and charged with contradiction; and they would have stood self-condemned by their own practice, if, whilst they were arguing against the heathen idols upon this foot, that nothing was to be worshipped but the eternal, living, and true God, they themselves had worshipped one who fell short of that character. Therefore we must conclude, that as it is plain from the foregoing testimonies, that Christians did give Divine worship to Christ in this age, so they did it only upon this supposition, that he was the eternal, living, and true God, as the eternal Son of the eternal Father; and that however they differed, as far as it was necessary for a Father and Son to be distinct, yet they were but one Creator, and one God.

Sect. 3. Proofs of the worship of Christ in the third century.

We are now come to the third century, where we have first an illustrious testimony for the worship of Christ as God, in the Fragments of Caius, a Roman presbyter, preserved by Eusebius, out of his book called The Labyrinth, written against Artemon, one of the first that appeared against the Divinity of our Saviour. Here, among many other things, showing the novelty of that heresy, he observes,[31] There were anciently many psalms and hymns composed by the brethren, and transcribed by the faithful, setting forth the praises of Christ as the Word of God, and ascribing Divinity to him. And that such sort of hymns were used in the service of the church, we learn from another passage in the same Eusebius, taken out of the council of Antioch against Paulus Samosatensis, the heretical bishop of Antioch, about the middle of this century. For there he is charged as giving orders[32] to forbid the use of such psalms or hymns as were used to be sung in the church to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, under pretence that they were only the novel compositions of late and modern authors: whilst, in the mean time, he suborned women on the great day of the Lord's passion, (or the resurrection, for *pascha* will signify both,) to sing hymns composed to his own honour; where, among other things, he that would not allow Christ any other but an earthly original, was not ashamed to hear himself blasphemously extolled as an angel come down from heaven; which, as those holy fathers observe, was enough to make a hearer tremble. And for this insolent attempt against the Divinity and worship of Christ, that heretical bishop was anathematized and deposed.

A little before this time, Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, composed psalms and hymns for the use of the church, which are commended by Dionysius,[33] bishop of Alexandria, as a useful work for the edification of the brethren. And, probably, they might be some of those hymns which Paulus Samosatensis discarded as novel inventions of modern authors, though hymns of the like nature had been in use from the first foundation of the church. Dionysius of Alexandria was one of those who opposed the practice of Paulus Samosatensis by his letters, though he was not present in the council; and he is commended by St. Basil,[34] as one that always used this form of doxology: To God the Father, and the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, be glory and dominion now and for ever, world without end. Amen. But we have more pregnant testimonies from the works of Origen in the beginning of this century. In his fifth Book against Celsus, he tells us, That they could not lawfully worship angels, but they might and did worship the Son of God. All prayers, says he, and supplications,[35] and interces-

generatum, et idcirco Filium Dei, et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ: nam et Deus Spiritus.——Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, et de Deo Deus, ut lumen de lumine accensum,——ita quod de Deo profectum est, Deus est, et Dei Filius, et unus ambo.

[29] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 2. cap. 6. Quæ Dei mentio? quæ Christi invocatio? ubi fomenta fidei de Scripturarum interlectione?

[30] Id. Apol. cap. 30. Nos pro salute imperatoris Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum, &c. Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo me scio consecuturum, quoniam et ipse est qui solus præstat.

[31] Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 28. Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν, ἀπαρχῆς ὑπὸ πιϛῶν γραφεῖσαι, τὸν Λόγον τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃ τὸν Χριϛὸν ὑμνȣ̃σι θεολογȣ̃ντες.

[32] Conc. Antioch. Epist. Synod. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. Ψαλμȣ̀ς δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησȣ̃ν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς δὴ νεωτέρȣς καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα, &c.

[33] Dionys. de Promission. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 24. Ἀγαπῶ Νέπωτα—τῆς τε ψαλμῳδίας, ᾗ μεχρὶ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐθυμȣ̃νται.

[34] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 29.

[35] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 5. p. 233. Πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν, καὶ προσευχὴν, καὶ ἔντευξιν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν,

sions, and thanksgivings, are to be sent up to God the Lord of all, by the High Priest who is above all angels, being the living Word and God. And we can also pray to the Word himself, and make intercessions to him, and give thanks, and make supplications to him, if we rightly understand how prayer is to be taken in propriety of speech, or with some restriction. He means, that prayers offered to the Son of God, considered as a Son, redound to the Father, as the fountain of the Deity: as Bishop Bull[36] judiciously explains, and vindicates this passage from the unjust exceptions which Huetius makes against it. As he does also another passage in the eighth Book, where Origen more largely asserts the worship of Christ against the common objection renewed by Celsus, That the Christians worshipped one that had but lately appeared in the world. Celsus had thus formed the objection with all the art and force he was able: If the Christians, says he, worshipped no other but one God,[37] their arguments might be of some weight and force against others; but now they give immense honour and worship to this new upstart, who so lately made his appearance in the world, and yet think they commit no offence against God, though they give Divine worship to his servant. To this Origen replies, not by dissembling, or denying, or diminishing the worship of Christ, but by asserting it upon such grounds and principles, as show that Father and Son can be but one God; and that to worship two persons under such relation and economy of real Father and Son, cannot be to worship two Gods. If Celsus, says he, had understood the meaning of this, "I and the Father are one;" or what the Son of God says in his prayer, "As I and thou are one," he would never have imagined that we worship any but the God who is over all. For he saith, "The Father is in me, and I in the Father." But that no one may think that, in saying this, we run over to those who deny the Father and Son to be two hypostases or persons, (meaning the Sabellians,) let him consider that which is said, "All they that believed were of one heart and one soul," that he may understand this, "I and the Father are one." We therefore worship one God, as I have showed, the Father and the Son; and our reasoning stands still in full force against others; neither do we give Divine honour to an upstart being, as if he had no existence before. For we believe him, when he says, "Before Abraham was, I am;" and again, "I am the Truth." Neither is any of us of so mean and servile understanding, as to imagine, that the substance of Truth had not a being before the appearance of Christ in the flesh. Therefore we worship the Father of Truth, and the Son, who is the Truth, two things in personal subsistence, but one in agreement, and consent, and identity of will, *ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἓν δὲ τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ, καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος*: so that whoever sees the Son, who is the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of his person, sees God in him, as being the true image of God. Now Celsus imagines, that because together with God we worship his Son, it follows upon our own principles, that we may not only worship God, but his ministers and servants. And, indeed, if he meant the true servants of God, after his only begotten Son, such as Michael and Gabriel, and the rest of the angels and archangels, and stood up for the worship of these; perhaps, taking worship, and the acts of the worshippers, in a sound and qualified sense, (he means the common respect of love and honour, which is due to good angels,) we might say something proper upon this head; but now, when he understands by the servants of God, only the devils whom the Gentiles worship, he does not oblige us by any just consequence to worship such as these, whom the Scripture assures us to be only servants of the wicked one, the prince of this world, and the author of apostacy from God. We refuse to worship all such, as knowing them to be no servants of God; for had they been servants, we should not have called them devils; but we worship one God, and his only Son, and Word, and Image, with supplications and prayers to the utmost of our power, offering our prayers to God over all by his only begotten Son; to whom we first present them, beseeching him who is the propitiation for our sins, as our High Priest, to offer our prayers, and sacrifices, and intercessions to God, the Lord of all things. Therefore our faith relies only upon God, by his Son who confirms it in us. And therefore Celsus has no reason or colour for his charge of sedition, or departing from God upon the account of his Son; for we worship the Father, whilst we admire and adore the Son, who is his Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, and Righteousness, and whatever else we are taught to believe of the Son of God, begotten of such a Father.

I have recited this passage at length, not only because it is such a full proof of the matter of fact, that the Christians did give Divine honour and worship to the Son; but also because it shows us upon what principle and foundation they did it; viz. as

ἀναπεμπτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἐμψύχου Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ· δεησόμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ ἐντευξόμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ προσευξόμεθα δὲ, ἐὰν δυνώμεθα κατακούειν τῆς περὶ προσευχῆς κυριολεξίας καὶ καταχρήσεως· ἀγγέλους γὰρ καλέσαι—οὐκ εὔλογον.

[36] Bull. Defens. Fid. Nicen. sect. 2. cap. 9. n. 15. p. 199.

[37] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 8. p. 385. Celsi verba: *Εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδένα ἄλλον ἐθεράπευον οὗτοι, πλὴν ἕνα Θεὸν, ἦν ἄν τις αὐτοῖς ἴσως πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτενὴς λόγος· νυνὶ δὲ τὸν ἔναγχος φανέντα τοῦτον ὑποθρησκεύουσι*, &c. Vid. Orig Περὶ εὐχῆς, n. 49 et 50; and Bp. Fell's note upon it.

being the true Son of God, and one God with the Father. For though Huetius has excepted against some words in this passage, as derogatory to the Son; and the modern Arians have abused it to patronize their heresy; and the Romanists would fain draw it into a proof for the worship of angels; yet I dare be bold to say, there is not a tittle in it, when rightly understood, to countenance any of their suggestions: but as it is a solid proof of the matter of fact, so it is an illustrious evidence of Origen's belief, and clear explication of the unity of the Godhead. For excepting that sort of unity, which Origen and all catholic writers reject as inconsistent with a real Trinity, that is, the unity of hypostases, or persons, which none but Sabellians and their followers maintain; he asserts all other kinds of unity, in opposition to Arians, who denied the unity of essence or nature, and made the Son to be of a different substance from the Father, as a created Being; in opposition to the Marcionites, and such other heretics, as maintained contrary principles, one good, and another evil, in the Godhead; in opposition to the Tritheites, who brought in the proper doctrine of three Gods, by denying the subordination and relation of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and asserting three co-ordinate and independent principles, and baptizing in the name of three such *ἄναρχοι, ἀναίτιοι*, and *ἀγέννητοι*, (as the Apostolical Canons[38] call them,) three unoriginated and unbegotten principles, wholly independent of one another; in opposition to Hieracas and the Triformians, who absurdly divided the Trinity into three parts of one whole; and finally, in opposition to all that swarm of heretics, who distinguished, with the Cerdonians, between the God of justice and the God of goodness, styling the one the God of the law and the prophets; and the other, the Father of Christ and God of the gospel. Origen, I say, in opposition to all these, asserts every sort of unity, except the Jewish and Sabellian notion of unity, which confines the Divine nature to one person. For, in saying first that the Son is the express and true image of God the Father, he asserts the identity of nature, against Arius; and so could not believe him to be a creature of a different substance or nature, but as a true Son, of the same essence with his Father, and equal to him in all infinite and Divine perfections. 2. In saying that he was a Son, deriving his original from the Father, and not another independent being, he maintains the unity of principle, and reserves to the Father the privilege of being the fountain of the Deity; and, consequently, opposes the heresy of the Tritheites, who maintain three co-ordinate and independent principles, and destroy the monarchy, and make three Creators instead of one, by destroying the due subordination and relation of the Son to the Father. 3. In saying that the Father and Son are one in agreement, and consent, and identity of will, he asserts the unity of operation, creation, and government: which destroys the heresy of those who maintained contrary principles in the Godhead. 4. In saying that the Son was equal to the Father in all infinite perfections, he rejects the absurdity of those who dreamed of three parts in the Divine nature. 5. In asserting Christ to be the Son of the Creator and God of the Old Testament, he maintains the unity of Providence, and refutes the heresy of those who maintained that the Creator and God of the Old Testament was a different God from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. So that he maintains all sorts of unity, except personal unity, which cannot consist with a real Trinity in the Godhead. And upon this foot he answers the objection of Celsus, who charged the Christians with polytheism, for giving Divine honour to Jesus Christ.

Having made this short and useful digression upon this celebrated passage of Origen, to vindicate it from the abuses of the modern Arians, I now return to the history of fact, to show that Divine worship was given to Christ as the Son of God. And of this there is further evidence in Origen: for this is not the only place in which he is put to vindicate the worship of Christ from the charge of polytheism, which is frequently repeated by Celsus. In the third Book[39] Celsus objects, That they worshipped one who was apprehended and put to death; in which respect they were no better than the Getæ, who worshipped Zamolxis; and the Cilicians, Mopsus; and the Acarnanes, Amphilochus; and the Thebans, Amphiaraus; and the Lebadians, Trophonius. In replying to which, Origen says, They offered their prayers to Christ, as Mediator between God and men, who conferred the blessings of the Father upon men, and presented their prayers, as High Priest, to the God over all. Not long after, Celsus[40] repeats the charge again, That they who ridiculed the heathens for worshipping Jupiter, whose sepulchre the Cretians could show, did themselves worship one that was laid in the grave. In the seventh Book, he renews the impeachment three times, bidding the Christians[41] not be so ridiculous as to revile the heathen gods as idols, whilst they worshipped a God of their own more wretched than any idol, and not so much as an idol, for that he was truly dead. If they had a mind to innovate in worshipping a dead man,[42] they might with more reason, he thinks, have chosen Hercules, or Æsculapius, or Orpheus, or Anaxarchus, or Epictetus, or Sibylla, rather than have made a god of one who

[38] Canon. Apost. c. 49.
[39] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 3. p. 131.
[40] Ibid. lib. 3. p. 136.
[41] Celsus, lib. 7. p. 358.
[42] Ibid. p. 367, 368.

lived an infamous life, and died a miserable death. Yea, they might have chosen among their own prophets, Jonas under the gourd, or Daniel in the lions' den, as more worthy of this honour. He whom they worshipped, he cries again,[43] is no demon, but a dead man. Thus, from the charges of Celsus, and Origen's replies, we may collect what worship was given to Christ as the Son of God, and also as Mediator between God and men.

It is further observable, that Origen, in his first Book,[44] speaking of the wise men who came to worship Christ, by the leading of a star, says, They offered gifts to him suited to his different qualities, who was compounded, as one might say, of God and mortal man: they therefore presented him with gold, as a king; with myrrh, as a mortal man that should die; and with frankincense, as a God. And Origen himself, in his other works, frequently speaks of his own prayers offered to Christ. In one of his homilies[45] he addresses him in these words: O Lord Jesus, grant that I may be found worthy to have some monument of me in thy tabernacle. I could wish to offer gold, or silver, or precious stones, with the princes of the people: but because these things are above me, let me at least be thought worthy to have goats' hair in the tabernacle of God, only that I may not in all things be found empty and unfruitful. In another homily:[46] We must pray to the Lord Jesus and the Holy Spirit, that he would take away that mist and darkness, which is contracted by the filth of our sins, and dims the sight of our souls. And again:[47] I must pray to the Lord Jesus, that when I seek he would grant me to find, and open to me when I knock. And in another homily:[48] Let us pray from our hearts to the Word of God, who is the only begotten of the Father, that reveals him to whom he will, that he would vouchsafe to reveal these things unto us. And he has many the like prayers in his other discourses.[49] But especially that passage in his Comment on the Epistle to the Romans is most remarkable, where he proves Christ to be God, from his being called upon in prayer: The apostle, he says, in those words, 1 Cor. i. 2, "With all that call on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ," declares him to be God,[50] whose name was called upon. And if to call upon the name of the Lord, and to adore God, be one and the self-same thing; then as Christ is called upon, so is he to be adored: and as we offer to God the Father first of all prayers, so must we also to the Lord Jesus Christ; and as we offer supplications to the Father, so do we also to the Son; and as we offer thanksgivings to God, so do we offer thanksgivings to our Saviour. For the Holy Scripture teaches us, that the same honour is to be given to both, that is, to God the Father and the Son, when it says, "That they may honour the Son, as they honour the Father."

Not long after Origen lived Novatian at Rome, and Cyprian at Carthage, who both speak of the prayers of the church, as offered up to Christ together with the Father. Novatian[51] makes it an argument of his Divinity, that he is present in all places to them that call upon him; which belongs not to the nature of man, but God. And he argues further from the church's praying to him as Mediator; which kind of prayers would be of no use, if he were a mere man: and from our obligations to fix our hope on him, which would be a curse rather than a blessing, if he were not God, as well as man. For cursed is the hope that is placed only in man. St. Cyprian in like manner speaks of his being worshipped in many places. In his book of the Advantage of Patience, he styles him,[52] the Lord God of hosts, the God of the Christians: and particularly tells us, That God the Father has commanded his Son to be worshipped; and in regard to that command, the apostle Paul says, "That God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth:" and in the Revelation, when St. John would have worshipped the angel, the angel opposed it, and said, "I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren: worship the Lord Jesus." So Cyprian reads it, *Jesum Dominum adora.* And he uses this as an argument to persuade men to patience, that the Lord Jesus, who is worshipped in heaven, bears with many indignities on earth, and does not avenge himself till his second coming in glory. Again, in one of his epis-

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[43] Celsus, lib. 7. p. 976. [44] Ibid. lib. 1. p. 46.

[45] Orig. Hom. 13. in Exod. xxv. t. 1. p. 102. Domine Jesu, præsta mihi, ut aliquid monumenti habere merear in tabernaculo tuo, &c.

[46] Hom. 1. in Levit. p. 106. Ipse nobis Dominus, ipse Sanctus Spiritus deprecandus est, ut omnem nebulam, omnemque caliginem, quæ peccatorum sordibus concreta, visum nostri cordis obscurat, auferre dignetur, &c.

[47] Hom. 5. in Levit. p. 126. Dominum meum Jesum invocare me oportet, ut quærentem me faciat invenire, et pulsanti aperiat, &c.

[48] Hom. 26. in Numer. p. 271. Nos autem oremus ex corde Verbum Dei, qui est unigenitus ejus, et qui revelat Patrem quibus vult, ut et nobis hæc revelare dignetur.

[49] Orig. Hom. 3. in Ezek. p. 627. Præsta mihi, Christe, ut disrumpam cervicalia in animarum consuta luxuriam. It. t. 32. in Joan. p. 404. Utinam nobis adsit columna illa lucidæ nubis Jesu, &c.

[50] Orig. Com. in Rom. x. lib. 8. p. 587.

[51] Novat. de Trin. cap. 14. Si homo tantummodo Christus; quomodo adest ubique invocatus, cum hæc hominis natura non sit, sed Dei, ut adesse omni loco possit? Si homo tantummodo Christus; cur homo in orationibus Mediator invocatur, cum invocatio hominis ad præstandam salutem inefficax judicetur? Si homo tantummodo Christus: cur spes in illum ponitur, cum spes in homine maledicta referatur?

[52] Cypr. De Bono Patientiæ, p. 220.

tles, he speaks of their offering prayers to him as Mediator[53] first, and then by him to God the Father; and that upon this double foundation, that he was their Advocate and Intercessor, and also their Lord and their God. In another place,[54] writing to Lucius, bishop of Rome, who had been a confessor for Christ, he tells him, They would not cease, in their sacrifices and prayers, to give thanks for him to God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ his Son, and also make supplications and prayers for him, that he who was the Author of all perfection, would keep and consummate in him the glorious crown of his confession. Not long after Cyprian, Arnobius wrote in vindication of the Christian worship, and here again he brings in the heathens forming their usual charge against the worship of Christ. Our gods,[55] say they, are not displeased with you for worshipping the Almighty God, but that ye make a God of one that was born a man, and put to death by the punishment of the cross (an infamous punishment, only inflicted on vile men); and because ye believe him to be yet alive, and make daily supplications unto him. To this he answers, first, upon their own principles, That admitting it were so, that Christ were only a man, yet he might with more reason deserve to be worshipped for his good deeds to mankind, than either their Bacchus, or Ceres, or Æsculapius, or Minerva, or Triptolemus, or Hercules, because there was no comparison between their actions and his for the benefit of the world. But, secondly, he answers more closely upon true Christian principles, That the reason of their worshipping Christ,[56] was indeed their certain knowledge that he was the true God, whom they could not but worship and honour as the Head of their body. And though an angry heathen would rave at his being called God, yet they must answer plainly, that he was God, and God, too, of the interior powers of the soul; that is, "the searcher of the hearts and reins," which is the peculiar property of God. The same objection is once more proposed,[57] and answered by Lactantius. They are wont, says he, to object to us his passion, by way of reproach, that we worship a man, and one that was put to a notorious death by men. In replying to which, after having largely set forth the reasons of his incarnation and sufferings, he at last answers that part of the objection which concerns their worshipping him, and pleads, that they worshipped him as one God with the Father. For, says he, when we speak of God the Father, and God[58] the Son, we do not speak of diverse natures, or separate the one from the other; for neither can he be a Father without a Son, nor the Son be divided from the Father: forasmuch as he cannot be called a Father without a Son, nor the Son be begotten without a Father. Seeing therefore a Father makes a Son, and a Son makes a Father, they have both one mind, and one spirit, and one substance: but the Father, as the fountain and original; and the Son, as the stream flowing from the fountain. A little after, he explains their[59] unity by this similitude: When any one hath a son, who is his dearly beloved, as long as he is in his father's house and under his hand, although he allow him the name and power of lord, yet it is called but one house, and one lord. So this world is one house of God; and both the Son and the Father, who unanimously dwell therein, are but one God; because the one is as two, and the two as one. Meaning two persons, and one God. Nothing can be plainer than these two things from the words of Lactantius; first, that Christians gave Divine worship to Christ; secondly, that they gave him this worship, as one God with the Father: and there was no other way to avoid the charge of polytheism, which they objected to the heathens, and the heathens were so desirous to recharge and throw back upon them.

There is one thing more may be observed as very

[53] Cypr. Ep. 8. al. 11. p. 25. Primo ipsum Dominum rogare, tum deinde per ipsum Deo Patri satisfacere debemus. Habemus Advocatum et Deprecatorem pro peccatis nostris, Jesum Christum Dominum et Deum nostrum.

[54] Cypr. Ep. 58. al. 61. p. 145. Hic quoque in sacrificiis atque in orationibus nostris non cessantes Deo Patri et Christo Filio ejus gratias agere, et orare pariter ac petere, ut qui perfectus est atque perficiens, custodiat et perficiat in vobis confessionis vestræ gloriosam coronam.

[55] Arnob. cont. Gentes, lib. 1. p. 30. Sed non (inquitis) idcirco dii vobis infesti sunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum: sed quod hominem natum, et (quod personis infame est vilibus) crucis supplicio interemptum, et Deum fuisse contenditis, et superesse adhuc creditis, et quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis.

[56] Arnob. ibid. p. 36. Cum vero Deus sit re vera, et sine ullius rei dubitationis ambiguo, inficiaturos arbitramini nos esse, quam maxime illum a nobis coli, et præsidem nostri corporis nuncupari? Ergone, inquiet aliquis furens—Deus ille est Christus? Deus, respondebimus: et interiorum potentiarum Deus.

[57] Lact. lib. 4. cap. 16. Venio nunc ad ipsam passionem, quæ velut opprobrium nobis objectari solet, quod et hominem, et ab hominibus insigni supplicio affectum et excruciatum, colamus.

[58] Ibid. cap. 29. De mortalitate jam diximus, nunc de unitate doceamus. Cum dicimus Deum Patrem, et Deum Filium, non diversum dicimus, nec utrumque secernimus: quia nec Pater esse sine Filio potest, nec Filius a Patre secerni: siquidem nec Pater nuncupari sine Filio, nec Filius potest sine Patre generari. Cum igitur et Pater Filium faciat, et Filius Patrem; una utrique mens, unus spiritus, una substantia: sed ille quasi exuberans fons est, hic tanquam defluens ex eo rivus.

[59] Ibid. Propiore exemplo uti libet: Cum quis habet filium, quem unice diligit, qui tamen sit in domo, et in manu patris, licet ei nomen domini potestatemque concedat, civili tamen jure et domus una et unus dominus nominatur. Sic hic mundus una Dei domus est: et Filius ac Pater, qui unanimes incolunt mundum, Deus unus est; quia et unus tanquam duo, et duo tanquam unus.

remarkable in this age, which was an age of great persecution: that is, that the martyrs, who suffered in it, commonly directed their last prayers, as St. Stephen did, personally to Christ, in whose cause they laid down their lives, and into whose hands they resigned their spirit, commending their souls to him, as unto a faithful Creator and Redeemer. Thus Eusebius observes of a whole city in Phrygia in the time of the Diocletian persecution, that being all met together in the church, men, women, and children, magistrates and people, (for the city was entirely Christian,) they were surprised by their enemies, and barbarously burnt all together in the church, as they were at their devotions, calling[60] upon Christ, the God over all, *τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριςὸν ἐπιβοωμένους*. So in a former persecution in France under Antoninus, Blandina, one of the martyrs, when she was put into a net, to be tossed by a wild bull, is said not to have been sensible of any pain, whilst she made her prayers to Christ, *διὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν πρὸς τὸν Χριςόν.*[61] And Eusebius himself, who gives us these particular relations, makes a more general observation concerning the worship of Christ, That the highest powers on earth confessed and adored him,[62] not as a common king, made by men, but as the true Son of the supreme God, as the true and very God; who had preserved his church against all the opposition of so many fierce persecutions; there being nothing that was able to withstand the will of that Word, who was the universal King and Prince of all things, and very God[63] himself. We see, in the opinion of Eusebius, the ground of their worship was no other than his being the living and true God, and the great King of all the earth. Which is the title that is given him in the Acts of St. Felix, an African bishop, who suffered in the Diocletian persecution: O Lord God of heaven and earth, Jesus Christ, I bow my neck[64] to thee as a sacrifice, who livest to all eternity: to whom belongs honour and power for ever and ever. Amen. And in the Acts of Thelica:[65] I give thanks to the God of all kingdoms. Lord Jesus Christ, we serve thee: thou art our hope: thou art the hope of Christians: most holy God, most high God, God Almighty, we give thanks to thee for thy great name. So again, in the Acts of Emeritus:[66] I beseech thee, O Christ: I give thanks to thee: deliver me, O Christ. In thy name I suffer, I suffer for a moment, I suffer willingly: let me not be confounded, O Christ. The curious reader may find many other prayers in the like terms in the Passions of Glycerius,[67] Olympius,[68] Ampelius,[69] Euplius,[70] Dativus,[71] Saturninus[72] senior and junior, recorded in Baronius, which I need not here transcribe. I only add two further instances out of Eusebius and St. Ambrose. Eusebius,[73] speaking of the passion of Porphyrius, a Palestine martyr, and one of the scholars of Pamphilus, says, When he was surrounded with flames, he called upon Jesus the Son of God to be his helper, and with those words he gave up the ghost. And St. Ambrose[74] tells us, Vitalis the martyr made this his last prayer: O Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour and my God, command that my spirit may be received; for I desire to obtain the crown which thy holy angel hath showed me.

It were easy to add many other testimonies of the like nature, but these are abundantly sufficient to show what was the practice of the church, in reference to the worship of Christ, during the three first ages, before Arianism appeared in the world, or any of those difficult questions were raised, which afterwards perplexed men with unintelligible subtleties, occasioned by the restless endeavours and sophistry of the Arian party. The Christians of the three first ages, we see, in their disputes with the heathens, always, with a great deal of honest plainness and simplicity, freely owned that they worshipped Christ as their Creator and their God; not as a creature, but as the true and living God; equal to the Father in all Divine perfections, as a genuine Son; who, as a Son, could not be another God, but only one God with the Father. For they declared, that so long as he was owned to be a true Son, he could neither be a creature, nor another God, which would imply another co-ordinate and independent being, which was inconsistent with his being the Son of God. They declared at the same time, that

[60] Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 11.

[61] Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 164. ex Epist. Eccles. Lugdun. et Vien.

[62] Ibid. lib. 10. cap. 4. p. 375. Οὐχ οἷα κοινὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα γενόμενον ὁμολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷα τȣ̃ καθόλȣ Θεȣ̃ παῖδα γνήσιον καὶ αὐτόθεον προσκυνεῖσθαι, &c.

[63] Ibid. p. 376. Τί γὰρ ἔμελλε τȣ̃ παμβασιλέως, καὶ πανηγεμόνος καὶ αὐτȣ̃ Θεȣ̃ λόγȣ ἐνςήσεσθαι τῷ πνεύματι.

[64] Acta Felic. ap. Baron. an. 302. n. 124. Domine Deus cœli et terræ, Jesu Christe, tibi cervicem meam ad victimam flecto, qui permanes in æternum: cui est claritas et magnificentia in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

[65] Acta Thelicæ, ap. Baron. an. 303. n. 41. Gratias ago Deo regnorum. Domine Jesu Christe, tibi servimus: tu es spes nostra: tu es spes Christianorum: Deus sanctissime, Deus altissime, Deus omnipotens, tibi laudes pro nomine tuo agimus.

[66] Acta Emeriti, ap. Baron. an. 303. n. 50. Rogo, Christe: tibi laudes: libera me, Christe. In nomine tuo patior, breviter patior, libenter patior: Christe non confundar.

[67] Acta Glycerii, ap. Baron. an. 301. n. 28.

[68] Acta Olympii, ap. Baron. an. 259. n. 30.

[69] Acta Ampelii, ap. Baron. an. 303. n. 52.

[70] Acta Euplii, ibid. n. 148. [71] Acta Dativi, ibid. n. 44, 45.

[72] Acta Saturnin. ibid. n. 48 et 54.

[73] Euseb. de Martyr. Palæst. c. 11. p. 339. Τὸν Υἱὸν τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃ Ἰησȣ̃ν βοηθὸν ἐπιβοώμενος.

[74] Ambr. Hortat. ad Virgines, t. 1. p. 105. Domine Jesu Christe, Salvator meus, et Deus meus, jube suscipi spiritum meum; quia jam desidero ut accipiam coronam, quam angelus tuus sanctus mihi ostendit.

it was unlawful and idolatry to give Divine worship to any creature, or any being, how excellent soever, that was not the living and true God; as we shall see more fully in the next chapter: and that is such a sensible and intelligible argument of their believing the Son to be the living and true God, as any one of the meanest capacity may understand; and it is such an argument of his Divinity, as all the art and sophistry in the world cannot evade, without charging those holy men with the grossest idolatry, and self-condemnation, and a flat contradiction of their principles in their practice, if they gave Divine honour to one, whom they did not believe to be by nature the living and true God. And for this reason I have insisted a little the longer upon this plain way of proving their belief of the Divinity of our blessed Lord, from their constant and universal practice in giving Divine worship to him as their God. And as to those distinctions between absolute, relative, and mediatorial worship; or those of *latria*, *dulia*, and *hyperdulia*, (hard words invented to solve the idolatry of later ages,) whatever shelter modern idolaters may think to find in them; the ancients had no occasion to lay the stress of their cause upon any such subtleties and distinctions. For they knew no distinction between *latria*, *dulia*, and *hyperdulia*, when they spake of religious worship, but plainly said all religious worship was solely due to God: and though they distinguished between absolute, relative, and mediatorial worship, yet they gave all these to the Son; worshipping him with mediatorial worship, as the only proper Mediator in both natures between God and man; beseeching him by his own merits, as their great High Priest, to present their prayers to the Father; and with relative worship, as the Son of God, whose honour redounds to the Father; and with absolute worship, as their Creator and Author of their being; declaring it to be idolatry to give any such honour to any mere creature. So that either they believed Christ to be the living and true God, or else it is impossible to understand men by their words or practice.

Sect. 4. Proofs of the worship of the Holy Ghost.

We are now to see whether they gave the same Divine honour to the Holy Ghost. And for this the reader only needs to look back into the former proofs; for many of the preceding allegations join the Son and Holy Ghost together. Polycarp's doxology[75] is to the whole Trinity: To Thee (the Father) with him (the Son) and the Holy Spirit, be glory now and for ever. Amen. Justin Martyr[76] declares also to the heathen, that the object of their worship was the whole Trinity: We worship and adore the God of righteousness, and his Son, and the Holy Spirit of prophecy. And again he proves,[77] That Christians were no atheists, as the heathens objected, because they worshipped the Creator of all things, and his Son Jesus Christ in the second place, and the Holy Spirit of prophecy in the third place: only observing the natural order of the persons, not distinguishing them into one God and two creatures; for then it had been unlawful to worship them upon their principles, which denied Divine worship to any thing that by nature was not God. We have heard Lucian before, representing the Christian worship,[78] as the worship of the great God of heaven, and the Son of the Father, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father, three of one, and one of three. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, expressly mentions the Trinity,[79] under the title of the Father, his Word, and his Wisdom; and says further, That it was his Word and his Wisdom to whom he said[80] in the beginning, "Let us make man." So that if the Holy Ghost was the Creator of man, there can be no dispute but that he was worshipped as his Creator together with the Father and Son. We have heard Clemens Alexandrinus concluding his Pædagogue[81] with this doxology, To the Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit, be glory now and for ever. Amen. We have heard St. Basil testifying of Athenogenes the martyr,[82] that he composed a hymn to the glory of the Holy Ghost; and that the church, time out of mind, used that known doxology in her evening hymn at setting up lights, We laud the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God. Which hymn was so ancient, that St. Basil professes he knew not who was the author of it. He testifies further in the same place, that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, was always wont to use this form of doxology; To God the Father, and the Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, be glory and dominion now and for ever. Amen. We have heard Origen saying,[83] That we are to pray to the Lord, to the Holy Spirit; that he would vouchsafe to take away that mist and darkness, which is contracted in our hearts by the defilement of sin, and dims the sight of our minds. They that said such things as these, did certainly own and practise the religious adoration and worship of the Holy Ghost. And all this we have seen proved in the former allegations. To which we may here add that plain testimony of Origen upon the first chapter to the Romans, where he compares the practice of the heathens and Christians.[84] It is the property of those only to dishonour their bodies, says he,

[75] Polycarp. Martyr. ap. Coteler. t. 2. p. 199.
[76] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 56.
[77] Ibid. p. 60.
[78] Lucian, Philopatris.
[79] Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. 2. p. 106.
[80] Ibid. p. 114.
[81] Clem. Pædagog. lib. 3.
[82] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 29.
[83] Orig. Hom. 1. in Levit. p. 106.
[84] Orig. in Rom. i. lib. 1. p. 468. Eorum est contumeliis afficere corpora sua, qui deserviunt simulacris; et eorum colere creaturam, qui dereliquerunt Creatorem. Nos autem

who serve idols; and of them only to worship the creature, who have forsaken the Creator. As for us, who worship and adore no creature, but the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as we do not err in our worship, so neither let us offend in our actions and conversation: but, looking to what the apostle says, "Know ye not, that your bodies are the members of Christ?" and again, "that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost?" let us keep our bodies in all holiness and purity, as members of Christ, and as temples of the Holy Spirit. St. Basil, who wrote in defence of the worship of the Holy Ghost, cites another passage of Origen, out of his Commentaries[85] upon St. John, wherein he speaks of the worship of the whole Trinity in the celebration of baptism, saying, Baptism, by virtue of the invocations there made, is the fountain and spring of spiritual graces to every one that dedicates himself to the Divine Majesty of the adorable Trinity. In which words Origen, by invocations, seems to refer to two things: first, the consecration of water to a mystical use, which was always performed by prayer, (as I have showed at large in another place,[86]) and secondly, the form of baptism, which was always administered in the name of the holy Trinity; in like manner as bread and wine in the eucharist was consecrated by invocation of the three Divine persons. Which is expressly said by St. Cyril,[87] That before invocation of the adorable Trinity it is common bread and wine, but after invocation it is made the body and blood of Christ. Where he uses the same expression about the consecration of the eucharist, as Origen does about baptism, saying, that it was done by invocation of the adorable Trinity. And this is what Justin Martyr[88] means, when he says, That the minister, in consecrating the eucharist, sent up praise and glory to the Father of all by the name of his Son and Holy Spirit. Optatus,[89] speaking of the sacrilege of the Donatists, says, They had broken down the altars, where God Almighty was wont to be invocated, and the Holy Ghost prayed to, that he might come down and sanctify the oblation. Theophilus of Alexandria says, in like manner,[90] That the bread and wine in the eucharist was consecrated by the invocation and descent of the Holy Ghost. And we are told, that in the old Gallican liturgy the oblation prayer[91] was conceived in this form: Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation, which we offer unto thee, in memory of the passion, resurrection, and ascension. And, probably, Origen might have respect to some such invocation of the holy Trinity in the consecration of the waters of baptism. However, the form of administering baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was ever esteemed an act of adoration of the Trinity, both as a profession of faith in three Divine persons, and as a dedication of the party to the service of the holy Trinity, and as a solemn invocation of their benediction. The ancient author of The Recognitions, who lived before Origen, says expressly,[92] That baptism was anciently given by invocation of the name of the blessed Trinity. By which we can understand nothing but joining the Holy Ghost as God with the Father and the Son in the same act of adoration, expressed either in the prayers or form of baptism. And hence the ancients were used to prove the Holy Ghost[93] to be God, because he was joined in the same Divine worship with the Father and the Son in the administration of baptism. And that baptism was generally esteemed null and void, which was given to any person without mentioning the Holy Ghost, as well as Father and Son, as I have fully showed in another place.[94]

It is further observable, that in Tertullian's time, the worship of the Holy Ghost was so common in the church, that Praxeas and other Unitarians were ready to charge the catholics with tritheism, or the worship of three Gods, upon this account. They boasted that[95] they were the only persons who truly worshipped one God, and preserved the Divine monarchy entire; whilst all other Christians, by worshipping three persons, introduced the worship of three Gods: As if, says Tertullian, the Unity absurdly collected, might not make a heresy; and a Trinity rationally conceived, might not consist with

qui nullam creaturam, sed Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum colimus et adoramus, sicut non erramus in cultu, ita nec in actibus quidem et conversatione peccemus, &c.

[85] Orig. t. 6. in Joan. ap. Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 29. *Τῷ ἐμπαρέχοντι ἑαυτὸν τῇ θεότητι τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος, διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν ἐπικλήσεων, χαρισμάτων ἀρχὴν ἔχει καὶ πηγήν.*

[86] Book XI. chap. 10. sect. 1, 2.

[87] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 1. n. 4. *Πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἐπικλήσεως τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτὸς,* &c. It. Catech. 3. n. 3. *Μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς.*

[88] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 97. *Αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει.*

[89] Optat. lib. 6. p. 93. Quid tam sacrilegum, quam altaria Dei frangere, quo Deus omnipotens invocatus sit, quo postulatus descendit Spiritus Sanctus?

[90] Theophil. Ep. Paschal. 1. Bibl. Patr. t. 3. p. 87. Panem Dominicum——per invocationem et adventum Sancti Spiritûs consecrari.

[91] Microlog. de Observat. Eccles. cap. 11. Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionis.

[92] Clemen. Recognit. lib. 3. cap. 67. Baptizabitur unusquisque vestrum in aquis perennibus, nomine trinæ Beatitudinis invocato super se.

[93] Vid. Idacium, lib. 3. contra Varimundum, Bibl. Patr. t. 4. p. 300. Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 29.

[94] Book XI. chap. 3. sect. 2.

[95] Tertul. cont. Prax. cap. 3. Duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt: quasi non et unitas irrationaliter collecta, hæresin faciat: et Trinitas rationaliter expensa veritatem constituat.

Unity. He there explains how these three are one God,[95] by unity of original, by unity of substance, condition, and power. And he adds, That as the Father was God, so the Son[96] was God, and the Holy Ghost God. And says in another place,[97] That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was a Trinity in one Godhead, or Divine nature. So that it is plain, the difference then between the Praxean heretics and the catholics was, that the Praxeans worshipped but one person as God; but the catholics worshipped three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, under the title and appellation of one God. And Erasmus was wonderfully mistaken, when he asserted, that the name, God, was never given to the Holy Ghost before the time of St. Hilary, in the middle of the fourth century; when it is so evident he had both the name and worship of God given him in the time of Tertullian, and in effect by all Christians in former ages, whilst they joined him in all acts of Divine worship and glorification with the Father and Son as one God.

Cyprian expressly styles him God, when, disputing against the validity of heretical baptism, he uses this argument:[98] If a man can be baptized by heretics, he may obtain remission of sins; if he may obtain remission of sins, he may be sanctified and be made the temple of God. I ask, of what God? If it be said, the Creator; he cannot be his temple, who believes not in him. If Christ; neither can he be his temple, who believes not Christ to be God. If the Holy Ghost; seeing the three are one, how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him who is an enemy to the Father or the Son? As the Holy Ghost is here plainly styled God, so every true Christian is said to be the temple of the Holy Ghost, as God; and temples being for the worship of God, it may be concluded, that, according to Cyprian, the Holy Ghost was then worshipped in all his living temples as God.

At the same time with Cyprian lived those two shining lights of the Asiatic church, Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, and Gregory, of Neocæsarea, from his power in working miracles, surnamed Thaumaturgus. Of both these St. Basil[99] testifies, That in their prayers and books they were always wont to use this doxology, To God the Father, and his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, be glory and dominion for ever and ever.

And this is the doxology that most commonly occurs in the author of the Constitutions, which, though I do not, with a late author, take for an inspired writing, nor for the genuine work of Clemens Romanus, yet I believe it to be a very good collection of the rituals and liturgy of the ancient church, for the three first ages, and not infected with those pernicious principles of Arianism, which some would fain father upon him, who pervert his words, as they do the other Ante-Nicene writers, from their proper meaning to an heretical sense. This author, I say, commonly uses that doxology which is so much commended by St. Basil, as expressing the true worship of the holy Trinity. Of which I shall give a few instances out of his eighth Book, which is a collection of the forms of prayer used in the ancient service. In the twelfth chapter of that Book the oblation prayer is thus concluded: We beseech thee to gather us into the kingdom of thy Christ, the God of the whole nature of things both visible and invisible, and our King; for to thee belongs all glory, and worship, and thanksgiving, and honour, and adoration, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, throughout all ages, world without end. In the thirteenth chapter, the prayer after consecration ends in the same manner: By thy Christ, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and praise, doxology, and thanksgiving, for ever and ever. In the same chapter all the people sing this hymn to Christ: There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, to the glory of God the Father. Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will towards men. Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed be God the Lord, who came in the name of the Lord, and was manifested unto us: hosanna in the highest. In the fourteenth chapter, after the communion, the deacon says, *παραθώμεθα*, Let us commend ourselves to God, the only unbegotten God, and to his Christ. Now the *παραθέσεις*, or commendations, were one sort of prayers, as I shall show hereafter.[100] Then the bishop makes a thanksgiving in the fifteenth chapter, which he concludes in these words: By Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and adoration, now and for ever. Amen. And in his invocation in the same chapter, he says, To thee and thy Son Jesus, thy Christ, our Lord, and God, and King, and to the Holy Ghost, be glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration, now and for ever, world without end. Amen. There are many other such doxologies in other prayers throughout this

[95] Tertul. cont. Prax. cap. 2. Tres sunt unius substantiæ, et unius status, et unius potestatis: quia unus Deus, ex quo (tres) in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti deputantur.

[96] Ibid. cap. 13. Et Pater Deus, et Filius Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus Deus, et Deus unusquisque.

[97] Tertul. de Pudicitia, cap. 21. Trinitas unius Divinitatis, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.

[98] Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. p. 203. Si baptizari quis apud hæreticos potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit. Si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est; quæro, cujus Dei? Si Creatoris; non potuit qui in eum non credidit. Si Christi; nec hujus fieri potest templum, qui negat Deum Christum. Si Spiritus Sancti; cum tres unum sint, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus ei esse potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est?

[99] Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 29.

[100] Book XV. chap. 3. sect. 29.

this Book,[101] which I need not here repeat. For if these be not plain instances of the worship of the Holy Ghost, together with the Father and the Son, it is hard to say what words can express it.

Sect. 5. In what sense all prayers are ordered to be directed to the Father.

Now, then, by all this we may interpret the meaning of that African canon, which orders all prayers at the altar to be directed to the Father.[102] For that was not intended to exclude the worship of the Son and Holy Ghost together with the Father; for the hymns and doxologies before mentioned, which were used at the altar, plainly show the contrary: but it was designed, that when the sacrifice of Christ was commemorated, he should be considered as the great Mediator, by whose sacrifice we apply to the Father, and have access by his merits and intercession to the throne of grace and mercy. And therefore all prayers at the altar are ordered to be directed to the Father in his name: which very application was a worship of the Son as Mediator, and an honour peculiar to him, and incommunicable to any creature. In other prayers, direct applications were made to the Son, as we have seen before in that of the Constitutions,[103] for the dispossessing of devils: and in these prayers at the altar, the glorification was in common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Whence Fulgentius, who was an African bishop, and therefore may be presumed to understand the meaning of the African canons, tells us,[104] That all worship and adoration of honour and sacrifice was equally given to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that is, to the holy Trinity, by the catholic church. And that it was no prejudice to the Son or the Holy Ghost, that the minister at the altar directed the prayers to the person of the Father; for in the end of them, the names of the Son and Holy Spirit were always expressed; and that showed, that there was no difference in the holy Trinity: because when the words were only directed to the person of the Father, yet the whole Trinity was honoured by the faith of the true believer; and whilst the intention of the sacrifice was more peculiarly fixed upon the Father, the sacrifice itself was by one and the same act offered to the whole Trinity. From all which it is evident to a demonstration, that the three persons of the holy Trinity were always the object of Divine adoration from the first foundation of the Christian church, and that the giving of Divine honour to the Son and Holy Ghost, as God, was not the invention or addition of any later ages.

CHAPTER III.

THAT IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH RELIGIOUS WORSHIP WAS GIVEN TO NO CREATURE, SAINT OR ANGEL, BUT TO GOD ALONE.

Sect. 1. This position proved first from their general declarations against giving religious worship to any creature.

IT has been observed in the foregoing chapter, that the worship of Christ in the primitive church was esteemed a good argument of his Divinity, because it was then an undoubted principle, that no creature, how excellent soever, was to be worshipped with religious worship, but only the living and true God. And an Arian or a Socinian can never answer or evade this argument from antiquity, so long as both these assertions stand good, that Christ was worshipped with religious worship, and that nothing is to be worshipped with religious worship but only the living and true God. The force of this argument has been much weakened, and indeed wholly enervated and destroyed, by the writers of the Romish church, in whose mouths the argument signifies nothing to an Arian or Socinian, because their own practice, in giving religious worship to saints and angels, is a sufficient answer to it. For upon supposition that saints and angels may be worshipped, the worship of Christ can be no argument of his Divinity, no more than it is of the Divinity of saints or angels, because they are worshipped in the Romish church. But upon the principles of the primitive church, the argument is unanswerable: for, at the same time that they asserted the worship of Christ, they asserted, likewise, that religious worship was not to be given to any creature, but to God alone. And in this view, the argument for Christ's Divinity was very rational and solid. As, therefore, we have seen the truth of the first position, That Christ was religiously worshipped in the primitive church, made good from their undeniable assertions and practice; so now we will a little examine the truth of the second, That nothing is to be religiously worshipped but only the living and true God. Which position is designed to be handled here, only as an illustration and confirm-

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[101] Vid. Constit. lib. 8. cap. 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 29, 37, 38, 39, 41.

[102] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 23.

[103] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 7.

[104] Fulgent. ad Monimum, lib. 2. cap. 5. Omne cujuslibet honorificentiæ et sacrificii salutaris obsequium, et Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, hoc est, sanctæ Trinitati ab ecclesia catholica pariter exhiberi.——Neque enim præjudicium Filio vel Sancto Spiritui comparatur, dum ad Patris personam precatio ab offerente dirigitur. Cujus consummatio dum Filii et Spiritus Sancti complectitur nomen, ostendit nullum esse in Trinitate discrimen. Quia dum ad solius Patris personam sermo dirigitur, bene credentis fide tota Trinitas honoratur: et cum ad Patrem litantis destinatur intentio, sacrificii munus omni Trinitati uno eodemque offertur litantis officio.

ation of the argument for the Divinity of Christ, drawn from the practice of the primitive church in giving religious adoration to him. And the truth of this proposition I shall confirm briefly these three ways: 1. By showing, in general, that the ancients declare universally against giving religious worship or adoration to any creature, or being which by nature is not God. 2. That in particular they rejected the worship of saints and angels, as idolatry and unlawful. 3. That there is no mention made of it but in the practice either of heretics or heathens, whose idolatry is aggravated upon the account of this practice. In the first place it is observable, that the ancients in general declare against giving religious worship to any creature, or being which by nature is not God. It would fill a whole volume to cite all that is said by the ancients upon this head, therefore I shall content myself to select a few plain passages out of an infinite number that might be alleged to this purpose. Justin Martyr[1] often tells the emperors in his Apology, That Christians could worship none but God alone: and that Christ had taught them so in saying, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve with all thy heart, and with all thy strength, the Lord God that made thee; and again in saying, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." Therefore we worship God alone, but in all other things we cheerfully serve you. In like manner Theophilus, bishop of Antioch: I will honour the king, says he, not by worshipping him, but praying for him. But I will worship God, the living and true God, knowing that by him the king is ordained. You will say then, Why do you not worship the king? Because he is not made to be worshipped, but to be honoured with lawful honour. For he is not a God, but a man. And as he will not suffer any other to assume the title of king but himself; so neither is it lawful[2] to worship any other but God alone. In another place[3] he says, God's laws forbid not only the worship of idols, but all other creatures, the sun, moon, and stars, heaven, earth, and sea; and command the worship of the true God alone, who is the Creator of all things. After the same manner Tertullian, speaking of the Christians' prayers for the emperors and the peace of the world,[4] says, They asked these things of the living and true God, and they could ask them of no other but him, of whom they were sure to obtain them, because he alone was able to give them. And he repeats the same in several[5] other places of his writings. This was the answer which the martyrs commonly gave to the persecuting judges, when they solicited them to worship other gods. When Fructuosus (a Spanish bishop and martyr, who suffered at Tarragone about the year 262) was commanded to sacrifice, he replied, I only worship one God,[6] the Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things that are therein. And so Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, answered Æmylian the prefect, as he himself tells us in an epistle recorded by Eusebius:[7] I have publicly testified, says he, that I worship none but the true God alone, neither can I ever depart from this practice, or cease to be a Christian. And when Æmylian urged him further to worship the gods of the empire together with his own God, his answer was still the same, We worship him and no other. There are many the like expressions in Irenæus,[8] Clemens Alexandrinus,[9] Origen,[10] Cyprian,[11] Lactantius,[12] the author of the Recognitions under the name of Clemens Romanus,[13] Athenagoras, Tatian, and others; which, because the learned reader may have recourse to himself, or read them collected together in one view in that excellent book of Mr. Daille,[14] against the idolatry of the church of Rome, I shall here omit them, and proceed

Sect. 2. Secondly, from their denying the worship of saints and angels in particular, and condemning it as idolatry.

To the second observation; which is, That the ancients not only in general reject the worship of any creature, but reject the worship of saints and angels in particular, as idolatry and unlawful. And of this we cannot have a plainer proof than was given in the answer of the church of Smyrna to the suggestion of the Jews, when, at the martyrdom of Polycarp, the Jews desired the heathen judge, that he would not permit the Christians to carry off the body of Polycarp, lest they should leave their crucified Master, and begin to worship this man in his stead. This suggestion, says the answer, proceeded purely from ignorance, that we could neither forsake Christ, nor worship any[15]

[1] Just. Apol. 2. p. 63. *Τὸν Θεὸν μόνον δεῖ προσκυνεῖν,* &c. It. p. 64. *Ὅθεν Θεὸν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν,* &c.

[2] Theoph. ad Autolyc. lib. 1. p. 30. *Οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ἐξὸν ἐστι προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνῳ Θεῷ.*

[3] Id. lib. 2. p. 173. *Μόνῳ τῷ ὄντως Θεῷ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων χρὴ λατρεύειν.*

[4] Tertul. Apol. cap. 30. Nos pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum. ——Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo me scio consecuturum, quoniam et ipse est qui solus præstat, &c.

[5] Tertul. Scopiac. cap. 4. Præscribitur mihi, ne quem alium adorem, aut quoquomodo venerer, præter unicum illum, qui ita mandat. Vid. Apol. c. 17. et ad Scapul. c. 2.

[6] Acta Fructuosi, ap. Baron. an. 262. n. 62. Ego unum Deum colo, qui fecit cœlum et terram, et omnia quæ in eis sunt.

[7] Dionys. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11. *Τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ὄντα μόνον, καὶ οὐδένα ἕτερον σέβων.*

[8] Iren. lib. 5. cap. 22.

[9] Clem. Strom. 6. p. 825.

[10] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 1. p. 10. lib. 8. p. 395. et passim.

[11] Cypr. Ep. 58. It. ad Demetrian. p. 130.

[12] Lactant. lib. 2. cap. 1. lib. 4. c. 14.

[13] Recognit. lib. 5. c. 16.

[14] Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Religiosi, lib. 1. cap. 2, 3, 4.

[15] Martyr. Polycarp. ap. Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 134.

other. For we worship him, as being the Son of God; but the martyrs, as the disciples and followers of the Lord, we love with a due affection, for their great love of their own King and Master; with whom we desire to be partners and fellow disciples. A like answer was given at the martyrdom of Fructuosus in Spain. For when the judge asked Eulogius, his deacon, whether he would not worship Fructuosus? as thinking, that he who refused to worship the heathen idols, might yet perhaps be inclined to worship a Christian martyr: to this Eulogius plainly replied, I do not worship[16] Fructuosus, but I worship him whom Fructuosus worships. We are beholden to Baronius himself for this testimony: and we cannot desire a clearer evidence, that in those early times the Christians did not worship the martyrs, but only the God of the martyrs, to whom the martyrs offered their own bodies in sacrifice, whilst they died for his name, and sealed their confession with their blood. Before this, Origen, in his answers to Celsus, positively denies that ever the Jews or Christians gave any religious worship to angels. He says, They are ministering spirits, that bring the gifts of God to us, but there is no command in Scripture to worship[17] or adore them. For all prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks, are to be sent up to God by the great High Priest, the living Word of God, who is superior to all angels. He says again,[18] Allowing what Celsus pleaded to be true, that the angels were God's heralds and heavenly messengers; yet still the heralds and messengers were not to be worshipped, but he whose heralds and messengers they were. He repeats this frequently in his eighth Book in several places,[19] which for brevity's sake I here omit, only reciting one passage more, because it so handsomely meets with that common pretence of the Romanists, that we are to worship angels, because they are the friends of God. We must endeavour, says he,[20] to please God alone, who is above all things, and labour to have him propitious unto us, procuring his good will with piety and all kind of virtue. And if Celsus will yet have us to procure the good will of any others, after him that is God over all; let him consider, that as, when the body is moved, the shadow follows its motion; so, in like manner, when we have God, who is over all, favourable unto us, it follows, that we shall have all his friends, both angels, and souls, and spirits, favourable unto us also. For they have a fellow feeling with them that are thought worthy to find favour from God. Neither are they only favourable to such as are thus worthy, but they labour with them also that are willing to worship God over all, and are friendly to them, and sympathize with them, and pray with them. So that we may be bold to say, that when men, who with resolution propose unto themselves the best things, do pray unto God, many thousands of the sacred powers pray together with them unspoken to, *ἄκλητοι*, without any invocation. A like answer is given to the same pretence by the author under the name of St. Ambrose. Men are wont, says he,[21] when they are ashamed of their neglecting of God, to use this miserable excuse; that by these they might go to God, as by officers we go to the king. To which he answers, Is any man so mad, or so unmindful of his salvation, as to give the king's honour to an officer; when if any shall be found but to treat of such a matter, they will be justly condemned as guilty of high treason? And yet these men think themselves not guilty, who give the honour of God's name to a creature, and forsaking the Lord, adore their fellow servants; as though there were any thing more that could be reserved to God. For therefore men go to the king by tribunes or officers, because the king is but a man, and knows not with whom he may intrust the affairs of the commonwealth. But to obtain the favour of God, (from whom nothing is hid, for he knows the merits of all men,) we have no need of an advocate or spokesman, but only a devout mind. For wheresoever such a one shall speak unto him, he will answer him. We have heard before out of Irenæus,[22] that the church in his time, though she wrought many miracles for the benefit of men, yet did nothing by invocation of angels, but only by prayer to God and the Lord Jesus Christ. And that thus it continued to be in the time of Athanasius, appears plainly from his way of disputing with the Arians, when he proves the unity of the Father and Son, from the apostle's joining them together in prayer, 1 Thess. iii. 11, "God himself and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you." No man, says he,[23]

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[16] Acta Fructuosi, ap. Baron. an. 262. n. 62. Ego Fructuosum non colo, sed ipsum colo, quem et Fructuosus. Vid. Aug. Serm. 101. de Diversis, p. 571.

[17] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 5. p. 233. *Οὐχ ὥστε προστάσσεσθαι ἡμῖν τοὺς διακονοῦντας—σέβειν καὶ προσκυνεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, &c.

[18] Ibid. p. 239.

[19] Lib. 8. p. 416.

[20] Ibid. p. 420.

[21] Ambros. in Rom. i. Solent tamen pudorem passi neglecti Dei, misera ea uti excusatione, dicentes, Per istos posse ire ad Deum, sicut per comites pervenitur ad regem. Age, nunquid tam demens est aliquis, aut salutis suæ immemor, ut honorificentiam regis vindicet comiti, cum de hac re si qui etiam tractare fuerint inventi, jure ut rei majestatis damnentur? Et isti se non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt creaturæ, et relicto Domino conservos adorant; quasi sit aliquid plus, quod reservetur Deo. Nam et ideo ad regem per tribunos aut comites itur, quia homo utique est rex, et nesciat quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum, (ante quem nihil latet, omnium enim merita novit,) promerendum suffragatore non opus est, sed mente devota.

[22] Iren. lib. 2. c. 57. Nec invocationibus angelicis facit, nec incantationibus, &c.

[23] Athan. Orat. 4. cont. Arian. t. 1. p. 464.

would pray to receive any thing from the Father and the angels, or from any other of the creatures: neither would any man say, God and the angel give me this. And whereas the Arian might have said, that Jacob joined God and the Angel together in prayer, Gen. xlviii. 16; Athanasius obviates this exception, by saying, He did not join one of the created angels, who are angels by nature, with God, who was their Creator; neither did he, omitting God that fed him, desire a blessing from an angel upon his children: but in saying, "the Angel which redeemed me from all evil," he showed that it was not any of the created angels, but the Word of God, whom he joined with the Father, and prayed unto him. There had been no force in this argument, had the church used invocation of angels in her prayers in the time of Athanasius: the Arian might easily have replied, that his argument was refuted by experience in the church's daily practice. But that neither men nor angels were the object of religious adoration in his time, appears further from another discourse of his against the Arians,[24] where he argues thus: Peter the apostle did forbid Cornelius, when he would have worshipped him, saying, "I myself am also a man," Acts x. 26. And the angel likewise did forbid John, when he would have worshipped him, in the Revelation, saying, "See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them who keep the sayings of this book: worship God," Rev. xxii. 9. Wherefore it belongs to God only to be worshipped. And this the angels very well know, that though they excel others in glory, yet they are all but creatures, and not in the number of those that are to be worshipped, but of those that worship the Lord. We cannot have clearer evidences than these either of the church's doctrine or practice. Both which are equally attested by St. Austin, in his book of True Religion; where he makes it a distinguishing character and property of true religion, to worship no sort of creature, particularly neither angels, nor saints after death, but the sovereign majesty of God alone. Let not our religion,[25] says he, consist in the worship of dead men: because if they lived piously, they are not esteemed such as would desire that kind of honour; but would have Him to be worshipped by us, by whose illumination they rejoice to have us partners with them in their merit. They are, therefore, to be honoured for imitation, not to be worshipped for religion. A little after he says, That which the highest angel worships, the same is to be worshipped by the meanest man. And this we are to believe, that the very greatest of angels, and most excellent ministers of God, would have us worship one God with them. And therefore we honour angels with love, not with religious service: neither do we build temples to them; for they desire not to be so honoured by us; because they know, that we ourselves, when we are good, are the temples of the most high God. And therefore it is well recorded, that the angel forbade the man to worship him, and bid him worship God, under whom he was his fellow servant, Rev. xxii. 9.

It is true, indeed, the Manichees about this time began to charge the catholics with worshipping their martyrs: Faustus objected to them, That they had only exchanged the heathen idols for martyrs, whom they worshipped with the same devotions, offering sacrifice of wine and meats to the ghosts and shades of dead men. Had this been a true charge, though it could not have affected the argument, as drawn from the practice of the church in former ages, yet it would have proved the corruption of saint-worship to have crept a little earlier into the church than will now be allowed. But the truth of the matter is, it was a mere calumny of Faustus's own inventing; and St. Austin rejects it with the utmost scorn and indignation. Therefore he says,[26] in answer to it, That the Christian people did celebrate the memories of the martyrs with religious solemnity, both to excite themselves to their imitation, and to be partners in their merits, and to have the benefit of their prayers: yet so, as that we never offer any sacrifice to a martyr, but to the God of martyrs, although we erect altars in the memories of the martyrs, meaning churches called by their

[24] Athan. Orat. 3. cont. Arian. p. 394.

[25] Aug. de Vera Relig. cap. 55. t. 1. p. 317. Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores: sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes. Honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem.——Quod colit summus angelus, id colendum est etiam ab homine ultimo.——Hoc etiam ipsos optimos angelos, et excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum.——Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute; nec eis templa construimus: nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, &c.

[26] Aug. cont. Faust. lib. 20. cap. 21. t. 6. p. 156. Populus Christianus memorias martyrum religiosa solennitate concelebrat, et ad excitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur, atque orationibus adjuvetur: ita tamen ut nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum sacrificemus, quamvis in memoriis (al. in memorias) martyrum constituamus altaria. Quis enim antistitum in locis sanctorum corporum adsistens altari, aliquando dixit, Offerimus tibi, Petre, vel Paule, vel Cypriane? Sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, &c. Colimus ergo martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis, quo et in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei, quorum cor ad talem pro evangelica veritate passionem paratum esse sentimus.——At vero illo cultu, quæ Græce latria dicitur, Latine uno verbo dici non potest, cum sit quædam proprie Divinitati debita servitus, nec colimus, nec colendum docemus, nisi unum Deum. Cum autem ad hunc cultum pertineat oblatio sacrificii, unde idololatria dicitur eorum, qui hoc etiam idolis exhibent: nullo modo tale aliquid offerimus, aut offerendum præcipimus, vel cuiquam martyri, vel cuiquam sanctæ animæ, vel cuiquam angelo: et quisquis in hunc errorem delabitur, corripitur per sanam doctrinam, sive ut corrigatur, sive ut condemnetur, sive ut caveatur.

names. For what priest, standing at the altar in the places where the holy bodies lie, ever said, We offer unto thee, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian? But whatever is offered, is offered unto God that crowned the martyrs, at the memories of those whom he crowned, that by the very admonition of the places our affection may rise higher, to quicken our love both toward them, whom we may imitate, and toward Him who enables us to imitate them. Therefore we worship the martyrs with that worship of love and society, wherewith we worship holy men of God in this life, whose heart we perceive to be prepared to suffer in like manner for the gospel truth. But with that worship, which the Greeks call *latria*, and the Latins cannot express by one word, being a service proper to God, we neither worship, nor teach any one to worship any other but God alone. And whereas the offering of sacrifice appertains to this kind of worship, whence it is called idolatry in those that give it to idols; we neither offer, nor teach any to offer such worship, either to any martyr, or any holy soul, or any angel; but whoever falls into this error, is rebuked by sound doctrine, either to correct him, or condemn him, or to make him be avoided by others.

It is plain from this answer of St. Austin's, that the charge of giving religious worship to saints and angels was false, and a mere calumny upon the church in those days; and that the only persons then guilty of it, were such as were disowned and discarded by the church. Which brings me to the third and last consideration proposed to confirm this position, That the ancient church did not give religious worship either to saints or angels, because she condemned the practice both in heathens and heretics, and aggravated their idolatry upon this account.

Sect. 3. Thirdly, From their charging the practice of it upon heretics and heathens only.

St. Austin in another place makes a severe remark upon all such as sought to angels by prayer for their assistance: he says they were distracted with strange curiosities and illusions. Take it in his own words, as he delivers it in a pious reflection upon his own happiness in escaping the snare at his own conversion, and a thankful acknowledgment of God's mercy in delivering him from such a delusion. Whom, says he, should I have found, that might reconcile me unto thee? Should I have gone unto[27] the angels? With what prayer? with what sacraments? Many, endeavouring to return unto thee, and not being able to do it by themselves, as I hear, have tried these things; and have fallen into the desire of curious visions, and were accounted worthy of illusions. St. Chrysostom has a more severe reflection on this sort of men; for he not only says,[28] That no creature is to be worshipped by man, neither of things above, nor things below, whether man, or demons, or angels, or archangels, or any other supernal powers, but only God the Lord of all; and that the apostle, in the second chapter of his Epistle to the Colossians, discourses against such as taught, that man was to come to God by angels, and not by Christ; for that was too great for him:[29] but he adds, in pursuance of the same matter, that it was the devil[30] which introduced this having recourse to angels, whilst he envied the honour of man. These be the enchantments of devils. Though it be an angel, though an archangel, though they be cherubims; endure it not. For neither will these powers themselves receive it, but reject it, when they see their Lord dishonoured. I have honoured thee, saith God, and bid thee call upon me. And dost thou then dishonour him? Where we see plainly, that invocation of God and invocation of angels are opposed to one another; and as the one is made the character of true religion, so the other is said to be the doctrine of devils.

The persons here reflected on by Chrysostom, were probably the same as had been known in the church, and condemned, from the apostles' days, as heretics, under the name of *angelici*, or angel-worshippers. For so St. Austin[31] describes them, calling them *angelici*, from their inclination to worship angels. And so Isidore[32] after him. Irenæus[33] seems to insinuate that heretics were wont to invocate angels, when he opposes the church's practice to them, telling them, that many miracles were wrought in the church, not by invocation of angels, but by prayer to God and the Lord Jesus Christ. And Tertullian[34] says expressly of the followers of Simon Magus, that they worshipped angels in the exercise of their magical art, which idolatry was condemned by St. Peter in their first founder. Now, there being such footsteps of angel-worship in the practice of so many heresies; and it being a thing that some were fond of, because it had a show of humility in it; the council of Laodicea, to prevent the growing

[27] Aug. Confess. lib. 10. cap. 42. Quem invenirem, qui me reconciliaret tibi? An eundem mihi fuit ad angelos? Qua prece? quibus sacramentis? Multi conantes ad te redire, neque per seipsos valentes, sicut audio, tentaverunt hæc; et inciderunt in desiderium curiosarum visionum, et digni habiti sunt illusionibus.

[28] Chrys. Hom. 5. in Colos. p. 1348.

[29] Hom. 7. in Col. p. 1360.

[30] Hom. 9. in Col. p. 1381. Ὁ διάβολος τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπεισήγαγε, βασκαίνων ἡμῖν τῆς τιμῆς· τῶν δαιμόνων τοιαῦται αἱ ἐπῳδαί, &c.

[31] Aug. de Hæres. cap. 39. Angelici, in angelorum cultu inclinati.

[32] Isidor. Origin. lib. 8. cap. 5. Angelici vocati, quia angelos colunt.

[33] Iren. lib. 2. cap. 57.

[34] Tertul. de Præscrip. cap. 33. Simonianæ autem magiæ disciplina angelis serviens, utique et ipsa inter idololatrias deputabatur, et a Petro apostolo in ipso Simone damnabatur

malady, made a severe canon under the denunciation of anathema to restrain it. Christians, say they,[35] ought not to forsake the church of God, and go aside, and hold conventicles, to invocate or call upon the names of angels. Which things are forbidden. If any one therefore be found to exercise himself in this private idolatry, let him be accursed; because he hath forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and gone over to idolatry. The first publishers of this canon in the Latin editions, changed the word *angelos* into *angulos*, corners instead of angels: but the Greek admits of no such corruption, and therefore the fraud is easily discovered; and nothing but the shame of seeing their practice so plainly condemned in this canon, could have induced any men to have attempted such a childish corruption. Theodoret, in his Comment upon the Epistle to the Colossians, has occasion twice to mention this canon. Where he says, That because some in the apostles' days commanded men to worship angels, therefore the apostle enjoined[36] the contrary, that they should adorn their words and deeds with the commemoration of the Lord Christ, and send up thanksgiving to God and the Father by him, and not by the angels. And that the synod of Laodicea, following this rule, and desiring to heal that old disease, made a law that men should not pray to angels, nor forsake our Lord Jesus Christ. And again,[37] This vice continued in Phrygia and Pisidia for a long time, for which cause also the synod assembled in Laodicea, the chief city in Phrygia, made a law to prohibit praying to angels. But yet, even to this day, among them and their neighbours, there are oratories of St. Michael to be seen. Cardinal Perron uses a great deal of art and sophistry to pervert the sense of the apostle and this canon together, which the reader may find sufficiently exposed and refuted by the learned Daille,[38] with the false glosses of Petavius and others, with which I shall not trouble this discourse. I only observe further, that as the church condemned heretics as guilty of idolatry for worshipping of angels, so did she likewise for worshipping of their leaders and martyrs. Apollonius, who wrote against the Montanists, objects it to them, that they worshipped one Alexander, a martyr among them.[39] And St. Austin reckons it among the errors of Simon Magus,[40] that he left his own image, and the image of his harlot Selene, to his disciples, to be worshipped by them. They objected the same to the heathen, that they worshipped such gods as were only men, and dead men: as may be seen in all the apologies made by Minucius Felix,[41] Tertullian,[42] Clemens Alexandrinus,[43] Arnobius,[44] Cyprian,[45] and the rest that wrote against them: which had been a very weak argument, and easily retorted, had Christians worshipped their martyrs, whom they could not deny to be mortal men. The heathens further pretended, that their demons, or gods whom they worshipped, were good angels, and worshipped only as the ministers of the supreme God, and attendants of the court of heaven. Notwithstanding which pretence, they charge them with idolatry, as giving the worship of God to the creature. He that would see this argument managed to just advantage, may consult the learned discourses of Mr. Daille,[46] and Bishop Stillingfleet,[47] where he will find the pretences of the heathen, and the answers of the Christians, collected and set in their proper light. I shall only detain my reader with one citation out of St. Austin, as a specimen of all the rest, where he introduces the heathen making this apology for themselves: We do not worship wicked devils, say they; it is the angels you speak of that we worship,[48] the powers of the great God, the ministers of the great God. To which St. Austin answers, I wish you would worship them, for they would quickly teach you that they are not to be worshipped. Hear the instruction of an angel. He taught a certain disciple of Christ, and showed him many miracles in the Revelation of St. John; who having seen a certain miracle in a vision, was astonished, and cast himself down at the feet of the angel. But the angel, who sought nothing but the glory of his Lord, said, Arise; what dost thou? Worship God: for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren. How is it then, my brethren? Let no one say, I fear lest the angel should be angry at me, if I do not worship him for my God. He is then only angry at thee, when thou art inclined to

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[35] Conc. Laodic. can. 35. *Οὐ δεῖ Χριςιανὲς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τε̃ Θεε̃, καὶ ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἀγγέλες ὀνομάζειν, καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν*, &c.

[36] Theod. in Col. iii. 17.

[37] Theod. in Col. ii. 18.

[38] Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. 3. cap. 31.

[39] Apollon. ap. Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18.

[40] Aug. de Hæres. cap. 1. Imagines et suam et ejusdem meretricis discipulis suis præbebat adorandas.

[41] Minuc. Dial. p. 88.

[42] Tertul. Apol. cap. 10, 12, 29.

[43] Clem. Protreptic. p. 26.

[44] Arnob. lib. 1. p. 32.

[45] Cyprian. de Idol. Vanit. p. 11.

[46] Dallæ. de Cultu Relig. lib. 3. cap. 25.

[47] Stilling. Defence of the Discourse of Idol. part 1. chap. 1.

[48] Aug. in Psal. xcvi. t. 8. p. 445. Respondent, Non colimus mala dæmonia. Angelos quos dicitis, ipsos et nos colimus, virtutes Dei magni, et ministeria Dei magni. Utinam ipsos colere velletis, facile ab ipsis disceretis non illos colere. Audite angelum doctorem. Docebat quendam discipulum Christi, et ostendebat illi multa miracula in Apocalypsi Joannis. Ille autem, quodam sibi demonstrato miraculo visionis, expavit, et misit se ad pedes angeli. Et ille angelus, qui non quærebat nisi gloriam Domini sui, Surge, quid facis? inquit, illum adora: nam et ego conservus tuus suum, et fratrum tuorum. Quid ergo, fratres mei? Nemo dicat, Timeo, ne irascatur mihi angelus, si non illum colo pro Deo meo. Tunc tibi irascitur, quando ipsum colere volueris. Bonus est enim, et Deum amat. Quomodo enim dæmones irascuntur, si non colantur: sic angeli indignantur, si pro Deo colantur.

worship him. For he is good, and loves God: and as the devils are angry, if they be not worshipped; so the angels are highly displeased, if they be worshipped instead of God. At last he concludes with this admonition to the pagans: Let the pagans learn to adore God. They have a mind to adore angels: let them imitate angels, and adore him whom the angels adore.[49] And with these words I shall conclude this whole discourse of religious worship, knowing no better admonition that can be given to the angel-worshippers of the present age, than to advise them to imitate the angelical practice of the primitive church, who had God, and only God, for the object of their adoration.

CHAPTER IV.

THAT ANCIENTLY DIVINE SERVICE WAS ALWAYS PERFORMED IN THE VULGAR TONGUE, UNDERSTOOD BY THE PEOPLE.

Sect. 1. This proved, first, From plain testimonies of the ancients asserting it.

Having thus considered the nature and object of Christian worship, I come now to speak of the circumstances and manner of performing Divine service. And here it will be proper to examine in what language the ancients performed their worship; and to inquire into the use and original of what we commonly call liturgies, or set forms of prayer; and to take notice of the habits, and modes, and gestures, and different rites and ceremonies observed without any breach of faith or Christian unity in different churches; together with the solemn times of prayer and religious assemblies, whether weekly or daily, generally observed and set apart for the exercise of public devotion.

As to the first of these, there is nothing more certain in history, than that the service of the ancient church was always performed in the vulgar or common language of every country, that is, such as was either commonly spoken, or at least commonly understood. And so it continued for above a thousand years in the church. And it is even monstrous to think, that in so inquisitive an age as the present is, there should be any men of learning to defend, or whole nations so tamely to submit to, the imposition and tyranny of the contrary practice; so absurd and unreasonable in itself; so prejudicial to devotion; so contrary to the use of speech, whose end is edification; so reproachful to human nature, as if men were asses indeed, as Thomas Aquinas once made the comparison; so derogatory to the Christian's birthright; so flatly contradictory to the apostle's reasoning; and so diametrically opposite to the universal practice of the church for so many ages. But I shall not think myself obliged to dispute against it upon all these topics, nor to say all that might be said in an historical way against it. He that pleases may see that done already in an excellent book[1] of Bishop Usher's, published by Mr. Wharton. I shall content myself to suggest a few things agreeable to the design of treating matters succinctly, which will be sufficient to satisfy any candid reader as to the sense and practice of the primitive church.

And first I observe, That the ancients declare unanimously, that Divine service was performed in the vulgar tongue of every nation. The Grecians, says Origen,[2] use the Greek language in their prayers, and the Romans the Roman, and so every one in his own dialect prays to God, and gives thanks as he is able; and the God of all languages hears them that pray in all dialects, understanding their different languages as well as if they all spake with one tongue. This he says in answer to an objection of Celsus, who charged them with using of barbarous and unintelligible names and words in their prayers. Justin Martyr says,[3] The Scriptures were first read in their assemblies to the people, and then the president made a discourse to them, exhorting them to observe and follow the good instructions they had heard out of the prophets and apostles. Which had been an absurd admonition, had not the lessons been read in a language which they understood. St. Jerom tells us,[4] That at the funeral of the famous Lady Paula, the psalms were sung in Syriac, Greek, and Latin, because there were men of each language present at the solemnity. And for the same reason Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, is said[5] to have appointed the people to sing the psalms and hymns, some in Greek, and some in Latin: no doubt, that the Divine service might be understood by men of different languages then present in the assembly. Aurelius Cassiodore, writing upon those words of the psalmist, "She shall be brought unto the king in raiment of divers colours," says, This variety signified that

[49] Aug. in Psal. xcvi. Discant pagani adorare Deum. Angelos volunt adorare: angelos imitentur, et illum adorent qui ab angelis adoratur.

[1] Usserii Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis, cum Auctario H. Wharton. Lond. 1690, 4to.

[2] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 8. p. 402. Ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες Ἑλληνικοῖς χρῶνται, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, &c.

[3] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 98.

[4] Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ. Græco, Latino, Syroque sermone psalmi in ordine personabant.

[5] Cyprian. Vit. Cæsar. Arelat. apud Surium. Aug. 27. vol. 4. p. 947. Compulit laicos et populares homines psalmos et hymnos promere, altaque et modulata voce, instar clericorum, alios Græce, alios Latine, prosas et antiphonas decantare, &c.

diversity of tongues,[6] wherewith every nation sang to God in the church, according to the difference of their own country language. And it being then the way of the church, that all offices should be performed with the understanding and edification of the people, Justinian provided for this in one of his laws, obliging all bishops[7] and presbyters to repeat the prayers used in the communion and baptismal service, not in secret, but with an audible voice, so as the minds of the hearers might be raised to greater devotion, and stirred up to glorify the Lord God. For so the holy apostle directs in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, saying, "If thou blessest only with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say the holy Amen to God at thy giving of thanks? For he knoweth not what thou sayest. For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified." It is plain by this, that Justinian thought all prayers which the people either could not hear, or could not understand, were equally blamed by the apostle, as not contributing to edification; and therefore, as he made a law against private muttering of prayers, which ought to be public; so he would no doubt have been as severe against praying in an unknown tongue, had there then been any occasion (as there was not) for the like prohibition in the liturgy of the church. Which may be collected from another of his laws, which was made upon occasion of a dispute which, in his time, arose among the Jews. Some of them, who were superstitiously inclined, were for having the law read only in Hebrew, though not understood by the people: others were for having it read in Greek, or any language which the people understood. The matter at last was brought before Justinian, and he determined in favour of the latter, that it should be read in Greek, or any other language,[8] which the place where they lived had made more useful and known to the people. Hitherto therefore we are assured, this corruption had made no attempt to gain admittance in the service of the Christian church, since it was corrected by the civil magistrate as soon as it was observed to be creeping into the Jewish synagogue.

Sect. 2. Secondly, From the people's joining in psalmody and prayer, and making their responses.

Secondly, As a further evidence of this matter, we may observe, that all the people anciently were allowed to join in psalmody and prayers, and make their proper responses. The learned and unlearned, nay, even women, young virgins, and children, in those times, bare a part in the public service of the church. St. Chrysostom[9] and the author of the Constitutions,[10] speak of children praying with the rest of the congregation for the catechumens and the faithful also. And St. Jerom[11] speaks of young virgins singing the Psalter at morning and evening, at the third, and sixth, and ninth hours, and at midnight, in their course: and says, they were obliged to learn the psalms, and some portion of Scripture, every day. St. Basil[12] and many others (as we shall see hereafter, when we speak of psalmody) say, all the people sung the psalms alternately: and Basil particularly takes notice[13] of children performing this office in common with the rest of the people. And we shall meet with the people's prayers and responses almost in every part of the liturgy, such as the Κύριε, ἐλέησον, "Lord, have mercy," subjoined to every petition of the deacon's prayers; and in those mutual prayers of minister and people, "The Lord be with you: And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts: We lift them up unto the Lord;" with abundance more that need not here be mentioned. All which suppose the service to be in the vulgar and known language; else it were absurd to think, that the people should know how and when to make their responses; or that children and young virgins should learn the psalms and Scripture by heart, and join in psalmody and other parts of the service of the church.

Sect. 3. Thirdly, From the frequent exhortations of the fathers to the people, to hear, and read, and pray with understanding.

Thirdly, There is nothing more common among the ancients in their discourses to the people, than to admonish and exhort them both to hear, and read, and pray with understanding, attention, and fervency of spirit. Which had been very incongruous admonitions, obliging them to impracticable rules, had the lessons and prayers been in an unknown tongue. St. Basil thus exhorts his people,[14] Thou hast the psalms, thou hast the prophets, the precepts of the gospel, the preachings of the apostles; let thy tongue sing and thy mind search the meaning of what is spoken; that thou mayest sing with the spirit, and sing with understanding also. In another homily he tells them,[15] That the Divine oracles were God's gifts to the church, to be read in every assembly, as the food

[6] Cassiodor. in Psal. xliv. al. xlv. Hic varietatem aut linguas multiplices significat; quia omnis gens secundum suam patriam in ecclesia psallit auctori; aut virtutum pulcherrimam diversitatem.

[7] Justin. Novel. 137. cap. 6. Jubemus omnes episcopos et presbyteros, non in secreto, sed cum ea voce quæ a fidelissimo populo exaudiatur, Divinam oblationem, et precationem quæ fit in sancto baptismate, facere; ut inde audientium animi in majorem devotionem, et Dei laudationem et benedictionem efferantur, &c.

[8] Justin. Novel. 146. [9] Chrys. Hom. 71. in Mat. p. 624.

[10] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 6.

[11] Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ. Mane, hora tertia, sexta, nona, vespere, noctis medio, per ordinem Psalterium cantabant. Nec licebat cuiquam sororum ignorare psalmos, et non de Scripturis Sanctis quotidie aliquid discere.

[12] Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæsarienses.

[13] Basil. Procem. in Psalmos. Venet. Fortunat. lib. 2. Poem. in Laud. Cleri Parisiaci:

Pontificis monitis clerus, plebs psallit, et infans.

[14] Basil. Hom. in Psal. xxviii. Serm. 1. t. 1. p. 154.

[15] Ibid. Hom. in Psal. lix. p. 253.

which the Spirit afforded us for the nourishment of our souls. And in another place,[16] putting the question, How a man prays with the spirit, whilst his understanding is unfruitful? he answers, That this was spoken of those that prayed in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the apostle says, "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit indeed prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful." For when the words of the prayer are not known to them that are present, the understanding of him that prayeth is unfruitful, because his prayer is of no use or advantage: but when they that are present understand the prayer, which is of advantage to the hearers, then he that prays reaps the fruit of it, namely, the edification of those who receive benefit by it. And we are to conceive in like manner of all utterance of the words of God. For it is written, If any be useful for edification in the faith. By all this it is evident, the Scriptures and psalms and prayers were read in a known tongue; for otherwise it were in vain to exhort men to give diligence and attention to understand what they heard, if every thing was spoken in a language which they did not, or could not, understand.

Sect. 4. Fourthly, From the references made by the fathers to the prayers and lessons in the service of the church.

Fourthly, The fathers in their sermons frequently refer to the prayers of the church, and to the lessons read before, as things the people were perfectly well acquainted with. They often argue from matters contained in the prayers, as Chrysostom does commonly from all parts of the liturgy: and their sermons, for the most part, were upon such portions of Scripture as had just been read before, as I shall show when I come to the office of preaching. Now this supposes, that both the prayers and lessons of Scripture were in a known tongue; else it were absurd for the preachers to appeal to their auditors as well acquainted with them, or draw arguments from thence, as motives grounded upon their own experience, if yet indeed they had no knowledge of them.

Sect. 5. Fifthly, From the Scriptures being translated into all languages from the first foundation of churches.

Fifthly, This is evident from that pious care which the church took to have the Bible translated into all languages; and as soon as any nation was converted, that spake an uncommon tongue, immediately to procure a new version of the Scriptures into their language. Eusebius[17] says, They were translated into all languages, both of Greeks and barbarians, throughout the world, and studied by all nations as the oracles of God, Chrysostom assures us, That the Syrians,[18] the Egyptians, the Indians, the Persians, the Ethiopians, and a multitude of other nations, translated them into their own tongues, whereby barbarians learned to be philosophers, and women and children with the greatest ease imbibed the doctrine of the gospel. Theodoret[19] says the same, That every nation under heaven had the Scripture in their own tongue: the Hebrew books were not only translated into Greek, but into the Roman, Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Armenian, Scythian, and Sauromatic languages, and, in a word, into all tongues used by all nations in his time. The like is attested by St. Jerom,[20] and St. Austin,[21] and many others. Ulphilas is said, by all the historians,[22] to have translated the whole Bible into the Gothic tongue. St. Jerom translated it into the Dalmatic, as he himself[23] seems to intimate, when he calls it his own tongue; as Scaliger and most others understand him; though Bishop Usher[24] thinks he meant the Latin rather by his own tongue. St. Chrysostom[25] sometimes mentions the Syriac translation; and he is said, by the author of his Life,[26] to have procured, during his exile at Cucusus in Armenia, a translation of the Psalms and New Testament for the use of the Armenian churches. Not to mention that of Methodius, or Cyril, into the Slavonian tongue, or any others of later ages. Of which the curious reader may find exact accounts in Bishop Usher,[27] Bishop Walton,[28] Dr. Milles,[29] and Hottinger,[30] and others, upon this peculiar subject of the Scripture versions.

Sect. 6. Sixthly, From the use of the order of interpreters in the church.

As to the ancient practice, it may be evidenced further, and confirmed, from the use of interpreters in the church; whose office, as has been showed in another place,[31] out of Epiphanius,[32] and other writers, was to render one language into another, as there was occasion, both in reading the Scriptures and in the homilies that were made to the people. For it happened sometimes that there were men of different languages in the same church: as in the churches of Syria and Palestine, some understood Syriac only, and others Greek; and in the African churches, some spake Latin and others Punic: in which cases, whatever was said in one language, was immediately rendered into the other by the interpreter for the benefit of the people. In confirmation of which custom, to what has been said before, I shall here add the observation of

[16] Regul. Brev. qu. 278.
[17] Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. lib. 12. cap. 1. Præsertim de Laud. Constant. cap. 17. p. 662.
[18] Chrys. Hom. 1. in Joan. al. 2. Edit. Savil. t. 2. p. 561.
[19] Theod. de Curand. Græcor. Affect. Serm. 5. t. 4. p. 555.
[20] Hieron. Præfat. in 4 Evangel.
[21] Aug. Ep. 48. ad Vincent.
[22] Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 33. Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 37.
[23] Hieron. Ep. 134. ad Sophronium.
[24] Usser. de Sacris Vernac. p. 220.
[25] Chrys. Hom. 3. in 2 Cor. p. 754.
[26] Gregor. Alexandrin. Vit. Chrys. n. 59. t. 8. Edit. Savil.
[27] Usser. de Script. Vernac. p. 220.
[28] Walton. Prolegom. cap. 5.
[29] Millii Prolegom. in Nov. Test.
[30] Hottinger. de Translat. Biblior. Heidelberg. 1660.
[31] Book III. chap. 13. sect. 4.
[32] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 21.

Theodoret[33] upon the practice of Chrysostom, who, by the help of such an interpreter, often preached to the Arian Goths in Constantinople, whom by that means he reduced to the catholic faith.

Sect. 7. Seventhly, From the custom of having Bibles laid in churches for the people to read in private.

Another custom observed in the ancient church, was to have Bibles in the vulgar tongue laid in a convenient part of the church, for the people at their leisure to employ themselves, as they were piously inclined, in reading of the Scriptures before or after the times of Divine service. Of which custom those verses of Paulinus,[34] which he wrote upon the wall of the *secretarium* of the church of Nola, are an infallible proof, which were in these words:

> Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas;
> Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris:

If any one is piously disposed to meditate in God's law; here he may sit, and employ himself in reading the holy books. Thus Constantine himself, as is observed by Eusebius,[35] was wont to employ himself in the church, partly by joining in the public prayers with the people, and partly by taking the books of the Divine oracles into his hands, and exercising his mind in the contemplation of them. And probably for this reason he ordered Eusebius to prepare fifty copies of the Bible for the use of the church of Constantinople,[36] as his letter to Eusebius witnesses: for it is observed and spoken to his praise by Eusebius in another place,[37] that by his means innumerable multitudes both of men and women exchanged the food of their bodies for that of their souls, that rational food, which was so agreeable to rational minds, and which they obtained by reading the Holy Scriptures. This must necessarily relate, either to their reading the Scriptures by the help and benefit of his copies in the church, or else will argue that they were encouraged by him to read them at home in their private houses; which had been denied them under pain of banishment or death before, in the preceding reigns of the persecuting princes.

Sect. 8. Eighthly, From the general allowance granted to all men to have and read the Scriptures in their mother-tongue. Which privilege was never infringed by any but the heathen persecutors.

And this leads us to another plain evidence of the primitive practice; which was, the privilege and encouragement all Christians had to read the Scriptures at home, for the exercise of themselves and families in private devotion, and better preparation for the public. None ever denied them this privilege, but those persecuting tyrants, who intended to destroy the name and faith of Christians, together with their Bibles, out of the world: for which reason they made the strictest search after them, and used all imaginable art and force to make them deliver them up to be burnt: which they who did, were branded by the infamous name of *traditores*, traitors, and betrayers of their religion. A certain argument, that then private Christians had the use of the Scriptures; else they could not have been impeached for delivering them up to the enemy. It cannot be pleaded here, that the Scriptures were then only in the hands of the bishops, and readers, and others of the clergy: for Baronius himself has published the Acts of several martyrs, where not only private men, but women, confess to the inquisitors that they had the Holy Scriptures in their houses with them. I will give a single instance out of the Acts of Agape and Irene,[38] and their companions. Where the grand inquisitor asks this question of Irene, Who advised you to keep those parchments and Scriptures to this time? To which Irene answered, God Almighty, who has commanded us to love him unto the death; for which cause we durst not betray him; but had rather be burnt alive, or suffer any other things that may befall us, than treacherously deliver up those writings. It is plain from this, that private Christians, both men and women, then enjoyed the Scriptures as their birthright, and none pretended to ravish them from them but only the persecuting heathens. The fathers of the church were so far from doing this, that, on the contrary, they used all manner of arguments to induce men to read and study them; exhorting them not only to hear them with attention in the church, but to read them privately at home with their wives and families; commending those that studied them, and reproving those that neglected them; making large encomiums upon the use and excellency of them, and requiring men to peruse them privately as the best preparation for the public service and instruction: answering all objections and pretences that men could make to the contrary; as, that they were ignorant and unlearned, and that the Scriptures were difficult and hard to be understood; that they were only for the use of monks and religious, and not for secular men, and men of business: assuring them that the Scriptures were for the use of all men, and that it was the neglect of them that was the cause of all ignorance, heresies, errors, and irreligion. These were the general topics, upon which the fathers then pressed the common people to read the

[33] Theod. lib. 5. cap. 30. [34] Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Severum.
[35] Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 4. cap. 17.
[36] Ap. Euseb. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 36. et ap. Theod. lib. 1. cap. 16. et Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 6.
[37] Euseb. Orat. de Laudibus Constant. cap. 17. p. 661.
[38] Acta Agapes et Sociarum, ap. Baron. an. 304. n. 46. Quisnam tibi auctor fuit, ut membranas istas atque Scripturas in hodiernum usque diem custodires? Irene inquit, Deus omnipotens, qui jussit nos ad mortem usque ipsum diligere, qua de causa non ausi sumus eum prodere, sed maluimus aut viventes comburi, aut, quæcunque alia nobis acciderint, perpeti, quam talia scripta prodere.

Scriptures, which are diametrically opposite to the arguments used in later ages to dissuade and deter men from the use of them. A man cannot look into the fathers, but he will see such arguments every where running through their writings. So that it is needless here to insist upon them: the reader that pleases, may see them collected together from first to last by Bishop Usher and Mr. Wharton. I shall only relate one passage of Chrysostom, out of his famous sermons upon Lazarus, where he at once proposes the several arguments, and answers the several objections, I have now mentioned. For this reason, says he,[39] we often acquaint you many days beforehand with the subject of our discourse, that, taking the Bible into your hands in the mean time, and running over the whole passage, you may have your minds better prepared to hear what is to be spoken. And this is the thing I have always advised, and shall still continue to exhort you to, that you should not only hear what is said in this place, but spend your time at home continually in reading the Holy Scriptures. And here let no one use those frigid and vain excuses, I am a man engaged in the business of the law, I am taken up with civil affairs, I am a tradesman, I have a wife, and children to breed up, I have the care of a family, I am a secular man: it belongs not to me to read the Scriptures, but to those that have bid adieu to the world, and are retired into the mountains, and have nothing else to do but to exercise themselves in such a way of living. What sayest thou, O man? Is it not thy business to read the Scriptures, because thou art distracted with a multitude of other cares? Yes, certainly, it belongs to thee more than them. For they have not so much need of the help of the Holy Scriptures, as you have, who are tossed in the waves of the multiplicity of business. Then, enumerating what sins and temptations secular men are exposed to, he infers, that they have perpetual need of Divine remedies, as well to cure the wounds they have already received, as to ward off those they are in danger of receiving; to quench the darts of the devil whilst they are at a distance, and drive them away, by continual reading of the Holy Scriptures. For it is impossible that a man should attain salvation without perpetual exercise in reading spiritual things. But some again will say, What if we cannot understand the things that are contained therein? Why, says he,[40] even in that case, though you do not understand every thing that is contained therein, yet by reading you shall obtain much sanctification. For it is impossible that you should be equally ignorant of all things in those books. For the grace of the Spirit so ordered it, that they should originally be composed and written by publicans, and fishers, and tent-makers, and shepherds, and private and illiterate men, that none of the most ignorant and unlearned might have this excuse of difficulty to fly to; that the things there spoken might be easy to be looked into by all men; that the handicraftsman, the servant, the widow, the most illiterate and unlearned among men, might reap benefit and advantage by hearing them read. The apostles and prophets, he says, wrote not, like the philosophers of the Gentiles, in obscure terms, but made things plain to the understandings of all men, as being the common teachers of the world, that every man by himself might learn by reading alone the things that were spoken. To whom are not all things in the gospel manifest and plain? Who is there that, hearing those sayings, "Blessed are the meek, Blessed are the merciful, Blessed are the pure in heart," and the like, would desire a teacher, to understand the meaning of them? Moreover, the signs, and miracles, and histories, are they not all intelligible and plain to any ordinary reader? This, therefore, is only a pretence, and excuse, and cloak for idleness. Thou dost not understand the things contained in the Scripture. How shouldst thou understand them, when thou wilt not so much as look into them? Take the book into thy hands, read the whole history, and remember those things that are intelligible and easy; and those things that are more obscure and dark, read over and over again: and if thou canst not by frequent reading dive into the meaning of what is said, go to a wiser person, betake thyself to a teacher, and confer with him about any such passage; show thy diligence and desire to be informed. And when God sees thy willingness and readiness of mind, he will not despise thy vigilance and care; but though man inform thee not in the things about which thou makest inquiry, he himself will certainly reveal it unto thee. Remember the eunuch of the Ethiopian queen, who, though he was a barbarian, and immersed in a multitude of cares and business, and understood not what he read, yet he read for all that, sitting in his chariot. And if he showed so great diligence by the way, consider how he behaved himself at home. If he would not omit reading in the time of a journey, much less would he omit it when he sat quietly in his own house. If, when he understood nothing of it, he still continued to read, much more would he do it when he came to understand it. Wherefore, because he read when he had no guide, he quickly found a guide. God knew the willingness of his mind, and accepted his diligence, and presently sent him a teacher. But Philip you will say, does not now stand by us. No; but the Spirit that moved Philip is still by us. Let us not neglect our own salva-

[39] Chrys. Hom. 3. in Lazar t. 5. p. 59.

[40] Chrys. Hom. 3. in. Lazar. t. 5. p. 62.

tion, beloved. These things were written for our salvation, upon whom the ends of the world are come. The reading of the Scriptures is our great guard against sin. Our ignorance of them is a dangerous precipice, and a deep gulf: it is an absolute betraying of our salvation, to know nothing of the Divine law. It is this that has brought forth so many heresies; this, that has brought so much corruption into our lives; this, that has turned all things into confusion.

One would think St. Chrysostom had foreseen all the little pleas and sophistry of the Romish church, and was here disputing and inveighing against them. So apposite is every word to refute their trifling pretences; That ignorance is the mother of devotion; that the Scriptures are obscure; that there is need of an infallible guide on earth, besides the Spirit, to understand them; that the promiscuous use of them is the cause of all errors and heresies; that laymen and secular men are not fit to be intrusted with them: each of which positions is as plainly combated by St. Chrysostom, as if he had been directly disputing against the insufferable tyranny and frivolous pleas of the present church of Rome: and his whole discourse, with some hundreds of the like passages that might be alleged out of him and other writers, do irrefragably show, that it was as much the care and concern of the primitive church to have the service of God and the Scriptures to be understood by all, as now it is the concern of the Roman church to have them concealed from their knowledge, and locked up in a language which the unlearned do not understand.

Sect. 9. Ninthly, From the liberty granted to children and catechumens, to join in the public prayers and read the Scriptures.

For it is very observable further, that in the primitive church not only men and women, but children were encouraged and trained up from their infancy to the reading of the Holy Scriptures; and the catechumens were not only admitted to some of the prayers of the church peculiarly appropriated to their condition, but also obliged to learn the Scriptures, as part of their discipline and instruction. Of their obligation to learn the Scriptures, we have treated before,[41] in speaking of the method of training them up for baptism: and of their admission to certain prayers of the church, we shall see more hereafter, in that part of the worship called the service of the catechumens.[42] All, then, that is further here to be showed, is, that children were trained up to the use of the Holy Scriptures. And of this we have undoubted evidence from many eminent instances of their practice. Eusebius[43] remarks of the great care of Leonides the martyr, and father of Origen, in the education of his son, that he made him learn the Scriptures before he set him to the study of the liberal arts and polite learning. And Socrates[44] makes the like observation upon the education of Eusebius, surnamed Emisenus, who was born of noble parentage at Edessa, a city of Osroene in Mesopotamia, that he was first taught the Holy Scriptures from his infancy, and then human learning: and Sozomen,[45] in relating the same story, says, this was done *κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος*, according to the custom of the country; which shows that it was no singular instance, but a general practice, to bring children up from their infancy to the use of the Holy Scriptures. Gregory Nyssen[46] notes it in the Life of his sister Macrina, That the first part of her instruction in her infancy, was to be taught the easy portions of Scripture, that were most suitable to her age: and he says also,[47] she did the same for her younger brother Peter, taking him from his mother's breasts, and instructing him in the Scriptures, that he might have no time to spend upon vain studies. It is noted by Sozomen[48] and Palladius, of Marcus the hermit, that he was so expert in the Scriptures when he was but a youth, that he could repeat all the Old and New Testament without book. And it is observable, that as there were many catechetic schools in those times for explaining the Scriptures to the catechumens, so there were also schools appointed in many churches to instruct the youth in the knowledge of the Scriptures. When Gregory, the apostle of the Armenians, first converted that nation, it is said in his Life,[49] That he set up schools in every city, and masters over them, by the king's command, to teach the Armenian children to read the Bible. And Theodoret[50] relates a remarkable story of Protogenes the scribe, That when Valens the Arian emperor banished him to Antinoe in Thebais, in the utmost parts of Egypt, he, finding the greatest part of the city to be heathens, set up a charity school among them, and taught them the Holy Scriptures; dictating to them in writing short-hand David's Psalms, and making them learn such doctrines of the apostolical writings, as were proper for them to understand; by which means he brought many, both of the children and parents, over to the Christian faith. And it has been observed before,[51] that by the canons of some councils such sort of charity schools were appointed to be set up in cathedrals and other churches, where, no doubt, according to the custom of those days, children were taught to read the Scriptures.[52] These rules were renewed in several councils under Charles the Great and the fol-

[41] Book X. chap. i. sect. 6.
[42] Book XIV. chap. 5.
[43] Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 2.
[44] Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 9.
[45] Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 6.
[46] Nyssen. Vit. Macrin. t. 2. p. 179.
[47] Ibid. p. 185.
[48] Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 29. Pallad. Hist. Lausiaca, cap. 21.
[49] Acta Gregorii, ap. Simeon. Metaphrast. Sept. 30, cited by Bishop Usher.
[50] Theod. lib. 4. cap. 15. al. 18.
[51] See Book VIII. chap. 7. sect. 12.
[52] Conc. 6. General. can. 4 et 5

lowing princes. Particularly in the second council of Chalons,[53] anno 813, it was appointed, That according to the order of Charles the emperor, bishops should set up schools to teach both grammar and the knowledge of the Scriptures. And in the council of Toul, or Savonieres,[54] in Lorrain, the decree was renewed, That schools of the Holy Scripture and human learning should be erected; forasmuch as, by the care of the religious emperors in former days, by this means both ecclesiastical knowledge and human learning had made a considerable progress in the world. And Mr. Wharton[55] will furnish the inquisitive reader with many other rules and canons, made about the same time, to promote and encourage the learning of the Scriptures.

Sect. 10. Lastly, From the form and tenor of the ordination of readers int he church.

I only observe one thing more, that the very form and tenor of the ordination of readers anciently did manifestly imply, that the service of the ancient church was always performed in a known tongue. For they were sometimes ordained with prayer to God for his Holy Spirit, to qualify them to read his word to the instruction and edification of the people. The form of their ordination in the book of the Constitutions, prays, That God[56] would give the reader wisdom, as he did to Esdras, to read his laws to the people. Now, it is well known how Esdras read the law to them, by causing them to understand the reading. Neh. viii. 7, 8, "They read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." And if all readers read as Esdras did, they certainly either read, or interpreted the reading, in a known tongue. For he rendered that which was written in the Hebrew tongue, into the Chaldee or Syriac, which was, after the captivity, the common language of the people. Cyprian twice or thrice speaks of the ordination and office of readers, and he plainly intimates, that the people understood what they read out of the gospel to them. In one place, speaking of Celerinus the confessor, whom he had ordained a reader, he says, It was very fitting he should read the gospel,[57] who had so courageously and faithfully observed it; and that the same tongue which had confessed the Lord, should be daily heard to repeat what the Lord hath spoken; since there was nothing wherein a confessor could more advantage his brethren, than to have them hear the gospel read by the mouth of such a confessor and reader, whose faith was so brave an example. In another epistle,[58] speaking of Aurelius the confessor, whom he also ordained a reader, he says, There was nothing more agreeable than that that voice, which had so gloriously confessed the Lord, should sound forth in reading the lessons of the Lord: and after those lofty words, whereby he proclaimed the martyrdom of Christ, he should read the gospel of Christ, which makes martyrs. The gospel was then so read that the hearers might reap advantage by it, whilst they understood the doctrines and precepts that were read to them out of it. And such was the advantage which some hearers in those days reaped from the benefit of having the Scriptures read in their own tongue, that it is very remarkable what is related of one or two of them, that being men of good memories, they got the Scriptures by heart, without any knowledge of letters, only by hearing them constantly read in the church or elsewhere. St. Austin[59] remarks this of St. Antony, the famous Egyptian monk, that without being able to read himself, he made such a proficiency in the knowledge of the Scriptures, as both by hearing them read, to be able to repeat them, and by his own prudent meditation to understand them. And Gregory the Great[60] gives a like instance in one Servulus, a poor man at Rome, who, though he knew not a letter in the book, yet, purchasing a Bible, and entertaining religious men, he prevailed with them to read it continually to him, by which means he perfectly learned the Holy Scriptures. It is a yet more astonishing instance, which Eusebius[61] gives in one of the martyrs of Palestine, a blind man, called John, who had so happy a memory, that he could repeat any part of the Bible as readily as others could read it. And he sometimes supplied the office of a reader in the church: and he did this to so great perfection, that Eusebius says, when he first heard him, he was perfectly amazed, and thought

[53] Conc. Cabillon. 2. can. 3. Oportet etiam, ut sicut dominus imperator Carolus præcepit, episcopi scholas constituant, in quibus et literaria solertia disciplinæ, et Sacræ Scripturæ documenta discantur.

[54] Conc. Tullense, ad Saponarias, can. 10. Statuimus ut scholæ Sanctarum Scripturarum, et humanæ quoque literaturæ, &c. constituantur.

[55] Wharton. Auctarium ad Usserii Hist. Dogmat. cap. 4. p. 346.

[56] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 22.

[57] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. p. 77. Legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur; vox Dominum confessa, in his quotidie, quæ Dominus locutus est, audiatur.——Nihil est in quo magis confessor fratribus prosit, quam ut dum evangelica lectio de ore ejus auditur, lectoris fidem quisquis audierit, imitetur.

[58] Id. Ep. 38. al. 33. p. 75. Nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare: post verba sublimia quæ Christi martyrium prolocuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt.

[59] Aug. de Doctrina Christiana in Prologo. t. 3. p. 3. Sine ulla scientia literarum Scripturas Divinas, et memoriter audiendo tenuisse, et prudenter cogitando intellexisse prædicatur.

[60] Greg. Hom. 15. in Evangelia, t. 3. p. 40. Nequaquam literas noverat, sed Scripturæ Sacræ sibimet codices emerat; et religiosos quosque in hospitalitatem suscipiens, hos coram se legere sine intermissione faciebat. Factumque est, ut quantum ad mensuram propriam attinet, plene Sacram Scripturam disceret; cum sicut dixi, literas funditus ignoraret.

[61] Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. cap. 13. p. 344.

he had heard one reading out of a book, till he came a little more curiously to examine him, and found that he did it only by the eyes of his understanding, having the Scriptures written not in books or tables of stone, but in the fleshy tables of his heart. These and such like examples, of which there are many[62] in ancient story, are enough to raise in a man another sort of astonishment than that which Eusebius speaks of: I mean, it would amaze a man to think, that there should be a church in the world pretending to the height of purity and devotion, which yet runs counter to this indisputable practice of the ancient church, whose public readers never once pretended to read any part of Scripture in an unknown tongue: that being as much against the design of their ordination, as it is against the design of the Scripture itself; for the one was written, and the other ordained to read what was written, for men's learning and instruction. Yea, the very form of ordaining readers, as it stands still in the Roman Pontifical, shows as much: for it is much ancienter than the corruption that is now crept into their service, and only stands there as a monument of their reproach, who oblige their readers to act directly contrary to the design of their office, and the very instructions that are given them in their ordination. For there the bishop still, in conferring the order of readers, uses this form: Study to pronounce[63] the word of God, that is, the sacred lessons, distinctly and plainly, to the understanding and edification of the faithful, without any error or falsehood; that ye may teach your hearers both by word and example. This was a very proper form of exhortation to be given to readers at their ordination, while the ancient custom continued of reading in a known tongue: but now it is no better than mockery, to tell men they are obliged by the vow of their ordination to read the Scriptures to the understanding, and instruction, and edification of the people; and at the same time tie up their mouths, that they shall not read a word that may be understood, but it must all be in an unknown tongue. This monstrous contradiction in their own practice, one would think, might bring men to see their error, and (what some in their communion[64] have been so long pleading for) oblige them to return to the useful and edifying practice of the primitive church.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ORIGINAL AND USE OF LITURGIES, IN STATED AND SET FORMS OF PRAYER, IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

Sect. 1. Every bishop at liberty in the first ages to order the form of Divine service in his own church.

The next inquiry is concerning the ancient manner of performing Divine service; whether they did it by stated liturgies, which we usually call set forms of prayer, or by unlimited liberty of prophesying and extempore conceptions? The question about set forms of worship has more disturbed the present church than any other; and yet, after all, there can be no public prayer, but it will be a set form, at least to the congregation. For though we suppose the minister to pray extempore, and vary the method, the form, and the phrase, every time he prays; yet to make it common prayer to a congregation, it will be a form to them, though a new form every time, in spite of all contradiction. And I have often wondered that discerning men should not observe this, before they charged all forms of prayer as void of the Spirit, or a stinting of the Spirit: since, if they were so, extemporary forms would be as much stinting the spirit of the congregation as any other; and, perhaps, in some measure more so; since, in stated forms, which every one knows beforehand, men may be supposed to make them their own hearty prayers by preceding meditation; whereas in extemporary forms every man must wait till he hears what is said, and then join in that form, or else not pray at all, but only privately by himself, not in any public or common prayer jointly with the rest of the congregation. For which reason I shall not here inquire simply, whether the public worship of the ancients was by a form or no? since it is impossible there should be any public worship of a congregation, as a congregation, joining in common prayer to God, without having a common form dictated to them some way or other for all to join in: but the question shall only be, whether they used stated forms of worship, or new extempore forms in every church assembly? And here we must distinguish, 1. Between Divine forms, and forms of human institution. 2. Between ordinary and extraordinary occasions. 3. Between the times of extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, and the times when those miraculous gifts abated. Now, there is no doubt to be made, but that the forms of Divine institution were always used in the church without any variation: as the form of baptism, the

[62] Vide Palladium, Vit. Chrysost. cap. 17. Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 22.

[63] Pontifical. Roman. Cap. de Ordinat. Lectorum. Studete verba Dei, videlicet lectiones sacras, distincte et aperte ad intelligentiam et ædificationem fidelium absque omni mendacio falsitatis proferre.—Quatenus auditores vestros verbo pariter et exemplo docere possitis.

[64] Vid. Frederic. Turius Ceriolanus de Libris Sacris in vernaculam linguam convertendis.

Lord's prayer, the singing of David's Psalms, the forms of benediction, such as, "The Lord be with you," "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. The constant use of the form of baptism has been demonstrated already.[1] The use of the Lord's prayer and the rest shall be showed hereafter.[2] As to forms of human institution, they were added by the bishops and governors of the church according to their wisdom and discretion. And this with relation to the ordinary service; for still they were at liberty to compose new forms for extraordinary emergencies and occasions. And whilst the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit continued, there is little doubt to be made, but that prayers and hymns, immediately dictated by the Spirit, made up a part of the ordinary service; still retaining such forms as were antecedently of Divine appointment. When the extraordinary Spirit of prophecy ceased, then the rulers of the church supplied this want by proper forms of their own composition, according to Christian prudence and discretion. And this seems to have been the true original of liturgies, or stated forms of Divine service. But why, then, have we none of these liturgies remaining entire and perfect to this day? I answer, there may be several reasons assigned for this. One is, that the bishops at first made every one their own liturgy for the private use, as we may call it, of their own particular churches. And therefore the use of them not extending further than the precincts of their own dioceses, there was little knowledge of them beyond the bounds of those churches, and not much care to preserve them but only for the use of such churches, for which they were particularly designed. That every bishop had at first this power and privilege to compose and order the form of Divine service for his own church, I have showed in another place,[3] where I had occasion to discourse of the independency of bishops, and their absolute power in their own church: where, among other things, I observed, that as they had the privilege to word their own creeds, so they had the privilege to frame their own liturgy; which privilege they retained for several ages. As may be confirmed by this further and most certain observation, that when any new episcopal church was taken and erected out of another, the new erected church was not obliged to follow the model and prescriptions of the old church, but might frame to herself a form of Divine service agreeable to her own circumstances and condition. Of which Sozomen[4] gives a clear evidence in the instance of Maiuma, a city raised from a village in Palestine, and once belonging to the diocese of Gaza: for as soon as it was erected into a distinct episcopal see, it was no longer obliged to observe precisely the rules and forms of the church of Gaza, but had, as he particularly remarks, a calendar for the festivals of its own martyrs, and commemorations of their own bishops and presbyters that had lived among them. Which is the same thing as to say, they had a liturgy and service of their own, independent of the church out of which they were taken.

Sect. 2. In after ages the churches of a whole province by consent conformed to the liturgy of the metropolitan.

In after ages bishops agreed by consent to conform their liturgy to the model of the metropolitical church of the province to which they belonged. And then it was enacted into a law by several councils, that the same order and uniformity should be observed in all churches. The rudiments of this discipline were first laid in the French churches. For in the council of Agde[5] a canon was made about the year 506, That one and the same order should be equally observed in all churches of the province in all parts of Divine service. And in the council of Epone[6] it is more expressly said, That in celebrating Divine offices, the provincial bishop should observe the same order as was observed by the metropolitan. And before these, the council of Vannes in Britanny, in the province of Tours, made a like order for that whole province, That one and the same[7] custom in celebrating Divine service, and the same order of psalmody, should be kept in all churches; that as they held one faith and confession of the holy Trinity, so they should keep to one rule of Divine offices; lest if they varied in their observations, that variation should be interpreted as a disagreement in some point or other. And the same rule was made and concerted in the Spanish churches. For in the council of Girone, anno 517, a like decree was made for the whole province of Tarragone or Catalonia, That the same[8] order of mass, and custom in psalmody, and other ministrations, should be observed in all churches of the province, as was observed in the metropolitical church. The fourth council of Toledo enlarged the order for uniformity in all churches of Spain and Gallicia,[9] obliging all priests to perform Divine offices in the same manner, that there might

[1] Book XI. chap. 3. [2] Book XIII. chap. 7.

[3] Book II. chap. 6. sect. 2. [4] Sozomen. lib. 5. cap. 3.

[5] Conc. Agathens. can. 30. Quia convenit ordinem ecclesiæ ab omnibus æqualiter observari, studendum est ubique (sicut fit) et post antiphonas, collectiones per ordinem ab episcopis vel presbyteris dici, &c.

[6] Conc. Epaunens. can. 27. Ad celebrandum divina officia, ordinem, quem metropolitani tenent, provinciales eorum observare debebunt.

[7] Conc. Veneticum. can. 15. Rectum quoque duximus, ut vel intra provinciam nostram sacrorum ordo, et psallendi una sit consuetudo; ut sicut unam cum Trinitatis confessione fidem tenemus, unam et officiorum regulam teneamus: ne, variata observatione, in aliquo devotio nostra discrepare videatur.

[8] Conc. Gerundense. can. 1. Ut institutio missarum, sicut in metropolitana ecclesia agitur, ita in Dei nomine in omni Tarraconensi provincia tam ipsius missæ ordo, quam psallendo vel ministrando, consuetudo servetur.

[9] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 2. Placuit omnes sacerdotes, qui

be no diversity among them, and that such difference might neither offend the weak, nor look like a schism in the church to ignorant and carnal men. Therefore they appointed, that one order should be observed in praying and singing, and the same method be kept in the morning and evening service, because they were all of the same faith and the same kingdom. And the first council of Braga has four or five canons to the same purpose,[10] appointing the same order of psalmody, and lessons, and salutations, and the same forms of celebrating baptism and the eucharist, to be observed in all churches. So that though every bishop at first had liberty to frame a liturgy for the use of his own church; yet in process of time they agreed by consent to take the liturgy of the metropolitical church as a standard for the whole province: and when the Roman empire began to be cantonized and divided into different kingdoms, then came in the use of national liturgies, whose use was commensurate to the bounds and limits of their respective nations and kingdoms.

Sect. 3. Why none of the ancient liturgies are now remaining perfect and entire, as they were in their first original.

If it be inquired, why then none of the ancient liturgies are now remaining, as they were at first composed for the use of particular churches? I answer, several reasons may be assigned for this. 1. The very liberty which every bishop had to frame the liturgy of his own church, was one reason why none of these are now remaining perfect and entire, as they were at first composed for the use of such a particular church. For the design of them being only for the use of such a particular church, there was no great reason to be very solicitous, either to communicate and diffuse the knowledge of them to other churches, or to preserve them entire to posterity, who were not precisely tied up to the use of them, but might frame others at their own discretion. 2. It is not improbable, but that, as a late learned French writer[11] has observed, the ancient liturgies were for some ages only certain forms of worship committed to memory, and known by practice, rather than committed to writing, which is the only certain way of preserving such sort of monuments to late posterity. This seems very probable, because, in the persecutions under Diocletian and his associates, though a strict inquiry was made after the books of Scripture, and other things belonging to the church, which were often delivered up by the *traditores* to be burnt, yet we never read of any ritual books, or books of Divine service, delivered up among them. Which is an argument, that their forms of worship and administration of the sacraments were not then generally committed to writing, or at least not compiled in books distinct from the Psalms, or other books of Scripture: otherwise, it is very probable, that as the Scriptures, with other utensils and treasures of the church, were often found by the heathens, or betrayed by apostatizing Christians, and delivered up to be burnt; so we should have heard something of their books of Divine worship undergoing the same fate; since they who were so curious in inquiring after the cups, and lamps, and torches, and vestments, and other utensils and vessels of the church, (as in some of their calendars and breviates we find they were,) would hardly have omitted their books of worship, as being more proper objects of their spite and malice, had they found any such in the Christian churches. Mr. Daillé[12] argues well upon this foot against the use of images in the ancient church, because no such thing was ever found or betrayed to the heathen in the times of their most furious inquisition after any thing that related to the Christian church or religion: and I think the argument will hold as well against having their liturgies compiled into books and volumes, since it is scarce possible that such things in difficult times should have wholly escaped the notice and fury of their enemies. We are not hence to conclude, (as some weak men might perhaps be inclined to do,) that therefore they had no liturgies or set forms of Divine worship in these persecuting ages of the church; because there are undeniable evidences to the contrary, as we shall see by and by; but we are only to conclude, that they did not so generally compile them in books as in after ages, but used them by memory, and made them familiar to the people by known and constant practice, as many now use forms of prayer at this day without committing them to writing. And this is another reason, why none of those ancient liturgies are come to our hands perfect and entire, but only in scattered fragments, as the fathers had occasion to mention them incidentally in their writings. Nor need we wonder at this, since even those liturgies which were most certainly compiled in books in the following ages, are now in a great measure lost also by the injuries of time, as the old Gallican, Spanish, African, and Roman liturgies, of which there is nothing but

catholicæ fidei unitatem complectimur, ut nihil ultra diversum aut dissonum in ecclesiasticis sacramentis agamus, ne quælibet nostra diversitas apud ignotos seu carnales schismatis errorem videatur ostendere, et multis existat in scandalum varietas ecclesiarum. Unus ergo orandi atque psallendi ordo a nobis per omnem Hispaniam atque Galliciam conservetur: unus modus in missarum solennitatibus, unus in vespertinis officiis: nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo, quia in una fide continemur et regno.

[10] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 19. Placuit ut unus atque idem psallendi ordo in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur, &c. Vid. can. 20—23. ibid.

[11] Renaudotius, Collectio Liturgiar. Oriental. Dissertat. 1. p. 9. t. 1. Paris, 1716.

[12] Dallæ. de Cultu Relig. lib. 1. cap. 25.

fragments and dismembered parcels now remaining: which is a third reason why none of those ancient liturgies are extant at this day. The fourth and last reason is, the interpolations and additions made to the ancient liturgies in future ages. For though those ancient liturgies which go under the name of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil might originally have something of their composition in them, yet so many additions and alterations have been made in them by the Greek church in following ages, that it is not easy to discern, after they have passed through so many hands, and so much new modelling, what was the genuine composition of the first authors. And therefore I have made little use of them in this work, but rather chosen to collect the fragments of the ancient liturgy from the scattered remains in the genuine writings of the fathers; joining with them such forms as we find in the ancient book, called the Apostolical Constitutions: which though it be not so ancient as the title pretends, nor of so venerable authority as Mr. Whiston contends for, who would have it to be truly apostolical, yet it is owned to be a good collection of the liturgy and rituals of the church in the third and fourth centuries, and less corrupted than any other liturgy that bears the name of an ancient writer; the true reason of which was, because it never being of that esteem as to be used as a standing liturgy in any church, the book came down to us with less alterations than other liturgies, which were new modelled, according to the different taste and sentiments of the ages they passed through, as all things of this kind are commonly revised and altered by several hands, when they are in constant use and practice. For proof of which we need go no further than the example of our own liturgy, which has received many reviews, alterations, and additions from the time it was first compiled in the days of King Edward. Upon this score, those liturgies which bear the names of ancient authors, are not to be depended on, as the genuine, unmixed liturgies of those authors, having undergone so many alterations, interpolations, and additions, by passing through various hands in succeeding ages. Forasmuch, therefore, as we have now no ancient liturgies perfect and entire, as they were first composed, we must take our accounts and estimate of them from other fountains: and by the providence of God there is so much of them remaining in the genuine writings of the ancient fathers, as both to show us in general that the church made use of stated forms of worship, and also what was the particular order and method of her worship in the most considerable parts of her sacred service and devotions. We will, therefore, first give some account of the use of liturgies and sacred rites in general, and then proceed to explain in order the several parts of the ancient service in the same natural method as we find it was performed, at several times, either in the daily or weekly assemblies for that purpose.

Sect. 4. What forms were used in the apostles' days. Where of the ancient forms used in the Jewish worship, and of the new forms introduced into the Christian service.

As to the use of liturgies in general, I shall begin with the apostolical times, and carry the history through the four first ages. The apostolical practice may be considered in a double respect; first, in their compliance with the stated forms settled among the Jews; and, secondly, in the new forms introduced into the Christian service. As to the former, there seems to be nothing more uncontested among learned men, than that the Jews had set forms of worship in all parts of Divine service, and that the apostles freely used these in all instances, in which they thought it necessary or becoming to join with them. Their ordinary service was of two sorts, the service of the temple, and the service of the synagogue. These differed in many respects, but both agreed in this, that the public prayers in both were offered up in a certain constant form of words. For their private prayers, which every man made particularly by himself, (which were like those silent prayers we shall hereafter[13] meet with in the Christian church,) a late learned writer[14] tells us, They had no public forms to pray by, nor any public ministers to officiate to them herein; but all prayed in private conceptions: but their public prayers were directed by public forms, both in the service of the temple and the synagogue. The temple service is very accurately described by Dr. Lightfoot, as it stood in the time of our Saviour: the sum of his description is this:[15] First, before the offering of the sacrifice, the president called upon them to go to prayers, which they began with this form: Thou hast loved us, O Lord our God, with an everlasting love, with great and abundant compassion hast thou had mercy on us, O our Father, our King, for our fathers' sakes, who trusted in thee, and thou taughtest them statutes of life. So be gracious to us also, O our Father, O most merciful Father, O thou compassionate One, pity us. And put into our hearts to know, understand, obey, learn, teach, observe, do, and perform all the words of the doctrine of thy law in love, and enlighten our eyes by thy law, and cause our hearts to cleave to thy commandments, and unite our hearts to love and to fear thy name, &c. After this prayer, they rehearsed the ten commandments, and after the ten commandments they said over their phylacteries, in Hebrew called *tephillin*, which contained four portions of the law, written in four parchments. The first out of Exodus xiii.,

[13] See Book XV. chap. 1.

[14] Prideaux, Connexion of Scripture History, part 1. chap. 6. p. 382.

[15] Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. 9. sect. 4. p. 108.

from ver. 3 to 10. The second out of Exod. xiii., from ver. 11 to 16. The third out of Deut. vi., from ver. 4 to 9. The fourth out of Deut. xi., from ver. 13 to 21. After this prayer, and rehearsal of the decalogue and of their phylacteries, at the time of offering incense, they had three or four prayers more: the first of which was in this form, referring to their phylacteries: Truth and stability, and firm and sure, and upright and faithful, and beloved and lovely and delightful, and fair and terrible and glorious, and ordered and acceptable, and good and beautiful, is this word for us for ever and ever. The truth of the everlasting God our King, the rock of Jacob, the shield of our salvation, for ever and ever. He is sure, and his name sure, and his throne settled, and his kingdom and truth established for evermore, &c.

The second prayer was in this form: Be pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and with their prayer, and restore the service to the oracle of thy house, and accept the burnt offering of Israel, and their prayer in love and complacency; and let the service of thy people Israel be continually well-pleasing unto thee. And they concluded thus: We praise thee, who art the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, the God of all flesh, our Creator, and the God of all creatures: glory and praise be to thy great and holy name, because thou hast preserved and kept us; so preserve and keep us, and bring back our captivity to the courts of thy holiness, &c.

A third prayer ran thus: Appoint peace, goodness, and blessing, grace, mercy, and compassion, for us, and for all Israel thy people. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us as one man, with the light of thy countenance; for in the light of thy countenance thou, O Lord our God, hast given us the law of life, and loving mercy and righteousness, and blessing and compassion, and life and peace: let it please thee to bless thy people Israel at all times. Let us, and all thy people the house of Israel, be remembered and written before thee in the book of life, with blessing and peace, &c.

A fourth prayer was used on the sabbath as a blessing, by the course that went out of their service, upon those that came in to do the service of the following week, in these words: He that caused his name to dwell in this house, cause love and brotherhood, and peace and friendship, to dwell among you.

After these things, the priests lifted up their hands, and blessed the people in that form of words, which is in Numb. vi. 24—26, "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." To which the people answered, "Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting."

After this blessing, the meat offering and the drink offering was offered, and then began the singing of psalms, and the music. The constant and ordinary psalms which they sung were these:

On the first day of the week, Psalm xxiv., "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," &c.

On the second day, Psalm xlviii.: "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of God," &c.

On the third day, Psalm lxxxii., "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among gods," &c.

On the fourth day, Psalm xciv., "O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth," &c.

On the fifth day, Psalm lxxxi., "Sing aloud unto God our strength; make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob."

On the sixth day, Psalm xciii., "The Lord reigneth; he is clothed with majesty."

On the sabbath day they sang Psalm xcii., which bears the title of "A Psalm or Song for the sabbath day," both in the Hebrew Bibles, and the translation of the Septuagint.

These were the known, and constant, and fixed psalms for the several days of the week throughout the year.[16] But upon some certain days they had additional psalms and hymns. For on the sabbath, as there was an additional sacrifice appointed, Numb. xxviii. 9; so at the time of this additional sacrifice, the Levites sang the song of Moses, Deut. xxxii., "Hear, O heavens, and I will speak;" which they divided into six sabbaths for the morning service: and at the evening service they sang that other song of Moses, Exod. xv., "I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea," &c. By which custom of singing the songs of Moses upon the sabbath, Dr. Lightfoot observes,[17] that that passage in Rev. xv. 3 may be illustrated, where the saints are said to "sing the song of Moses, the servant of God;" because they were now come to their everlasting sabbath, having "gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name," and having the harps of God in their hands. Which allusion to the sabbath service in the time of St. John, is a good argument for the antiquity of the practice.

Besides this, there was an additional sacrifice appointed on the first day of the year, called the Feast of Trumpets, Numb. xxix. 1; and at this time they sang the eighty-first Psalm, "Sing aloud unto God our strength," &c. And at the evening service of this day, the twenty-ninth Psalm, "The voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness," &c.

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[16] Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. 7. p. 59.

[17] Ibid. p. 61.

Also at the Passover, besides many other forms, they were used to sing the hymn called the Egyptian Hallel, because it was sung in remembrance of their delivery out of Egypt: which consisted of Psalms cxiii. cxiv. cxv. cxvi. cxvii. and cxviii. And this, as some observe,[18] was sung also at the beginning of every month, and on the Feast of Dedication, and the Feast of Weeks, and the Feast of Tabernacles. And the latter part of it is generally supposed to be the hymn which our Saviour sung with his disciples at the conclusion of his last supper.

This is the sum of the Jewish temple service, as it stood in our Saviour's time, with which, notwithstanding its stated forms, both he and his disciples complied, whenever they had occasion upon any such solemnities to frequent the temple.

The service of the synagogue was something different from that of the temple. For here were no sacrifices, but only these three things: 1. Prayers. 2. Reading of the Scriptures. 3. Preaching and expounding upon them. Their public prayers, like those of the temple, were all by stated forms. Among these, the most ancient and solemn were those which are called *Shemoneh Eshreh*, that is, the eighteen prayers, which are said to have been appointed by Ezra, and the great synagogue, from the time of the captivity. These have been lately translated and published by Dr. Prideaux, in his Connexion of Scripture History,[19] which, because it is a work that deserves to be in every one's hands, I shall not here transcribe, but refer the reader thither for the knowledge of them. Only whereas he observes rightly, That another prayer, called the nineteenth, was added a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, against the Christians, who are therein meant under the names of apostates and heretics; I shall confirm his observation from a passage in Epiphanius,[20] who tells us, That the Jews in their synagogues were used to pray against the Christians in this form: Ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς Ναζαραίους, O God, curse the Nazarenes. And the same thing is intimated by Justin Martyr,[21] who says, Immediately after our Saviour's resurrection, the Jews sent forth their chosen emissaries to all the synagogues in the world, to tell them, That there was a certain impious, lawless sect risen up under one Jesus, a Galilean impostor, whom they had crucified, but his disciples came by night, and stole him away out of the grave, and deceived men by saying, He was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven: and he adds, That after their city was demolished they repented not, but even dared *καταρᾶσθαι αὐτοῦ*, to curse him, and all that believed on him. Which plainly refers to this additional prayer inserted into their liturgy against the Christians. But excepting this prayer, which was of later date, all the other seem to have been in use in the time of our Saviour and his apostles. And as we are sure they frequented the synagogues, so there is no doubt to be made, but that they joined in these usual forms of prayer, which were one part of the synagogue service.

The other parts of this service, were the reading of the law and the prophets, and expounding of them to the people. Which was also done by a certain rule and order. For the five books of Moses were divided into as many sections, or lessons, as there are weeks in the year, one of which was read every sabbath, and half of the same every Monday and Thursday, which were their days of assembly for the synagogue service. At these our Saviour was usually present, and sometimes assisted and officiated in reading, according to custom, as a member of the synagogue, as is expressly said of him, Luke iv. 16, and at other times taught in their synagogues, Mark i. 39; Luke iv. 15, 44; which is also noted of St. Paul, Acts xiii. 15; xvi. 13; xvii. 2; xviii. 4, that it was his manner on the sabbath days to go into the synagogues, where prayer was wont to be made, and there, after the reading of the law and the prophets, to preach to the people, and dispute or reason with them. So that, notwithstanding the public service of the synagogue was all performed by order and form, yet this was no reason to the apostles to refrain from it, as a thing simply sinful or unlawful; but they complied with it for some time, probably to gain upon the Jews the better, and make them lay aside their prejudices against the Christian doctrine.

But besides their compliance with the stated forms of the Jewish liturgy and worship, they had some forms of their own in constant use among themselves. Among which we may safely venture to reckon, 1. The Lord's prayer, as a form appointed by Christ to be used by all his disciples; of which the primitive Christians never made any dispute, as we shall see more fully hereafter. 2. The form of baptism, constantly used without any variation, as has been showed in a former[22] Book. 3. The forms of professing their faith in baptism, or the forms of sound words settled in every church. 4. The forms of renouncing Satan and covenanting with Christ in baptism. 5. The forms of Scripture hymns and psalms, and glorifications of God. To which the ancients seem to add, 6thly, The forms of benediction, such as, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. And lastly, The repetition of the history of Christ's institution of the last supper, as a necessary part of consecration, which, together with the

[18] Otho. Lexicon. Rabbin. p. 236.

[19] Part 1. book 6. p. 375.

[20] Epiphan. Hær. 29. Nazaræor. in fine.

[21] Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 335.

[22] Book XI. chap. iii.

use of the Lord's prayer in the celebration of the eucharist, is generally thought to descend from apostolical practice. These things are sufficient to show, that even the apostles themselves, notwithstanding the extraordinary gift of inspired prayer, whether in matter, or method, or words, or languages, sometimes confined themselves to forms, without any reflection on their gifts, or stinting of the Spirit, or want of edification to their hearers. If these things be rightly considered, some of them at least will evince, that the use of well chosen and well appointed forms, are no ways disagreeable to apostolical practice, since the apostles themselves both complied with the forms in use in the Jewish temple and synagogue, and used some others of Christian institution. I now proceed to carry this inquiry through the three or four following ages of the church.

And here, first, we may add what Josephus says of the Essenes,[23] That they were used to rise before the sun was up, and offer unto God πατρίυς τινας εὐχὰς, certain prayers, according to the custom of their forefathers, or such as they had received from them: and what Philo says[24] of the Therapeutæ of Alexandria, the ascetics, whether Jews or Christians, that lived there in his time, That the president among them, after he had made a sermon, first began to sing a hymn to the praise of God, either such as he had composed himself, or one taken out of the ancient prophets, in the close of which they all, both men and women, joined in concert with him. Again, in their vigils,[25] they divided themselves into two quires, the one of men, the other of women, each of which had their precentor; and so they sang hymns to the glory of God, composed in divers sorts of metre, sometimes one side singing and sometimes the other, in imitation of the children of Israel, under the conduct of Moses and Miriam, their precentors, at the Red Sea. This was so much a resemblance of the ancient Christian way of psalmody, that Eusebius,[26] who transcribes a great many things out of this curious tract of Philo, was clearly of opinion, that it was a description of the worship of such Jews as had embraced the Christian religion: in which opinion he is followed not only by St. Jerom,[27] but by many learned writers of this last age also. I shall not need to determine this question, whether they were Jews or Christians: it is sufficient to our present purpose, that their way of worshipping God by certain forms of praise, and those of human composition, was the same, or so much alike, that it was not easy to distinguish the one from the other.

Sect. 5. What evidence there is of the use of set forms in the second century.

In the beginning of the second century lived Pliny, a Roman proconsul in Bithynia, who giving Trajan the emperor an account of the Christian way of worship, which he had from the mouth of some apostates, says, They were used to meet on a certain day before it was light, and sing a hymn alternately to Christ as God, binding themselves by an oath or sacrament (not to any wicked thing, but) that they would not steal, nor rob, nor commit adultery, nor break their faith, nor withhold the pledge.[28] The word, *carmen dicere*, which Pliny uses, will signify a solemn form of prayer, as well as praises, as Vossius[29] and Brissonius[30] have observed out of the Roman writers: and then it will denote, that their whole Divine service was by a stated form. However, in the most restrained sense it implies, that they used certain forms in some part of their service in their alternate hymnody, which could not otherwise be performed but by composition and prescription. And that makes it probable, that the rest of their service was then of the same nature and order.

In the beginning of the same century, Ignatius is said by the ancient historians to have brought in the way of alternate singing[31] into the church of Antioch; that is, hymns sung alternately to the praise of the holy Trinity. For they speak not of the alternate singing of David's Psalms, as introduced by Ignatius, but of hymns composed by him to set forth the Divinity of Christ: which appears to have been a very ancient practice, not only from what has been already observed out of the account given by Pliny, but from what is said by that ancient author in Eusebius,[32] who wrote against the heresy of Artemon in the latter end of the second century; where, among other arguments which he brings for the church's constant belief of our Saviour's Divinity, he urges this for one, That from the beginning there were psalms and hymns composed by the brethren, and written by the faithful, setting forth the praises of Christ as the Word of God, and declaring the Divinity of his person. Among these hymns we may reckon those of Ignatius, composed for the service of the church of Antioch, which probably might continue in use till Paulus Samosatensis removed them out of the church, and introduced others in their room, as the fathers of the council of Antioch, mentioned in Eusebius,[33] object against him.

It is not improbable, likewise, but that Ignatius, as he made hymns, so might compose a whole form of prayers for the use of his own church, as was

[23] Joseph. de Bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 12.
[24] Philo de Vita Contemplativa, t. 2. p. 1214.
[25] Philo, ibid. p. 1215.
[26] Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 17.
[27] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 21.
[28] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97.
[29] Voss. Comment. in loc. p. 97.
[30] Brisson. de Formulis, p. 97.
[31] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Hist. Tripartita, lib. 10. cap. 9.
[32] Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 28. See this cited before, chap. 2. sect. 3.
[33] Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30.

customary for bishops to do in those days. To which custom he seems to refer in his epistle to the Magnesians, when he bids them do nothing without the bishops and the presbyters; nor attempt any thing seemingly agreeable to their private fancies; but when they met together,[34] to have one prayer and one supplication. Which not only forbids them to break out and divide into schisms and separate assemblies, but also to conform to the order of prayers agreed upon by the bishop and presbytery of the church.

Not long after Ignatius, we meet with the collateral evidence of Lucian the heathen, who had some knowledge of the Christian service. For in one of his dialogues, describing his coming into a religious assembly, he says, he there heard that prayer which began with the Father, and ended with the hymn of many names.[35] It is more than probable, that by the prayer beginning with the Father, he means the Lord's prayer, which was of known and general use in the eucharistical service: but it is not so clear what he means by the hymn of many names, that came after it. Bishop Wetenhall[36] takes it for the lesser or common doxology, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost:" Dr. Smith[37] and others, for the great doxology, "Glory be to God on high;" which I think more probable: though it is not necessary in our present inquiry, to determine what hymn it was; it being sufficient to our purpose, that he speaks of some prayers and hymns then of such common and vulgar use in the Christian worship, as that they were known to the very heathens.

Justin Martyr's authority is commonly alleged on both sides, both for and against liturgies. The defenders of prescribed forms urge his mentioning *κοινὰς εὐχὰς*, common prayers:[38] the opposers, with great vehemence, argue for extempore prayer, because he says, The bishop offered prayers and thanksgivings *ὅση δύναμις*, with all his might and power.[39] Now, to speak freely, I think there is no demonstration in either of these expressions: for they are both ambiguous. Common prayer does not always imply, that the minister prayed by a prescribed form: for inspired prayer was doubtless common prayer, when offered in a public congregation: and though it was then a form prescribed to the people, yet it was not so to the minister; but conceived by immediate inspiration. Therefore we cannot argue barely from the mentioning of common prayer, that the minister prayed by a prescribed form, unless it be added, as usually it is in Chrysostom, that the congregation prayed *μιᾷ φωνῇ*, with one voice, joining vocally in the whole prayer, or alternately, by way of responses, with the minister; for that implies, that the people understood beforehand the words of their common prayers, before they were uttered by the minister. On the other hand, there is no solidity in the argument brought against liturgies, from Justin's saying, That the bishop prayed and gave thanks, *ὅση δύναμις*, with all his ability or power. For this may not at all relate to the invention of words, but to the ardency and intenseness of devotion, which may be in the use of prescribed forms as well as those of immediate conception. And so it is plain the very same phrase is used by Nazianzen, when he exhorts the Christians to sing *ὅση δύναμις*, with all their might, that triumphal hymn[40] upon the death of Julian, which the children of Israel sang when the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea. Which was not an extempore hymn, but a form composed by Moses, and appointed to be sung alternately by the congregation of Israel, Exod. xv. So that, after all the pains that has been taken by some late writers to draw an argument against liturgies out of this passage of Justin, there is no reason for such a conclusion: and yet this is the only passage that is brought against them. But it is more material to consider, that Justin lived among the Jews, who certainly used set forms of prayer, one of which he condemns, as I have showed before, as an execration inserted against the Christians, but says nothing against the other, which yet doubtless he would have done, had he believed the use of liturgies to have been only a piece of Jewish superstition, unbecoming the spirit of a Christian. But he too well understood the practice of our Saviour and his apostles, in complying with the forms of the Jewish service, to put any such mark or brand of infamy upon them. And therefore this is of more weight with me, to persuade that Justin believed the known forms both of the Jewish and Christian service to be lawful, than any ambiguous expressions are to persuade the contrary.

Not long after Justin, lived Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in France. And he takes notice of a certain form used in the Christian worship, so well known to the Valentinian heretics, that they made use of it as an argument to prove their own fabulous doctrine of the *æones:* For, said they, you yourselves of the church, in your thanksgivings, say, For ages of ages,[41] or *æones* of *æones;* thereby intimating the

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[34] Ignat. Ep. ad Magnesian. n. 7. Μηδὲ πειράσητε εὔλογόν τι φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχὴ, μία δέησις.

[35] Lucian. Philopatris, p. 1128. Τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀρξάμενος, καὶ τὴν πολυώνυμον ᾠδὴν εἰς τέλος ἐπιθείς.

[36] Wetenhall's Gift of Singing, chap. 11. p. 273.

[37] Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 226. Comber, Orig. of Liturgies, chap. 2. p. 30, takes it for the *trisagion.*

[38] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 97.

[39] Justin. ibid. p. 98.

[40] Naz. Orat. 3. quæ est 1. Invectiv. cont. Julian. t. 1. p. 54.

[41] Iren. lib. 1. c. 1. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἐκείνους τοὺς αἰῶνας σημαίνειν.

æones which we contend for. This plainly refers to some form of thanksgiving then of known use in the church. Dr. Comber and some others take it for the *Gloria Patri*, because it ends as that in Irenæus did, with the words, "world without end. Amen." But I rather conceive, with Dr. Grabe,[42] that it was the conclusion of the great thanksgiving in the eucharist; where the glorification of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, ends with the words *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, world without end; to which the people always answered, Amen, as appears from the form remaining in the Constitutions,[43] of which more in its proper place.

About the same time lived Clemens of Alexandria, who, speaking of the church, says, It was the congregation of those who prostrated themselves in prayers, having, as it were, *φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν*, one common voice;[44] which implies, that their prayers were such as that they could join vocally in them, either by repeating the whole, or at least by alternate responses. He also mentions a form of prayer used over the penitents by the Valentinians, in imposition of hands, in the close of which were these words,[45] That they may obtain angelical absolution. Not to mention that common form of doxology, which he uses at the end of his Pædagogue, To whom be glory both now and for ever, world without end. Amen.

Next after him Tertullian often tells us, that they used the Lord's prayer as a form enjoined by Divine command, of which I shall say more in a following chapter.[46] He also says,[47] That the form of baptism was appointed and prescribed by Christ to be always in the "name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And not only so, but to this the church added several other ceremonies and observations, which were not enjoined expressly in so many words by Christ. As the form of renouncing the devil,[48] and his pomp, and his angels; the trine immersion; the interrogatories and responses, which were made in a certain form to the articles of the creed; the giving of milk and honey to the newly baptized; the obligation to abstain from bathing for a whole week after: all which observations were only of ecclesiastical institution and prescription. So, again, their receiving the eucharist in their morning[49] assemblies before day, which Christ instituted after supper; their annual oblations and commemorations for the dead; their avoiding fasting, and refusing to pray kneeling, on the Lord's day, and the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost; their signing themselves with the sign of the cross upon all occasions; and their appointing of occasional fasts,[50] together with the fast of Lent, and stationary days. None of which were of express Divine command, but were instituted by the church, with many other observations of the like nature, for the edification of her children, as her rules of discipline, and psalmody, and singing a particular psalm at the eucharist, which is mentioned by our author.[51] Again he intimates,[52] that in all their assemblies they had not only sermons and prayers, but also the Scriptures read, and psalms sung to the glory of God. Which must be allowed to be forms of praise and glorification. Nor would it be material to suggest, that Tertullian, when he wrote this, was a Montanist; for both the church and heretics commonly agreed in singing of David's Psalms, and even vied in hymns of their own composition and prescription. Tertullian indeed does not expressly say, that their prayers, like their psalms, were offered in a certain form of words; but he says what may incline a man reasonably to believe it. For, as a proof of the Christians' loyalty, he says,[53] They met together, and as if they were drawn up in battle, did jointly set upon God with their prayers, which violence was acceptable to him. They prayed for the emperors, for their officers and powers, for the state of the world, for the peace of their government, and for the continuance of their empire. And again he says, They prayed constantly for all the emperors, that they might have a long life and quiet reign; that their family might be safe, their armies valiant, their senate faithful, their people virtuous, and that the whole world might be in peace. Now these, as we shall see hereafter, were known parts of the church's liturgy; and if they had not been of constant use, they had been but poor arguments of the Christians' loyalty, for which Tertullian here produces them. In another place, he expressly mentions the same doxology as Irenæus does before him; for, speaking against Christians frequenting the Roman theatres, he asks them, With what face they could go[54] from the church of God into the church of the devil? and

[42] Grabe, Not. in loc. Irenæi.

[43] Constit. Apostol. lib. 8. cap. 12.

[44] Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. cap. 6. p. 848. Edit. Oxon.

[45] Clem. Epitome, p. 974. Ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τέλους, εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικήν.

[46] Chap. 7.

[47] Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 13. Lex tinguendi imposita est, et forma præscripta. Ite, &c.

[48] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3 et 13. It. de Bapt. cap. 6.

[49] Tertul. de Coron. cap. 3.

[50] Tertul. de Jejun. cap. 13.

[51] Tertul. ibid.

[52] Tertul. de Anima, cap. 9. Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur: ita inde materiæ visionibus subministrantur.

[53] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. Coimus in cœtum et congregationem, ut ad Deum, quasi manu facta, precationibus ambiamus orantes. Hæc vis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. It. cap. 30. Precantes sumus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, &c.

[54] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 25. Quale est enim de ecclesia Dei in diaboli ecclesiam tendere?——Ex ore illo, quo Amen

with that mouth, wherewith they had said Amen at the consecration or reception of the eucharist, give testimony to a gladiator; or say, "world without end," to any besides God and Christ, or to any besides Christ their God? I do not take this, with some learned men, to mean that common form of doxology, "Glory be to the Father," &c., at the end of the psalms, but the conclusion of the consecration prayer in the communion service, which, as I noted before, always ended with those words, εἰς αἰῶνας, "world without end," to which the people subjoined their Amen. And then it is an evident proof, that the African churches had a certain form of prayer for consecrating the eucharist, the known words of which Tertullian could allege to the people as an argument to dissuade them from frequenting the heathen theatres. He also intimates, that they sang psalms and hymns alternately in private;[55] for, to dissuade Christian women from marrying heathen husbands, he uses this argument, What will such a husband sing to his wife, or the wife to her husband? but if they married Christian husbands, then they would sing psalms and hymns between themselves, and mutually provoke one another, and strive[56] who should make the sweetest melody to their God. And there is no doubt to be made, but that this private psalmody was an imitation of the public psalmody of the church. So when he says, That at their feasts of charity, after the communion was ended, in the close of all, when they had washed their hands, and brought in lights,[57] every one was excited either to sing something out of Scripture, or some hymn of his own composing; this as plainly argues, that they made use of forms in this part of their private devotions. For the psalms of Scripture are undoubtedly forms, and hymns of private composition are no less so, unless we will suppose every one that sings, has words suggested to him by immediate inspiration; which still will be a form to the congregation that hears it, though not to the person who is so extraordinarily inspired by the Holy Ghost.

But there is one expression in Tertullian which the opposers of liturgies lay great stress upon, because he says, The Christians prayed for the emperor,[58] *sine monitore, quia de pectore*, without any monitor, because they prayed from their heart; which they expound, praying extempore. But if this be interpreted rigidly, it will prove much more than the objectors design. For if they prayed simply without any monitor, then it will exclude even the minister's dictating to them his own conceptions, because these will be an admonition or direction to the people; and so all public prayer must cease, and all devotion be resolved into the private prayers of the people. Which is such an absurdity, as neither Tertullian ever thought of, nor the objectors themselves will allow. Whatever, therefore, be meant by this phrase, praying from the heart without a monitor, it cannot mean, that the people's prayers were simply their own conceptions. Among the many interpretations which are put upon these words by learned men, (which may be seen in Dr. Faulkner,[59] or Dr. Comber,) I take these two to be the most natural; either, first, That they prayed *memoriter*, saying their prayers by heart, and needing no prompter, as the heathens did; which is the sense that Rigaltius[60] and Bishop Fell[61] put upon it: in which sense it is an argument for liturgies, and not against them: or, secondly, That they prayed sincerely from the heart, and freely out of the loyalty of their own heart without compulsion, as Hamon L'Estrange and Dr. Comber[62] interpret it. Which seems to be the truest sense: for the heathens were neither sincere, nor hearty, nor zealous in their prayers for the emperor; but the Christians offered their prayers with all those due qualifications, as became the character of truly pious votaries and loyal subjects. The sense of this dark passage being thus cleared, it remains no argument against liturgies, unless a man will say, there can be no such thing as sincerity and heartiness in a form of prayer; which would be to condemn the whole catholic church in the time of Tertullian, from whose testimonies it is evident, that forms were generally used in most parts of Divine service.

I have nothing further to add in this century, but only one or two small observations out of the Acts of St. Perpetua and Felicitas, two African martyrs, who suffered in the latter end of this age. There it is remarked of Perpetua,[63] that seeming in a vision to receive the eucharist into her hands and eat it, all that stood round her said, Amen: alluding to the custom of saying Amen at the reception of it from the hands of the minister in the church. There is a like allusion to the use of the *Trisagion*, Holy, holy, holy, which the angels

in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere? εἰς αἰῶνας alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo Christo? or, as other copies have it, nisi Deo et Christo?

[55] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 2. cap. 6. Quid maritus suus illi, vel marito quid illa cantabit?

[56] Ibid. cap. 9. Sonant inter duos psalmi et hymni, et mutuo provocant, quis melius Deo suo canet.

[57] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. Ut quisque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere.

[58] Ibid. cap. 30.

[59] Faulkner, Libertas Eccles. Book I. chap. 4. sect 2. Comber, Orig. of Liturgies, chap. 2. p. 47.

[60] Rigalt. in Tertul. cap. 30.

[61] Fell. Not. in Cypr. de Orat. p. 152.

[62] L'Estrange, Smectymniomastix, p. 5. Comber of Liturgies, p. 49.

[63] Passio Perpetuæ, ad calcem Lactant. de Mort. Persec. p. 10. Ego accepi junctis manibus, et manducavi: et universi circumstantes dixerunt, Amen.

used in heaven.[64] And a further intimation of the solemn custom of giving the peace, and the kiss of peace, in the communion: for it is said,[65] That Perpetua and her brother Saturus saluted one another with a kiss before they suffered, that they might consummate their martyrdom by the solemn rites of giving the peace.

Sect. 6. What evidence there is for the use of set forms in the third century.

In the beginning of the third century, about the year 220, lived Hippolytus the martyr, and bishop of Adana, or Portus Romanus in Arabia. Among other learned works, he wrote a book called, Ἀποστολικὴ Παράδοσις περὶ Χαρισμάτων, The Apostolical Tradition concerning Ecclesiastical Offices; which, according to the general opinion of the most learned critics, Dr. Bernard, Dr. Gale, and others,[66] is no other than the eighth book of those called the Apostolical Constitutions, which they think were compiled and published at Rome by this author. And if so, there can be no question what his opinion was about the use of forms in Divine service: for that book is nothing else but a collection of such forms, as either were in use, or made in imitation of those that were then in use in the church. I will not allege any of them here, because I do it in every part of this work, and it would be very needless and superfluous here to repeat them.

Besides this, Hippolytus wrote a book of odes or hymns upon several parts of Scripture, some of which most probably were of use in the public service. For in another treatise, of the Consummation of the World and Antichrist,[67] he commends the use of doxologies, and psalms, and spiritual odes; and makes it one of the signs of the reign of antichrist, that liturgy shall be extinguished, psalmody shall cease, and reading of the Scriptures shall not be heard. It is true indeed, some learned men, Bishop Usher,[68] Combefis, and Du Pin, reject this as a spurious tract, composed by some modern Greeks; but as learned critics, Labbe[69] and Bishop Bull,[70] have undertaken to defend it, and answer all the arguments that are produced against it. I will not enter into this debate, but only say, that as there is nothing in this passage now alleged dissonant to the sense of Hippolytus's other works, we may be allowed to cite it in this cause, till some clearer evidence can be produced against it. Hippolytus wrote also a book, called Canon Paschalis, which Scaliger[71] and Gothofred[72] take to be a calendar, showing what lessons were to be read on several festivals; as the first of St. Matthew, called Γένεσις, the generation of Christ, on the vigil of Christ's nativity; and the Πάθος, or the history of his sufferings out of the Gospel of St. Matthew, on the day of his crucifixion: and it is certain from many passages in St. Chrysostom, St. Austin, and others, that such calendars were used in the church, as shall be showed in another place,[73] when I come to speak of the ancient method of reading the Holy Scriptures by a certain rule and order in Divine service. But because Ægidius Bucherius, who has since republished this Paschal Cycle, and Dr. Cave,[74] give another interpretation of it, I will lay no greater stress upon it than it will bear, contenting myself in so critical a point to have suggested the sense of learned men, and leave the matter to the further disquisition of the curious reader; having otherwise given sufficient evidence, that the church in the time of Hippolytus used stated forms of prayer and praises in her public service.

Not long after Hippolytus, lived Origen, who was one of his scholars, and took some of his opinions from him. Now this writer, in his Homilies upon Jeremy,[75] expressly mentions one of the prayers of constant use in the church: We frequently say in our prayers, says he, Grant us, O Almighty God, grant us a part with thy prophets; grant us a part with the apostles of thy Christ; grant that we may be found at the feet of thy only begotten Son. Which is a testimony so clear, that the Centuriators[76] made no scruple to conclude hence, that forms of prayer were undoubtedly used in the church in the time of Origen. He elsewhere[77] says, The Christians used the ordered or prescribed prayers, as became them, continually night and day, whereby they were preserved against the power of magic and the devil. For Celsus, in his spiteful way, had advanced an egregious calumny against the Christians, pretending that he had seen in the hands of some of their presbyters certain barbarous books, containing the names of the devils and their impostors; hereby insinuating, that the prayers which the Christian

[64] Passio Perpetuæ, ad calcem Lactant. de Mort. Persec. p. 23. Introivimus et audivimus vocem unitam, Hagios, hagios, hagios, sine cessatione.

[65] Ibid. p. 35. Ante jam osculati invicem, ut martyrium per solennia pacis consummarent.

[66] Vid. Cave, Hist. Literar. vol. 2. p. 45.

[67] Hippol. de Consummat. Mundi. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 357 et 362.

[68] Usser. Biblioth. Theol. ap. Cave, Hist. Liter. t. 1. p. 70. Combefis, Auctarium, Bibl. Patr. p. 51. Du Pin, Biblioth. vol. 1. p. 104.

[69] Labb. de Scriptor. Eccl. p. 471.

[70] Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. 3. chap. 8. p. 369.

[71] Scaliger, de Emendat. Temp. lib. 7. p. 726.

[72] Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Theodos. lib. 15. Tit. 5. De Spectaculis, Leg. 5. p. 356.

[73] Book XIV. chap. 3. sect. 3.

[74] Vid. Cave, Hist. Literar. vol. 2. p. 47.

[75] Orig. Hom. 11. in Jerem. p. 606. Frequenter in oratione dicimus, Da Omnipotens, da nobis partem cum prophetis; da cum apostolis Christi tui; tribue ut inveniamur ad vestigia Unigeniti tui.

[76] Centur. Magdeburg. Cent. 3. cap. 6. p. 94.

[77] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 6. p. 302. Ταῖς προσταχθείσαις τε εὐχαῖς συνεχέστερον καὶ δεόντως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας χρώμενοι, &c.

presbyters had in their books, were only magical enchantments: which calumny Origen not only rejects with scorn, appealing to the experience of the world, which knew it to be a fiction; but also tells his adversary further, that the prayers which they used by order and appointment, were such as rendered them invincible, and proof against all the force of magic and power of the devils. Now, considering that the objection of Celsus lay against the service books of the Christian presbyters, it is reasonable to conclude, that Origen's answer relates to the same: for Origen does not deny that they had any such books, but only says, their prayers, which they were ordered to use, were of a different nature from what the adversary had represented them.

To this we may add what Origen says in his Comments upon Job, that by ancient custom of the church,[78] the Book of Job was always read in Lent, and particularly in the Passion Week, as most properly adapted to that occasion. The reader may find this passage at length hereafter,[79] and therefore it is sufficient to hint in this place, that the Scriptures in his time were methodized and brought under rule, being read by some certain order and prescription.

Not long after Origen, St. Cyprian testifies not only that the Lord's prayer was used as a form, and as a spiritual form, most acceptable to God, as we shall see hereafter; but also mentions several other forms of common and noted use in Divine service. As in the administration of baptism, every one was to renounce the devil and the world in a certain form of words,[80] then vulgarly known in the church, which Cyprian more than once has occasion to mention. They were likewise to make profession of the several articles of the Christian faith in a certain form of words, which every church had for that purpose, and for this particular use, collected into a creed. Cyprian[81] often specifies both the interrogatories and the answers that were made upon this occasion; and he assures us, they were so precise to a form, that the Novatians themselves[82] used the very same words in their questions and responses, as the catholics did: they observed the same rule as the church did: they baptized with the same creed; they asked the party, Whether he believed in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Whether he believed in the remission of sins, and eternal life, by the holy church? which were the first and last words in the creed. So they kept close to the same form of words, though they differed about the sense of them in some particulars relating to remission of sins, and the church: which is so clear an argument for the observation of a form in baptism, that I see not what can reasonably be replied to it.

Then, again, for the prayers in the administration of the eucharist, nothing can be more evident, than that the people bare a part in them. I will not insist on those expressions of his, that they had public and common prayer,[83] because they are capable of an evasion: but what he says of the people's answering to the priest, is not to be evaded. For, persuading the people to use diligence and attention in their prayers, he puts them in mind of a usual form of speech, which the whole church used to raise their souls to a spiritual and heavenly temper. The priest, says he, before prayer prepares the hearts[84] of the brethren, by premising a preface, and saying, "Lift up your hearts;" that whilst the people answer, "We lift them up unto the Lord," they may be admonished at that time to think of nothing but the Lord only. What Cyprian says here of this preface coming before the prayer, is not so to be understood, as if it came before all the prayers of the church, but immediately before the prayer of consecration in the communion service: for, as we shall see hereafter, there came before this both the prayers for the catechumens and penitents, and the prayers for the faithful, or the whole state of Christ's church; but when the solemn prayer of the oblation was to be made, then it was that the priest called upon the people in this form, "Lift up your hearts;" and they answered, "We lift them unto the Lord:" the priest went on again, and said, "Let us give thanks to our Lord God;" and the people answered, "It is just and right so to do." Then followed the eucharistical or consecration prayer, and the Lord's prayer; and after that the salutation, ***Pax vobis***, "Peace be with you;" to which the people answered, "And with thy spirit." After which they gave one another mutually the kiss of peace, and then

[78] Origen. in Job, lib. 1. p. 366.

[79] Book XIV. chap. 3. sect. 3.

[80] Cypr. de Lapsis, p. 125. Stare illic potuit Dei servus, et loqui et renunciare Christo, qui jam diabolo renunciaret et sæculo? It. Ep. 7. al. 13. ad Rogat. p. 37. Sæculo renunciaveramus, cum baptizati sumus.

[81] Ibid. Ep. 70. ad Episcopos Numidas, p. 190. Sed et ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in baptismo, testis est veritatis. Nam cum dicimus, Credis in vitam æternam, et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam? Intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari, &c.

[82] Ibid. Ep. 69. al. 76. ad Magnum. p. 183. Eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam catholica ecclesia teneat eodem symbolo, quo et nos baptizare; eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum:——Dicunt, Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam?

[83] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 141. Publica nobis et communis oratio est. It. Ep. 8. al. 11. ad Cler. p. 26. Oratione communi et concordi prece pro omnibus jussit orare.

[84] Ibid. de Orat. Dom. p. 152. Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes, dicendo, Sursum corda: ut dum respondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum, admoneatur, nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.

proceeded to receive the holy sacrament. This was the form and order of the communion service in St. Austin's time in the African church; and it is very probable it might be much the same in the time of Cyprian: but Cyprian had no occasion to mention any other part of the prayers, but only that which related to his particular subject; which one is sufficient to prove, that stated forms of prayer were then allowed in the public service of the church of Carthage, and probably in the rest of the African churches.

At the same time with Cyprian lived Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who, having occasion to speak of a certain woman, an impostor, who pretended to the spirit of prophecy, he says, She took upon her[85] to consecrate the eucharist with the venerable invocation, and ceremony of predication then commonly used in the church: he means the commemoration of God's great blessings bestowed upon man, and the repetition of the history of the first institution of the Lord's supper, which by the ancients is called *ἀνάμνησις*, and *solita prædicatio*, a thing seldom or never omitted in the consecration of the eucharist. He adds also, that the same impostor baptized many, using the common and appointed interrogatories, that she might not seem to vary in any thing from the rule of the church. She made them answer to every article of the creed, the creed (as he calls it) of the holy Trinity; she put the usual questions to them prescribed by the church, that is, Whether they renounced the devil, his angels, his pomp, and his service? and, Whether they made a covenant with Christ? and she did every thing *ad imaginem veritatis*, according to the exact method and form that was observed in the church. Now, though all this was done by the devil, speaking in an impostor; yet, being done according to the exact rules of the church, it argues, that the church at that time had a stated rule and order for administering both the sacraments, and that the forms were so well known, that this woman could imitate them so exactly, as in nothing to vary from the usual solemnities either of prayers, or other ceremonies then observed in the church. And if we consider, that the administration of the two sacraments was then the most considerable part of the church's service, this is as clear an evidence as we can desire, to prove that prescribed forms were now in use in the Asiatic churches.

Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus, was contemporary with Firmilian, and he was a man famous for working miracles by the Spirit, whence he had the name of Thaumaturgus, the wonder-worker. There is no doubt but that he prayed also by the Spirit, yet he prayed by a form; which shows, that praying by a form, and praying by the Spirit, are not inconsistent. As he was the founder of his church, (finding but seventeen Christians when he came thither, and leaving but seventeen heathens when he was taken from it,) so he left them a liturgy or form of Divine service, which they were so tenacious of, that, as St. Basil[86] testifies of them, they would not suffer one ceremony, or one word, or one mystical form, to be added to those which he had left among them. He settled the way of singing psalms, not alternately, but by the common voice of the people all joining together: and the clergy of Neocæsarea were such admirers of this rule, that when St. Basil had introduced the alternate way into his own church, they were offended at it, and objected against him, that it was not so in the days of Gregory the Great. Upon which St. Basil was forced to write an apologetical epistle to them in vindication of his practice, wherein he shows, That the way of alternate song was now conformable to the practice of all the Eastern churches, except that of Neocæsarea; and that, however tenacious that church had formerly been of the ways and forms of Gregory, yet in one particular they had now made an alteration: for in the days of Gregory they[87] had none of that peculiar form of prayers, called litanies, which now in St. Basil's time they had admitted into their service, and were very zealous in the use of it, notwithstanding that it was neither of St. Gregory's composition, nor used at all in his days. As this shows that the use of litanies was brought into the church of Neocæsarea some years after the time of St. Gregory; so it as evidently proves that their other forms were instituted by him, and derived their original from his composition, who was the first founder of the church.

Not long after this, we find a complaint made by the council of Antioch, anno 270, against Paulus Samosatensis, the heretical bishop of that place, that he had forbidden the use of such psalms[88] or hymns as were used to be sung in the church to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, under pretence that they were only the novel compositions of late

[85] Firmil. Ep. 75. ad Cypr. p. 223. Hoc frequenter ausa est, ut invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem, et eucharistiam facere simularet, et sacrificium Domino non sine sacramento solitæ prædicationis offerret; baptizaret quoque multos, usitata et legitima verba interrogationis usurpans, ut nil discrepare ab ecclesiastica regula videretur. —Nunquid et hoc Stephanus, et qui illi consentiunt, comprobant? Maxime cui nec symbolum Trinitatis, nec interrogatio legitima et ecclesiastica defuit? Potest credi aut remissio peccatorum data, aut lavacri salutaris regeneratio rite perfecta, ubi omnia quamvis ad imaginem veritatis, tamen per dæmonem gesta sunt, &c.

[86] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 29. p. 360. Οὐ *πρᾶξίν τινὰ, οὐ λόγον, οὐ τύπον τινὰ μυστικὸν, παρ' ὃν ἐκείνοις κατέλιπε, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέθηκαν.*

[87] Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæsar. Ἀλλ' *οὐδὲ αἱ λίτανεῖαι ἐπὶ Γρηγορίου, ἃς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιτηδεύετε.*

[88] Conc. Antioch. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30.

and modern authors. I have already produced this passage more at length[89] to prove the worship of our Saviour: and here it serves to prove, that they worshipped him by certain forms of praise, which the bishop cast out of the church, upon a pretence of novelty: which was but a mere pretence; for such forms of praise had been in use in the church ἀπαρχῆς, from the beginning, as the ancient writer against the heresy of Artemon in Eusebius[90] words it. And about the same time Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, composed hymns of the like nature for the service of the church, for which he is commended by Dionysius,[91] bishop of Alexandria; who also himself used a certain form of doxology to the whole Trinity, as is reported by St. Basil,[92] who also tells us, in the same place, That Athenogenes the martyr composed hymns to the glory of the Holy Ghost; and adds, that the hymn called Hymnus Lucernalis, the hymn to be sung at lighting of candles in the evening service, containing a glorification of the holy Trinity, was of ancient use in the church; so ancient, that he knew not who was the author of it. But I have already alleged these more at large[93] in vindicating the worship of our Saviour, and therefore content myself barely to hint them as accustomed forms of praise in this place.

I shall only note one thing more in this century, out of the epistle of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, to Fabian, bishop of Antioch, recorded by Eusebius: which is, That it was customary, in those days, for the minister to use a form of words at the delivery of the bread and wine in the eucharist, saying, The body of Christ, or the blood of Christ, to which the people always answered, Amen. For Cornelius,[94] speaking of the wickedness of Novatian, says, When he delivered the eucharist to the people, he obliged them, instead of saying Amen, at the naming of it, to swear by the body and blood of Christ, that they would not desert his party, nor return to Cornelius: which custom of saying Amen, in answer to the minister, when he named the body or blood of Christ, is both an ancient and universal practice. For Tertullian,[95] as has been showed already, mentions it long before; and we find it frequently in the writers of the next age, St. Ambrose, St. Cyril, St. Austin, St. Jerom, and the author of the Constitutions; of which I shall have occasion to speak more in another place.

Sect. 7. Evidence of the use of set forms in the fourth century.

In the beginning of the fourth century, Arnobius, apologizing for the Christian devotions, tells the heathens, They might know that they worshipped the supreme God, and called upon him for what they desired, by the sound of their voice,[96] which they used in prayer. He says, they all prostrated themselves before him, adoring him with joint supplications.[97] And he gives us the general heads of their prayers, which are very agreeable to the ancient forms of the church, viz. That God would grant[98] peace and pardon to all men, to the magistrates, to the armies, and to the emperors; to their friends and to their enemies; to those that were alive, and those that were set at liberty from the bonds of the body. Which petitions are so conformable to the method and order of the ancient liturgies, that one might have imagined them to be offered by a form, though Arnobius had said nothing of their joint prayers, or vocal consent in their devotions.

Lactantius and Eusebius wrote after the great persecution under Diocletian and his associates was over; and they both take notice of forms of prayer appointed by the first Christian emperors for their soldiers to use, in imitation of those of the church. Lactantius says expressly, that when Licinius was about to join battle with Maximinus, Maximinus made a vow to Jupiter, that if he got the victory, he would utterly extinguish and blot out the very name of Christians. Upon which, the night after an angel of God came and stood by Licinius as he lay at rest, bidding him rise quickly, and pray to the most high God with all his army, promising him the victory if he did so. As soon as he heard this, he thought with himself that he arose and stood with the angel who gave him this warning, and who then taught him after what manner and in what words they should pray. Therefore, awaking out of sleep, he ordered a notary to be brought to him, to whom he dictated the prayer[99] in these very words, as he had heard them: O thou most high God, we beseech thee. O holy God, we beseech thee. We

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[89] Chap. 2. sect. 3. [90] Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 28.

[91] Dionys. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 24.

[92] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 29. [93] See chap. 2. sect. 2.

[94] Cornel. Ep. ad Fabian. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 245.

[95] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 25.

[96] Arnob. lib. 1. p. 24. Summum invocare nos Deum, et ab eo quod postulamus orare, vel auribus poterit scire, vel ipsius vocis sono, qua utimur in precibus, noscitare.

[97] Ibid. p. 25. Huic omnes ex more prosternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus.

[98] Id. lib. 4. p. 181. Cur nostra meruerint immaniter conventicula dirui? In quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis et venia postulatur, magistratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, et resolutis corporum vinctione.

[99] Lact. de Mort. Persecut. cap. 46. Discusso somno notarium jussit asciri, et sicut audierat, hæc verba dictavit. Summe Deus, te rogamus. Sancte Deus, te rogamus. Omnem justitiam tibi commendamus; salutem nostram tibi commendamus; imperium nostrum tibi commendamus. Per te vivimus, per te victores et felices existimus. Summe sancte Deus, preces nostras exaudi. Brachia nostra ad te tendimus. Exaudi, sancte summe Deus. Scribuntur hæc in libellis pluribus, et per præpositos tribunosque mittuntur, ut suos quisque milites doceat.——Erat jam utraque acies in conspectu. Liciniani scuta deponunt, galeas resolvunt, ad cœlum manûs tendunt, præeuntibus præpositis, et post imperatorem precem dicunt: audit acies peritura precantium murmur. Illi oratione ter dicta, virtute jam pleni, &c.

commend all the justice of our cause to thee: we commend our safety unto thee: we commend our empire unto thee. By thee we live, by thee we are victorious and happy. O most high and holy God, hear our prayers. We stretch forth our arms unto thee. Hear us, O most high and holy God. These words were written in many books, and sent by the generals and tribunes, that they might teach them to their soldiers. When the day of battle came, the soldiers laid aside their shields, and put off their helmets, and lifting up their hands to heaven, said the prayer after the emperor, their generals repeating it before them. And this they did so loudly, that the adverse army, ready to be sacrificed, heard the echo of their prayer. Which when they had repeated three times, they were inspired with courage, and resuming their arms, though they were but a few, they without any loss gained a complete victory over their enemies; whom the most high God, says our author, delivered up to be slaughtered, as if they had come not to engage in battle, but as men devoted to death and destined to destruction.

It is not many years since this little golden tract of Lactantius came to light, and therefore probably this testimony may not very often have fallen under the observation of every ordinary reader. But as there is no dispute to be made of the truth of the relation upon the authority of Lactantius, so it is an illustrious evidence both of the opinion of Lactantius and the general sense of Christians, that they did not think forms of prayer unlawful, because they were written in a book, nor the repetition of them any offence, for this prayer was thrice repeated. If it should be said, that this prayer was dictated immediately by an angel, the same and more may be said of the Lord's prayer, that it was dictated by Christ himself, and the Psalms were written as forms of prayer and praise by an inspired penman; and yet there are those, who, for no other reason but because they are forms, despise the use of them, when inserted into any liturgy of the church.

Parallel to this testimony of Lactantius is that other relation of Eusebius concerning Constantine, That he ordered all his soldiers, as many of them as were heathens, to go forth into the field on the Lord's day, and there, with hands and hearts lift up to heaven, to offer up to God *μεμελετημένην εὐχὴν*,[100] a certain prayer which they had learned and premeditated before. The prayer was to be said in the Latin tongue, which was the vulgar language, and in this express form of words: We acknowledge thee to be the only God;[101] we profess thee to be our King; we call upon thee as our helper. It is from thee we have our victories; by thee we are superior to our enemies. We give thee thanks for the by-past favours and benefits we have already received; and we hope in thee for those that are to come. We are all humble supplicants unto thee, beseeching thee to preserve Constantine our king, with all his pious children, and grant him long to reign over us with safety and victory. This was the prayer which he enjoined the heathens in his army to use every Lord's day.

As for those that were Christians, he commanded them to follow his own example, and attend the prayers of the church on the Lord's day, setting them a pattern in his own practice. He ordered his own palace after the manner of a church, first taking the Bible into his hands, and reading and meditating therein, and then repeating the prescribed prayers[102] with all his royal family. Which shows that forms of prayer were then generally used in the church, since Constantine used the prescribed prayers in his own family, and thereby made it to resemble the church.

Eusebius highly extols and applauds Constantine for all this; which argues that Eusebius himself was no enemy to prescribed forms. And indeed we are beholden to his history both for the knowledge of this of Constantine, and many other forms, which had been lost, had it not been for his care and diligence in preserving them; of which any reader may be sensible, that considers how many things have already been alleged out of his treasury, especially the account which he gives of the Essenes, and their way of worship, out of Philo Judæus; for as it is evident that they worshipped God by certain forms, so it is as evident that Eusebius took them for Christians, and their worship for the way of worship settled by the first Christians at Alexandria.[103] It may not be improper also to observe, that Eusebius, in one of his letters recorded by Socrates,[104] expressly says, That in the church of Cæsarea, where he was bishop, they always had a creed in a certain form of words (which he there repeats) whereby their catechumens were to be instructed, and their answers in baptism to be made in the words of it; and that thus it was that he himself had been there both catechised and baptized. And if his church allowed a form in baptism, there is reason to believe, from what has been said, that she was not averse to it in other parts of Divine service. Moreover, from the time of the council of Nice, we are well assured, that the creed composed in that council was used in most of the Eastern churches, as a precise form by which all catechumens were to make their responses in bap-

[100] Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. 4. cap. 19.
[101] Ibid. cap. 20.
[102] Ibid. cap. 17. Εἶτ' εὐχὰς ἐνθέσμους σὺν τοῖς τὸν βασίλειον οἶκον πληροῦσιν ἀπεδίδου.
[103] Vid. ibid. lib. 2. c. 17.
[104] Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 8.

tism, as I have proved[105] elsewhere upon another occasion, though it was not presently admitted as a form to be repeated, as now it is, in the ordinary service of the church; but its being allowed as a form in baptism, is an argument that the church had then no exception against forms, since she enjoined them in the administration of her sacraments, which are the most considerable part of Divine service.

Athanasius, as well as Eusebius, was a member of the council of Nice, and there are plain footsteps of a liturgy in his writings. In one place he declares, that when he said, Let us pray for the safety[106] of the most religious emperor Constantius, all the people immediately with one voice answered, Christ help Constantius. Which is exactly agreeable to the ancient way of praying for kings and others in the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church, where the people were used to answer to every petition, Κύριε, ἐλέησον, or σῶσον, Lord, have mercy upon them, or, Lord, save and help them, as will be showed in its proper place.

Again, speaking of the communion service,[107] he says, The people offered up their prayers with one voice, and without any manner of disagreement; and that in that great multitude there was but one voice, when they unanimously answered, Amen. It is evident also, that in his time psalmody was in great request at Alexandria; for Sozomen[108] takes notice, that it was by the advantage of this practice, that Athanasius, when he was beset in the church by his enemies, escaped their hands, whilst he got out secretly in the company of those that were singing psalms. St. Austin also speaks of it, and tells us,[109] That Athanasius made some regulation in the way of singing, and brought in the custom of plain song, ordering the readers of the psalms to pronounce their words with so little inflexion or variation of the tone, that it looked more like reading than singing. It is further observable out of Ruffinus[110] and the other historians, who relate the story of Athanasius baptizing the catechumens whilst he was but a youth, that the questions and answers, and all other ceremonies of baptism, were then performed by such a certain rule and order in the church, that Athanasius was able to imitate them exactly, and omit nothing that was used to be done, but observed every rite to a tittle, as Alexander the bishop found upon inquiry, when he came more strictly to examine them. And this shows, that not only in the time of Athanasius, but in the days of Alexander his predecessor, such sort of forms were of constant use in the church. Athanasius himself also not only mentions their psalmody, but tells us, that it was so ordered, the people might bear a part in it. For though the antiphonal way of singing verse for verse, by way of alternate song, was not yet brought into the church in repeating David's Psalms, yet it was usual sometimes for the people to join in the close of a verse, and repeat it together with the reader. And this was called ὑπηχεῖν, and ὑπακούειν, to come into the concert at the close. Whence Athanasius, speaking[111] of that great assault made upon his church, mentioned before by Socrates and Sozomen, says, He commanded the deacon to read a psalm, to which the people did ὑπακούειν, that is, not barely hearken, as the unskilful translator renders it, but repeat in the close these words, "For his mercy endureth for ever." Of which way of singing I shall say more hereafter in its proper place, Book XIV. chap. i. sect. 12. Here I shall only note further, that Athanasius, describing the great barbarities and indignities which the Arians showed to the matrons and virgins in the very church, mentions one virgin[112] whom they despitefully used, having her Psalter in her hand. Which no doubt she had to join in singing David's Psalms, according to the custom of the church. And the book De Interpretatione Psalmorum, is nothing else but a direction how to use the Psalms as forms of prayers and praises upon all particular occasions, where, among other things, he observes,[113] That the 62nd or 63rd Psalm, "O God, my God, early will I seek thee," was always a psalm to be used at morning prayer. And the author of the book of Virginity,[114] among his works, says the same; which is also mentioned by St. Chrysostom and some others about this time, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly in considering the order and method of morning service, Book XIII. chap. x. sect. 2.

Athanasius lived forty-six years bishop of Alexandria, and continued in being till the year 371. During which interval, we have the concurrent testimony of Juvencus and Pachomius, and all the Egyptian monasteries; of Flavian, bishop of An-

[105] Book X. chap. 4. sect. 17.

[106] Athanas. Apol. ad Constant. p. 679. Μόνον γὰρ ἔλεγον, Εὐξώμεθα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, &c. Καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εὐθὺς μιᾷ φωνῇ ἐβόα, Χριστὲ, βοήθει Κωνσταντίῳ.

[107] Athan. ibid. p. 683. Μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μετὰ συμφωνίας τῶν λαῶν γενέσθαι τὴν φωνὴν, &c.

[108] Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 6. Συμφώνου δὲ τῆς ψαλμῳδίας γενομένης, &c. Vid. Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 11. Προστάξας διακόνῳ κηρύξαι εὐχὴν, &c. Theod. lib. 2. cap. 13.

[109] Aug. Confess. lib. 10. cap. 33. Tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuncianti vicinior esset quam canenti.

[110] Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 14. Diligenter inquirens, quid interrogati fuerint, quidve responderint, videt secundum religionis nostræ ritum cuncta constare, &c.

[111] Athan. Apol. ad Constant. p. 717. Προέτρεπον τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμὸν, τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, &c.

[112] Ibid. Epist. ad Orthodoxos, p. 947.

[113] Ibid. de Interpr. Psalmor. ad Marcellin. t. 1. p. 975.

[114] Ibid. de Virgin. p. 1075.

tioch; Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, Hilary, bishop of Poictiers; Optatus, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Ephrem Syrus, St. Basil and Apollinaris, the supposed author of the books under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, together with the council of Laodicea. And not long after, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, St. Austin, and St. Chrysostom, with several African councils, all within the compass of this fourth age, in which Athanasius lived.

Juvencus flourished under Constantine in Spain, and being a poet, turned the history of the gospel into verse; and St. Jerom adds, that he wrote a book[115] in the same way, giving an account of the order of the sacraments of the church. Now, if we consider, what has been observed before,[116] that, in ecclesiastical style, *Ordo Sacramentorum* commonly denotes a book of Divine offices, it is most probable that this work of Juvencus was no other but the offices or forms of Divine service turned into verse.

Pachomius, about the year 340, brought the Egyptian monks into communities, and settled them under rules; one of which was, to meet twice a day, and sing a certain number of psalms, with prayers intermixed, as may be seen in the accounts which Cassian,[117] Palladius,[118] and St. Jerom[119] give of them. Now, it must be owned, that whatever their prayers were, their psalmody was matter of form, whether sung singly or alternately: and though they did not repeat the usual doxology, "Glory be to the Father," as was usual in the Western church, at the end of every psalm, yet they did it at other times at the end of their *antiphonæ*, as Cassian,[120] an eye witness of their service, informs us.

About the year 350, lived Flavian, first a presbyter, and then bishop of Antioch. Whilst he was presbyter, it happened that Leontius, the Arian bishop, made an alteration in the common doxology, "Glory be to the Father," &c., to make it favour his heresy. Upon this, Flavian and Diodorus withdrew from his communion, and assembled with the people at the monuments of the martyrs; where, dividing the people into two parts, they taught them to sing the Psalms of David alternately;[121] which custom beginning first at Antioch, was from thence propagated all the world over. After this manner Theodoret relates the story; where it is easy to observe, 1. That the form of glorification was an ancient thing, and only Leontius made an innovation in it. 2. That the singing of David's Psalms was ancient too, which are forms both of prayers and praises; and Flavian was not the author of that service, but only of the alternate way of singing them. And whereas it is said by Socrates, that Ignatius had introduced the antiphonal way of singing before, that is not to be understood of David's Psalms, but of other hymns composed to the glory of the holy Trinity; which, as we have seen before, were always in use in the Christian church. And Theodoret adds, 3. That this way of singing was so taking to the people of Antioch, that they all deserted Leontius, and he was forced to beg of Flavian, that he would bring back this λειτουργίαν, this liturgy or service into the churches.

About the same time lived Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, who, in his Catechetical Discourses to the newly baptized, takes notice of many forms that had been of ancient use in the church. In his first catechism,[122] he tells them the meaning of the ceremonies used in baptism: Ye were first brought in, says he, into the ante-room of the baptistery, and placed towards the west in a standing posture, and then commanded to renounce Satan, by stretching out your hands against him, as if he had been present. A little after he explains the meaning of their doing this toward the west. The west, says he, is the place of darkness, and Satan is darkness, and his strength is in darkness. For this reason ye symbolically look toward the west, when ye renounce that prince of darkness and horror. For what did every one of you then say, standing? I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all thy pomp, and all thy worship and service. After this, he tells them,[123] they turned from the west to the east, which is the region of light and place of paradise, and then were commanded to say, I believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance, In his second discourse, he reminds them of their unction in the baptistery,[124] and their repeated confession of the holy Trinity, and their trine immersion. In his third discourse, he treats of[125] the second unction with the holy chrism, which was then used in confirmation, immediately after they were come out of the waters of baptism. In his fifth discourse, he treats of the ceremonies used in the communion service, where first he speaks[126] of the deacon's bringing water to the bishop and presbyters to wash their hands, in token of men's obligation to purify themselves from sin. Then the deacon cries out, Embrace and salute[127] one another with a holy kiss. After this, the priest cries out,[128] Lift up your hearts; and ye answer, We lift them up unto the Lord. He says again, Let us give thanks to the Lord; and ye answer, It is meet and just so to do.

[115] Hieron. de Script. Eccl. cap. 84. Nonnulla eodem metro ad sacramentorum ordinem pertinentia composuit.
[116] Book XIII. chap. i. sect. 6.
[117] Cassian. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 5.
[118] Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. cap. 38.
[119] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15.
[120] Cassian. lib. 2. cap. 8.
[121] Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24.
[122] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 1. n. 2. p. 278.
[123] Ibid. n. 6. p. 283.
[124] Ibid. 2. n. 3 et 4.
[125] Ibid. 3. n. 2 et 3.
[126] Ibid. 5. n. 1.
[127] Ibid. n. 2.
[128] Ibid. n. 3.

After this, we make mention of heaven, and earth, and sea, the sun, moon, and stars, and the whole creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible, angels and archangels, dignities, dominions, principalities and powers, thrones and cherubims, and with them we sing the seraphical hymn, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of sabaoth. After which, we beseech the merciful God, that he would send forth his Spirit upon the elements, and make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ. Then, after this spiritual and unbloody sacrifice and service is performed, we beseech God for the common peace of the church, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings and their armies and allies, for the sick and afflicted; and, in a word, for all that want assistance, saying, We beseech thee for them, and offer this sacrifice unto thee. Then we make mention of those that are fallen asleep, first, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, that God, through their prayers and intercessions, may receive our prayers; and after, we pray for our holy fathers and bishops, and all that are departed this life before us. Then we say that prayer, which our Saviour gave to his disciples, calling God by the name of Father, and saying, "Our Father which art in heaven." After which, the priest says, Holy things for those that are holy. And the people answer, There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ. Then one is appointed to sing those words of the thirty-third Psalm, "O taste and see that the Lord is gracious," as an excitement to receive the communion; and every one communicates, saying Amen twice, when first he receives the body of Christ into his hand, and afterward the cup of his blood. Finally, when all have communicated, he tells them, they are to wait for prayer again, and give God thanks for making them partakers of so great mysteries.

Now, one must be blind that cannot see the plain footsteps and forms of a stated liturgy in all this; and, therefore, I shall make no other descant upon them, but only this, that, undoubtedly, before St. Cyril wrote those lectures, there was a prescribed liturgy, and offices in form for the administration both of baptism and the eucharist, in the church of Jerusalem, and those handed down from their forefathers, though it be not possible to trace every thing precisely to its first original.

Contemporary with Cyril was Hilary, bishop of Poictiers, of whom St. Jerom[129] says, That he wrote a book of hymns and mysteries, which most probably were the forms of the holy offices then used in the church. It is certain, his hymns, together with those of St. Ambrose, were afterwards in great request in the church; and when some excepted against them, as only of human composition, the fourth council of Toledo ordered[130] them to be retained in the church's service, together with the hymns, "Glory be to the Father," and, "Glory be to God on high;" threatening excommunication to any who in the churches of Spain and Gallicia should reject them. Hilary himself plainly intimates, that both the prayers and hymns were such, as all the people with an audible voice might join in them. Let every profane hearer, says he,[131] be terrified with the words of our confession: let us fight against the devil and his weapons with the sound of our prayers, and let the victory of our war be proclaimed with the voice of exultation. Let him that stands without the church hear the voice of the people praying; let him perceive the glorious sound of our hymns, and hear the responses of our devout confession in the offices of the Divine sacraments. He that can make out all this from the people's silent consent in heart only to the minister's prayer, without any vocal joining in forms of prayer and praises, may make any thing out of any thing, and it were not worth while to produce any manner of evidence for such a man's conviction. I only note further out of Hilary, that these prayers and hymns were both for morning and evening service:[132] The church had her outgoings both morning and evening to praise God: she began the day with prayers, and ended the day with hymns to God.

Chronologers are not exactly agreed about the time of the council of Laodicea. Labbe and others place it before the council of Nice, about the year 319; Bishop Beverege, about the year 365; but on all hands it is agreed to be within this century. Now, here are several canons, which plainly show the use of prescribed forms in the service of the church. The seventh canon orders, That such as returned from the heresies of the Novatians, the Photinians, and the Quartadecimani, should first learn the creeds of the church, and be anointed with the holy chrism, before they were admitted to the communion of the holy mysteries. Which implies, that the creeds were then in a certain form, since

[129] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 140. Liber hymnorum et mysteriorum.

[130] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 13. Quia nonnulli hymni humano studio in laudem Dei, atque apostolorum et martyrum triumphos compositi esse noscuntur, sicut hi, quos beatissimi doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt, &c.

[131] Hilar. in Psal. lxv. p. 232. Terrendus est confessionis nostræ sermone omnis profanus auditor: et adversus diabolum armaque ejus orationum nostrarum sonitu certandum est, et belli nostri victoria exultationis voce monstranda est. Audiat orantis populi consistens quis extra ecclesiam vocem; spectet celebres hymnorum sonitus; et inter Divinorum quoque sacramentorum officia responsionem devotæ confessionis accipiat.

[132] Id. in. Psal. lxiv. p. 231. Progressus ecclesiæ in matutinum (leg. matutinorum) et vespertinorum hymnorum delectatione maximum misericordiæ Dei signum est. Dies in orationibus Dei inchoatur, dies hymnis Dei clauditur.

they were obliged to learn them. The fifteenth canon orders, That none should sing in the church except the canonical singers, who went up into the *ambo*, or reading desk, and sang from a book, ἀπὸ διφθέρας. The seventeenth canon forbids the continuing of psalms one after another, and orders a lesson to be read after every psalm. The eighteenth orders the same liturgy of prayers to be used at the *nones*, that is, three o'clock in the afternoon, and at evening service. The nineteenth orders the method of Divine service, That after the bishop's sermon should follow the prayers for the catechumens; and after they were gone, the prayers for the penitents; and when they had been under the bishop's hand, and were retired, then the three prayers for the faithful or communicants; the first whereof were to be in silence, the second and third by way of bidding prayer and audible invocation. Then the presbyters were to give the kiss of peace to the bishop, and laymen to one another; after which, the holy oblation was to be made, those only of the clergy communicating within the rails of the altar. This canon plainly describes the order and method of the ancient service, as it was performed in that age; and though the several forms of prayer here mentioned are not set down, yet we are sure they were in use at that time; and therefore a brief reference, such as was suitable to the compass of a short canon, is made to them, as shall be showed more at large in another place.[133] The twenty-second canon orders, That the subdeacon shall not wear the *orarium*, which was a scarf or tippet belonging to the deacons, by which they were used to give the signal or directions to the people in the performance of the several parts of Divine service. The forty-sixth canon orders those that are to be baptized, to learn the creed, and on the Thursday before Easter to rehearse it to the bishop or presbyters. The forty-seventh canon appoints those that were baptized in sickness, afterwards to learn the creed also; which implies, that the creed was then in a certain form of words. The fifty-ninth canon orders, That no psalms composed by private men should be sung in the church; which argues, that hymns composed by private men were only to be discarded, but others were allowed that were authentic. And this is full proof, that forms of Divine service were in use at the time of this council.

About the year 368, Epiphanius was made bishop of Salamis, or Constantia, in Cyprus. And that he approved forms of prayer, appears from the frequent testimony he gives to the book called the Apostolical Constitutions, the eighth Book of which is nothing but a collection of such forms. Cotelerius[134] has compared the several places in the Constitutions, with those that Epiphanius alleges out of them, and showed them to be the same in substance: particularly he observes, that Epiphanius in one place[135] gives the Constitutions this character, That they contain all canonical order, and nothing contrary to the faith, or confession, or the administration and rules of the church. Which no man could say, that did not approve of the several forms of worship contained therein. And therefore when Epiphanius says[136] in another place, That the church observed her morning hymns and prayers, and her evening psalms and prayers, it is reasonable to suppose, that all these were according to prescribed forms, as it is certain at least the psalms and hymns were. But there is one place in Epiphanius's epistle to John, bishop of Jerusalem, which evidently proves that the communion service was then performed by a prescribed office and form. For Epiphanius having been accused to John, as if he had reflected on him in his prayers, saying thus, Lord, grant that John may believe aright: to clear himself of the accusation, he denies that ever he prayed so for him in public, (though he did so privately in his heart,) and for the truth of this, he appeals to the words of the communion offices then in public use: When we offer up prayers in the communion office, says he,[137] we use these words for all bishops, and for you also; Keep him who preacheth the truth: or certainly thus, Lord, grant our requests, and keep him that he may preach the word of truth; as the occasion of the words requires, and as the order of the office for prayer directs. To understand which aright, we are to consider, that anciently in the communion service there were two prayers where bishops were prayed for, one in the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church before the oblation, and the other in the prayer immediately after the oblation, when all states of men were again solemnly commemorated and recommended to God; as we shall see hereafter. Now, in reference to these two prayers, Epiphanius says, they prayed either thus or thus, as the occasion of the words required, and the order of the office directed. Which is a manifest reference to the two prayers in which these words were contained, and as plain an argument for prescribed forms as can be required. And indeed the word *consequentia*, which in Greek,

[133] Book XV. chap. 1.

[134] Coteler. Testimonia Veterum præfixa Constitut. Apostol.

[135] Epiph. Hær. 70. Audianor. n. 10. Πᾶσα ἐν αὐτῇ κανονικὴ τάξις ἐμφέρεται, καὶ οὐδὲν παρακεχαραγμένον τῆς πίστεως, οὐδὲ τῆς ὁμολογίας, οὐδὲ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διοικήσεως, καὶ κανόνος.

[136] Epiph. Expos. Fid. n. 23. t. 1. p. 1106.

[137] Epiphan. Epist. ad Joan. Hierosol. t. 2. p. 313. Quando autem complemus orationem secundum ritum mysteriorum, et pro omnibus, et pro te quoque dicimus, Custodi illum qui prædicat veritatem: vel certe ita, Tu præsta, Domine, et custodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis: sicut occasio sermonis se tulerit, et habuerit oratio consequentiam.

no doubt, was ἀκολουθία, shows as much; for that always signified a stated form or prescribed order of prayers. Of which the reader may find examples enough in Suicerus's Thesaurus, or Meursius's Glossary, which need not here be inserted.

Optatus, bishop of Milevis, was contemporary with Epiphanius, and he has a great many plain references to the forms then used in the public service. He tells the Donatists, that by confining the church to their own party they had frustrated the intent of the Holy Spirit, which had presignified that the name of God should be praised with psalms and hymns over all the earth, "from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof;" and that, in effect, they had defrauded God[138] of his praise; for if they only were the true church that was to praise him, the rest of the world, "from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof," must be silent: they had shut the mouth of Christian nations, and imposed silence upon all people, however desirous to praise God at the proper seasons. Which manifestly implies, that psalmody was then a part of the people's devotions all the world over, and that the Donatists were injurious to God, whose principles tended to defraud him of it. Again, he speaks of the prayer for the whole church in the time of the oblation, as a form so firmly established by law, that the Donatists themselves would not venture to make any alteration in it. Who doubts, says he,[139] but that you continue to use that settled form of words in the celebration of the sacrament, and never omit to say, that you offer for that one church which is diffused over all the world? He says the same of the use of the Lord's prayer[140] in the communion service, that the Donatists continued to use it as well as the catholics; for he observes, that though they gave imposition of hands and absolution to sinners in such a haughty and supercilious manner, as if they themselves had had no sin; yet not long after, when they turned to the altar, they could not omit the Lord's prayer, wherein they said, "Forgive us our trespasses and sins." The Lord's prayer, he says, was of one and the same use with them both. He says also, The common form of salutation, established by law, was likewise retained by the Donatists; for they could not omit saying, Peace be with you;[141] they retained the name when they had lost the substance. He says further, That the catholics and Donatists used the same interrogatories in baptism; they asked the catechumen,[142] whether he renounced the devil? and whether he believed in God? And he answered, I renounce, I believe. Only the Donatists did one thing amiss, in repeating these things over again, and rebaptizing those whom the catholics had baptized before. He seems also to hint something of the ancient form of exorcising catechumens before baptism, when he tells the Donatists, That by rebaptizing catholics, who were already baptized, and in whom[143] God dwelt, they said in effect to God, Go out, thou cursed one. For this was the phrase then used in exorcism, which was a prayer, as St. Cyril[144] calls it, for expelling Satan out of the catechumen: and these words of Optatus seem plainly to be taken out of the prayers of exorcism then commonly used in the church. There is one thing more very observable in Optatus: he says, A rumour was once spread in Africa, that the emperor's officers were to come and make strange alterations in the church, by placing images upon the altar in time of Divine service. Which flying report put the people into great consternation and confusion. But they were presently quieted again, when they saw those officers come, and no such alterations made by them, but the ancient purity and solemn custom[145] and usual rites were still observed, and nothing was either changed, or added, or diminished in the Divine sacrifice. Which shows, that the public service was then in a certain form, and not left to every man's liberty to make alterations in it, or lengthen or shorten it, by adding or diminishing at his pleasure.

About the year 370, St. Basil was made bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; but before he was bishop he lived a presbyter in the same church, under Eusebius, his predecessor in the see. During which time, as Nazianzen assures us,[146] among other services done for that church, he composed forms of prayer and orders of decency for the communion service, which, by the consent and authority of his

[138] Optat. lib. 2. p. 47. Fraudatis aures Dei. Si vos soli laudatis, totus tacebit orbis, qui est ab ortu solis usque ad occasum. Clausistis ora omnium Christianarum gentium: indixistis silentium populis universis, Deum per momenta laudare cupientibus, &c.

[139] Ibid. p. 53. Quis dubitet vos illud legitimum in sacramentorum mysterio præterire non posse? Afferre vos dicitis pro una ecclesia, quæ sit in toto terrarum orbe diffusa.

[140] Ibid. p. 57. Inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis et delicta donatis, mox ad altare conversi, Dominicam orationem prætermittere non potestis, &c. It. lib. 3. p. 72. Oratio Dominica apud nos et apud vos una est.

[141] Ibid. lib. 3. p. 73. Non potuistis omittere quod legitimum est: utique dixistis, Pax vobiscum.——Quid salutas, de quo non habes? Quid nominas quod exterminasti? Salutas de pace, qui non amas.

[142] Ibid. lib. 5. p. 86. Quocunque interrogante, qui credidit, Deo credidit: et post illius unum credo, tu exigis alterum credo. It. p. 89. Interrogemus gentilem, an renunciet diabolo et credat Deo. Et dicat, Renuncio, et credo.

[143] Ibid. lib. 4. p. 79. Vos rebaptizando exorcizatis hominem fidelem, et dicitis Deo habitanti, Maledicte, exi foras.

[144] Cyril. Catech. 16. n. 9. p. 234. Ὁ δαίμων, λόγοις εὐχῆς ἐκρατήθη.

[145] Optat. lib. 3. p. 75. Visa est puritas, et ritu solito solennis consuetudo perspecta est; cum viderent Divinis sacrificiis nec mutatum quicquam, nec additum, nec ablatum.

[146] Naz. Orat. 20. in Laud. Basil. p. 340. Εὐχῶν διατάξεις καὶ εὐκοσμίας τοῦ βήματος, &c.

bishop, Eusebius, were used in the church. We are not bound to assert, that any of the liturgies which now go under his name, are exactly the same with that. It is certain they have received many additions and alterations, and in many things differ from one another: and some things are alleged by ancient writers out of St. Basil's genuine liturgy, which a learned man[147] assures us are not to be found at present in any of these. As that prayer which is cited by Petrus Diaconus, who lived about the year 520, in whose time St. Basil's liturgy was used almost all the East over. For he says,[148] Among other things, they then prayed thus, according to St. Basil's liturgy: Grant us, Lord, thy defence and protection; we beseech thee, make the evil to become good, and keep those that are good in their goodness. For all things are possible unto thee, and no one can contradict thee: when thou pleasest, thou canst save, and there is no one that can resist thy will. Some fancy these words are to be found in the present copies, but whether that be so or not, we may be pretty well assured they were in the original liturgy of St. Basil, whence the author cites them. And that is an argument that St. Basil composed a liturgy, which was then of general use in the East, and known to the Africans also. Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, was within half an age of St. Basil's time, and he gives this account of his composing a liturgy: St. Basil, seeing men's sloth and degeneracy made them weary of a long liturgy, thought there was nothing unnecessary or tedious in that of St. James, which was used before; yet to prevent the weariness of priests and people, he delivered a shorter form.[149] And it is also cited under St. Basil's name by Leontius[150] and the council of Trullo.[151] So that though many things be inserted into the present copies of St. Basil's liturgy, and others wanting in them; yet these are no arguments against the original composition, of which there is such clear evidence in the ancient writers.

But St. Basil not only composed a form for the communion service, but often speaks of other forms as generally used upon other occasions. In his sixty-third epistle he gives a large account of the people's joining in alternate psalmody and prayers, and of their repeating the psalm of confession, that is, the fifty-first psalm, at morning prayer. And he there also speaks of the liturgy of Gregory Thaumaturgus with approbation, and of the litanies which the church of Neocæsarea had admitted since the time of Gregory. In his two hundred and forty-first epistle he mentions several particulars of the usual prayer for the whole state of the church, telling his friend whom he writes to, that he must needs remember them in the deacon's bidding prayer, for all that were gone to travel; for the soldiers; for all that profess the name of Christ, &c. Which, as I shall show hereafter,[152] were the usual forms of supplication in the prayers for all states of men in the church. In his sixty-eighth epistle he mentions other forms, which were as evidently parts of the ancient liturgies: We pray that the rest of our days may continue in peace; we desire that our death may also be in peace. We have heard him before[153] speak of the hymns of Athenogenes, and the evening hymn to the holy Trinity. And we shall hear him hereafter speaking[154] of particular psalms appointed for particular hours of canonical prayer. All which are such manifest indications of the use of stated forms, as nothing but prejudice can incline a man to except against them.

Gregory Nazianzen was St. Basil's dear friend, and of him it were enough to say, that he commends his friend for making forms of prayer for the use of the church, as we have heard already. But he also says, his own father[155] consecrated the eucharist with the solemn words that were wont to be used upon that occasion. And speaking of Julian the apostate, he says, He admired the church for her forms[156] of worship, which were anciently delivered and still preserved among them: and therefore he intended that his heathen priests should imitate the Christians, and have a form of prayers[157] in parts, that is, prayers so composed as that the people might make their responses. Which is also taken notice of by Sozomen, who says, That Julian, admiring the order of Christian worship, appointed that the heathen temples should be adorned after the same manner, with prescribed prayers[158] upon set days and hours. Nazianzen also mentions the usual form of renouncing the devil in baptism, and the solemn covenant or compact made with Christ, which he says[159] they did, *καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι*, both by words and gestures; that is, renouncing the devil

[147] Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. 1. p. 194.

[148] Petr. Diacon. de Incarnat. inter Fulgentii Opera, cap. 8. p. 633. Basilius Cæsariensis in oratione sacri altaris, quam pene universus frequentat Oriens, inter cætera, Dona, inquit, Domine, virtutem ac tutamentum; malos, quæsumus, bonos facito; bonos in bonitate conserva: omnia enim potes, et non est qui contradicat tibi; cum enim volueris, salvas, et nullus resistit voluntati tuæ.

[149] Proclus de Tradit. Divin. Liturg. cited by Comber, of Liturgies, p. 168.

[150] Leont. cont. Nestor. lib. 3. Bibl. Patr. t. 4. part 2. p. 1006.

[151] Conc. Trull. can. 32.

[152] Book XV. chap. 1. sect. 3.

[153] Book XIII. chap. ii.

[154] Basil. Regul. Majores, quæst. 37.

[155] Naz. Orat. 19. p. 305. *Εἶτα ἐπειπὼν τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ῥήματα οὕτως, ὡς συνηθὲς*, &c.

[156] Ibid. Orat. 3. p. 101. *Τοῖς παραδεδομένοις καὶ εἰς τόδε τετηρημένοις τύποις τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*

[157] Ibid. p. 102. *Εὐχῶν τύπον ἐν μέρει.*

[158] Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 16. *Ὡρῶν τε ῥητῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν τεταγμέναις εὐχαῖς*, &c.

[159] Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt. p. 671.

with their faces to the west, and then turning about to the east, by which they signified their turning to Christ the Sun of righteousness. Both which words and gestures were evidently matter of form and ecclesiastical prescription. As was also the form of professing their faith, the triple immersion, and many other such rites and observances, which we meet with in Nazianzen, and all other ecclesiastical writers almost, that have any occasion to speak of the ancient manner of administering baptism.

There is one author more which was famous about this time, before the death of Athanasius, which was Ephrem, deacon of Edessa, commonly called the prophet of the Syrians. Theodoret[160] says, That he composed a great many hymns, in opposition to those that had been formerly made by Harmonius, the son of Bardesanes the heretic, and that they were used upon the festivals of the martyrs. Sozomen[161] mentions his Divine hymns also, as well as those that were made upon the martyrs. And these, no doubt, were some of those famous writings of his, which St. Jerom[162] says were used to be rehearsed in the church after the reading of the Scriptures.

Here it will not be improper also to observe, that the practice of heretics in endeavouring to corrupt and alter the ancient forms of the church, is often a manifest evidence and testimony of the antiquity of them. Thus Theodoret takes notice[163] that, in the beginning of this century, Arius, transgressing the ancient laws of giving glory to God, which had been handed down by those who lived and served in the ministry of the word from the beginning, introduced a new form, teaching those whom he deceived, to say, Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost: and that though he did not presume to alter the form of baptizing in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, yet he forbade to use the glorification according to the rule of baptism. Does not this prove, that the form of this doxology was long before Arius, since he presumed to introduce a new one? So again, when the same Theodoret[164] tells us, That Eunomius subverted the ancient law of baptism, delivered by Christ and his apostles, and brought in a contrary law, that men should not be baptized with a triple immersion, nor by invocation of the Trinity, but only by a single immersion in the name of Christ; does not this innovation as plainly prove, that the rite of trine immersion was the ancient form and custom of the church? as Tertullian,[165] and all that speak of it before Eunomius, have constantly asserted. So that whether we consider the testimonies of the catholics, or the practices and innovations made by heretics, they both concur to prove, that within this period of time, viz. during the life of Athanasius, the church made use of forms in every considerable part of Divine service, baptism, psalmody, and the most solemn worship at the Lord's table. And so she did also in her funeral rites, where nothing is more common than to hear of psalmody in their solemn processions to any interment, as may be seen in the writings of Gregory Nazianzen,[166] and the Constitutions,[167] to mention no other at present, that come not within the prefixed term of the life of Athanasius.

It was not above three years after the death of Athanasius, that St. Ambrose was made bishop of Milan, anno 374. He was a zealous defender of the catholic faith against the Arians, in opposition to whom he composed several hymns in Latin to the glory of the holy Trinity, for the people to sing in the church. Of which he himself gives this account in his tract against Auxentius: They accuse me, says he, for deceiving[168] and alluring the people with the poetry of my hymns. And I do not altogether deny the charge. For what can be more powerful and alluring than the confession of the Trinity, which is daily sung by the mouth of all the people? They all zealously strive to make profession of the faith; they all know how to celebrate the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in verse. These hymns are mentioned also by Prosper in his Chronicon,[169] as the first that were sung in the church in Latin measures. St. Austin frequently speaks of them, and says,[170] They were sung as then the psalms were, in the alternate way, verse for verse, by the people, to alleviate the tediousness of their sorrow: and from this example the custom of alternate hymnody and psalmody spread almost all over the Western churches. One of these is particularly cited[171] by him, as an evening hymn, and others are among

[160] Theod. lib. 4. cap. 29. [161] Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 16.

[162] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 115. Ad tantam venit claritatem, ut post lectionem Scripturarum publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur.

[163] Theod. Hæret. Fabul. lib. 4. cap. 1.

[164] Theod. ibid. cap. 3.

[165] Tertul. cont. Prax. cap. 26. It. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Vid. Con. Apostol. 49.

[166] Naz. Orat. 4. in Julian. p. 118.

[167] Vid. Constit. Apost. lib. 6. cap. 30.

[168] Ambr. Orat. cont. Auxent. ad calcem Epist. 32. Hymnorum quoque meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt. Plane ne hoc abnuo. Grande carmen istud est, quo nihil potentius. Quid enim potentius quam confessio Trinitatis, quæ quotidie totius populi ore celebratur? Certatim omnes student fidem fateri; Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum norunt versibus prædicare.

[169] Prosper. Chronic. an. 386. ap. Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 387. n. 7. Hymni Ambrosii compositi, qui nunquam ante in ecclesiis Latinis modulis canebantur.

[170] Aug. Confess. lib. 9. cap. 7. Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mæroris tædio contabesceret, institutum est; et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cætera orbis imitantibus.

[171] Ibid. cap. 12. Recordatus sum veridicos versus Am-

his works: and these we are sure in the following ages continued in use; for the[172] hymns of St. Ambrose and St. Hilary are mentioned by the fourth council of Toledo, anno 633, as parts of the daily service in the Spanish churches. St. Ambrose himself also speaks of the use of that ancient hymn called the *Trisagion*, telling us, that in most of the Eastern and Western churches,[173] when the sacrifice was offered to God, the priest and people with one voice said, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of thy glory." He mentions also the common form of salutation, "The peace of God be with you."[174] He says the music spoken of in the parable of the prodigal son, Luke xv., means the whole church singing together the psalms alternately,[175] men, women, and children, with different voices, but all conspiring, as the strings of an instrument, in one harmonious concord. And this was the symphony which the apostle had reference to, when he said, "I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also." His books De Sacramentis, if we allow them to be his, are so full of forms and ceremonies relating to the administration of baptism, confirmation, and the eucharist, that a man cannot look into them, but he must conclude, he wrote his accounts of these things from the known and settled forms of the church. For which reason I think it needless to recite any of them; but they that please may see them related in Dr. Comber.[176] If any one should except against these books, as none of St. Ambrose's genuine offspring, it is sufficient to have evidenced the use of forms from his undoubted writings. St. Jerom testifies concerning the use of the psalms, as forms of prayer and praises, that they were used both publicly and privately upon all occasions. In the Egyptian monasteries, he says,[177] the singing of the psalms was a principal part of their devotions at every solemn meeting. He directs Rusticus[178] to learn the Psalter by heart, and to repeat the psalm in his turn, as the monks were obliged to do one by one in their assemblies. He says of himself,[179] that he thus learned the psalms by heart, when he was young, and sung them when he was old every day. He directs Læta, a noble lady, so to accustom her daughter to the singing of psalms and hymns at all the canonical hours of prayer,[180] and teach her this by her own example. And after the same manner[181] he writes to Demetrias, a virgin, to observe the order of psalmody and prayers at every such stated hour. There may be some dispute about the observation of canonical hours seven times a day in the public service of the church, but there is none about the use of psalmody in general; for St. Jerom, writing to Sabinianus,[182] a deacon, who had been guilty of some indecent behaviour toward a consecrated virgin, reminds him of the immodest signs he had made to her even whilst he stood in the quire of the singers. And a little before[183] he speaks of the whole church sounding forth hymns to Christ their Lord in her nocturnal vigils, a great part of which, as we shall see hereafter, was always spent in psalmody. This was always a part of their funeral service: for, speaking of the great concourse of bishops and people at the funeral of the Lady Paula, he says,[184] Some of the bishops led up the quire of singers, and the people sounded forth the psalms in order, some in Greek, some in Latin, some in Syriac, according to the different language of every nation. He says the same in his Epitaph of Fabiola,[185] That the people made the gilded roof of the temple shake and echo again with their psalms and hallelujahs. It is also observable, that in St. Jerom's time, and long before, the church had a peculiar order among her clergy, called singers, which he himself mentions,[186] and of which I have given a more particular account[187] in a former Book. He also frequently speaks[188] of the clergy

brosii: Deus Creator omnium, polique rector, vestiens diem decoro lumine, noctem soporis gratia: artus solutos ut quies reddat laboris usui, mentesque fessas allevet, luctusque solvat anxios. Vid. Retractation. lib. 1. cap. 21.

172 Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 12.

173 Ambros. de Spir. Sancto, cited by Comber, of Liturgies, p. 183.

174 Ibid. de Dignit. Sacerd. cap. 5. Pronunciat episcopus hujusmodi ad populum, dicens, Pax vobis, &c.

175 Ibid. lib. 7. in Luc. xv. t. 5. p. 125. Hæc est symphonia quando concinit in ecclesia diversarum ætatum atque virtutum, velut variarum chordarum indiscreta concordia, psalmus respondetur; Amen dicitur. Hæc est symphonia, quam scivit et Paulus; ideo ait, Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente.

176 Comber, Origin of Liturg. p. 182.

177 Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. cap. 15. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, Psalmi resonant, scripturæ recitantur ex more, &c. Vid. Ep. 27. cap. 10.

178 Ep. 4. ad Rustic. Monach. Discatur Psalterium ad verbum.——Dicas psalmum in ordine tuo.

179 Invect. 2. cont. Ruffin. c. 7. Psalmos jugiter canto, &c.

180 Epist. 7. ad Lætam. Assuescat exemplo ad orationes et psalmos nocte consurgere, mane hymnos canere, tertia, sexta, nona, &c.

181 Ep. 8. ad Demetr. Considerans propter psalmorum et orationis ordinem, quod tibi hora tertia, sexta, nona, ad vesperum, media nocte et mane semper est exercendum.

182 Ep. 48. cont. Sabinian. Stabas deinceps in choro psallentium, et impudicis nutibus loquebaris.

183 Ibid. Tota ecclesia nocturnis vigiliis Christum Dominum personabat, &c.

184 Hieron. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ. Alii choros psallentium ducerent in media ecclesia.——Græco, Latino, Syroque sermone psalmi in ordine personabant.

185 Ibid. Ep. 30. Epitaph. Fabiolæ. Sonabant psalmi, et aurata tecta templorum reboans in sublime quatiebat Alleluia.

186 Ibid. Com. in Ephes. v. 19. Audiant hæc adolescentuli: audiant hi, quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est, &c.

187 Book III. chap. 7.

188 Hieron. Ep. 3. ad Heliodor. Ep. ad Præsidium. Com. in Ezech. c. xliv. lib. 2. cont. Pelag.

as ministering in a peculiar habit, a white garment, in imitation of the angels, of which more will be said hereafter. At present I only observe, that this could not be done without some rule or order, prescribing the ceremonies of decency in Divine worship. He does not say much of the other parts of the liturgy, yet he frequently mentions the form of renunciation used in baptism, and the use of the creed,[189] as does also Pelagius, in his Comments upon the Epistles of St. Paul, under the name of St. Jerom,[190] and Hilary the Roman deacon, under the name of St. Ambrose,[191] whose authorities are good in this case, because they were contemporaries with these writers. He mentions also the use of the Lord's prayer in the communion office, as given by Christ to his apostles, from whom the church[192] learned to use it every day in the sacrifice of his body. He speaks likewise of the *Trisagion*, or cherubical hymn, "Holy, holy, holy,[193] Lord God of sabaoth," which they sung as a confession of the holy Trinity. And he mentions a part of one of the church's prayers,[194] which was, Lord, grant us thy peace, for thou hast given us all things. And again,[195] Thus saith the church, In rest and in tribulation I have been mindful of thee: commenting on that psalm, which the ancients called their morning psalm, "My God, my God, early will I seek thee." And on another psalm,[196] the church says, "From the remembrance of our former sins, our hearts are hot within us." Speaking also of wicked priests, he says,[197] They act impiously against Christ, whilst they think that a good life is not as necessary to the eucharist, as the solemn prayer or words of the priest. Where he seems plainly to reflect on those, who trusted to the bare form of prayer without moral qualifications. He also mentions the solemn rite of giving each other the kiss of peace in the eucharist,[198] and the people's known custom of answering, Amen, at the reception of it. All which are plain indications of the use of certain forms in Divine worship; though St. Jerom only mentions them incidentally, and had no occasion to enlarge much upon them.

St. Austin and St. Chrysostom, as they are more voluminous writers, so they are more copious and exact upon this subject. I have given the reader a specimen of what may be collected of the Eastern liturgy out of the writings of St. Chrysostom in the following chapter. And some learned men are of opinion, that if any one will be as curious in examining St. Austin's works, he may find the whole African liturgy in his writings. I will not pretend to be so exact in this collection, but only make some short references to what he says upon some parts of it. He divides the whole liturgy, or service of the church, into five parts,[199] viz. psalmody, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, prayers of the bishop, and the bidding prayers of the deacon. All which, except preaching, were done by certain forms and prescriptions. And, first, For psalmody, he says, it was the exercise of the people at all times, when no other part of the service was performing. For there was no time, he says, unseasonable for the people to sing holy psalms and hymns in the church, except when either the Scriptures were read, or the sermon was preached, or prayers were made by the bishop, or the common prayers were dictated by the voice of the deacon. We have heard him before speak with approbation of the ways of singing psalms and hymns introduced by Athanasius and St. Ambrose.[200] Which argues, not only that he allowed the singing of psalms and hymns, that is, forms of prayer and praises, in general; but also that he liked the several ways of singing then in use, the plain song, and the symphoniacal concert at the conclusion of every verse, used by Athanasius, and the new alternate way introduced by St. Ambrose. Though he intimates that the plain way generally was more agreeable to the slow genius[201] of the African people, whose singing he vindicates from the scurrilous objections which the Donatists made against their practice. And he wrote a book particularly against one Hilarius, a secular tribune, who pretended to quarrel with the custom of the church of Carthage, for singing hymns[202] out of the

[189] Hieron. Com. in Amos vi. 14. et in Mat. v. 26. et Dial. cont. Lucifer.

[190] Pelag. Com. in 1 Tim. vi. 12.

[191] Ambros. in 1 Tim. vi. 12.

[192] Hieron. cont. Pelag. lib. 3. cap. 5. Sicut docuit apostolos suos, ut quotidie in corporis illius sacrificio credentes audeant loqui, Pater noster qui es in cœlis, &c.

[193] Ibid. de 42. Mansionibus, in initio. In confessionem sanctæ Trinitatis erumpimus, dicentes, Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus sabaoth.

[194] Ibid. Epist. 4. ad Rusticum. Utinam audiatur vox ecclesiæ implorantis, Domine, pacem tuam da nobis: omnia enim dedisti nobis.

[195] Ibid. Com. in Psal. lxii. Dicit hæc ecclesia, Et in requie et in tribulatione non fui tui oblitus.

[196] In Psal. xxxviii. Concaluit cor meum intra me. Dicit ecclesia, A recordatione delictorum priorum.

[197] In Zephan. iii. Impie agunt in legem Christi, putantes εὐχαριστίαν imprecantis facere verba, non vitam; et necessariam esse tantum solennem orationem, et non sacerdotum merita.

[198] Hieron. Ep. 62. ad Theophil. cap. 1. Quisquamne inter sacras epulas, Judæ osculum porrigit?——Qua conscientia ad eucharistiam Christi accedam, et respondebo Amen, cum de charitate dubitem porrigentis?

[199] Aug. Epist. 119. ad Januar. cap. 18.

[200] Ibid. Confes. lib. 9. cap. 7 et 12. lib. 10. cap. 33.

[201] Ibid. Ep. 119. ad Paulin. cap. 19. Donatistæ nos reprehendunt quod sobrie psallimus in ecclesia divina cantica prophetarum, &c.

[202] Ibid. Retractat. lib. 2. cap. 11. Hilarius quidam, vir tribunitius laicus—morem qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem cœperat, ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmorum libro, sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribueretur populo quod esset oblatum, maledica reprehensione, ubicunque poterat, lacerabat, &c.

Book of Psalms at the altar, either before the oblation of the eucharist was made, or whilst it was distributed to the people. This book of St. Austin's is now lost, but he mentions it in his Retractations. He also speaks[203] of the evening hymns: and of the singing of the hallelujah[204] in some churches every day, and in others, only the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost. And Possidius tells us in his Life,[205] That in the great irruption of the Vandals into Africa, a little before his death, nothing grieved him more than to see the hymns and praises of God destroyed out of the churches, and the solemnities of God's worship, with the sacrifice and sacraments, to fail in the places where they were used to be celebrated. And he adds,[206] That in his last sickness, he ordered some of the penitential Psalms of David to be written for him in large sheets, and hanged up against the wall, which he read and used as forms proper for penitential devotion. All which shows, that St. Austin thought the Psalms of David were not unlawful to be used as forms of prayers and praises in the service of God.

Secondly, For the reading of the Scriptures, he acquaints us in many places, that this was done by a certain rule and calendar, appointing proper lessons for particular occasions and seasons. There were some festival days, he says,[207] on which they were bound to read certain appropriated lessons out of the Gospel, which were so fixed to those anniversary solemnities, that no other lessons might be read in their room. Thus, he says, in Easter week, they constantly read[208] four days, one after another, the history of Christ's resurrection out of the four Gospels; on the first day St. Matthew, on the second St. Mark, on the third St. Luke, and on the fourth St. John. So likewise on the day of Christ's passion, he says, they read the history of his sufferings[209] out of St. Matthew only, because it was all but one day: and when he would have had all the four Gospels read at that time also, the people were disturbed at it, because they had not been accustomed to it. In the time between Easter and Pentecost, he says,[210] they always read the Acts of the Apostles. St. Chrysostom will give us the reason of this hereafter: and we shall see that this was a universal custom, obtaining throughout the whole church, when we come to consider this rule more fully exemplified[211] in the church's general practice.

Thirdly, For the prayers made by the bishop in the communion office, St. Austin gives us such a description of them, as shows they must needs be made by a certain order and form. For he thus describes one part of them, while he instructs the newly baptized in the method and meaning of them: Ye understand, says he, the sacrament in the order of its administration.[212] First, after prayer, (meaning the prayer for the whole state of the church, which went before,) ye are taught to lift up your hearts. Therefore when it is said, "Lift up your hearts," ye answer, "We lift them up unto the Lord." The bishop or presbyter who officiates, goes on and says, "Let us give thanks to our Lord God:" and ye give in your attestation, and say, "It is meet and right so to do." Then, after the consecration of the sacrifice, we say the Lord's prayer. And after that, the priest says, "Peace be with you," and Christians salute one another with a holy kiss. Here we have not only the method of the communion service, but the several forms of it in order, one after another. And these forms are frequently mentioned by St. Austin in other places. The Lord's prayer, he says,[213] was always used by the whole church almost, as the close of the consecration service, and at other times as the daily prayer of the faithful,[214] peculiarly belonging to them, and not to the catechumens, as we shall show more fully hereafter.[215] The form, *Sursum corda,* "Lift up your hearts," &c., he says,[216] was used by all Christians throughout the world, who daily answered with one voice, "We lift up our hearts unto the

[203] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. cap. 8.

[204] Ep. 119. ad Januar. c. 17. Ut autem halleluia per illos solos dies quinquaginta cantetur, non usquequaque observatur. Nam in aliis diebus varie cantatur alibi; ipsis autem diebus ubique.

[205] Possid. Vit. Aug. cap. 28. Cernebat etiam hymnos Dei et laudes de ecclesiis deperisse: solennia quoque quæ Deo debentur, de propriis locis defecisse, &c.

[206] Possid. ibid. cap. 30. Jusserat sibi Psalmos Davidicos, qui sunt paucissimi, de pœnitentia scribi, ipsosque quaterniones jacens in lecto contra parietem positos diebus suæ infirmitatis intuebatur et legebat, et jugiter ac ubertim flebat.

[207] Aug. Expos. in 1 Joan. in Præfat. t. 9. p. 235. Interposita est solennitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex evangelio lectiones oportet in ecclesia recitari, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint.

[208] Serm. 139. de Temp. It. 140, 141, 144, 148.

[209] Serm. 144. de Temp. p. 320. Passio, quia uno die legitur, non solet legi nisi secundum Matthæum, &c.

[210] Tract. 6. in Joan. Evang. t. 9. p. 24. Actus Apostolorum, &c. Anniversaria solennitate post passionem Domini nostris illum librum recitari. Vid. Aug. Hom. 227. Nov. Edit. Benedictin. quæ est 83. de Diversis.

[211] Book XIV. chap. 3. sect. 3.

[212] Aug. Hom. 83. de Diversis, t. 10. p. 556. Tenetis sacramentum ordine suo. Primo post orationem admonemini sursum habere cor, &c. Ideo cum dicitur, Sursum cor, respondetis, Habemus ad Dominum.—Sequitur episcopus vel presbyter, qui offert, et dicit, Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro: et vos attestamini, Dignum et justum est, dicentes. Deinde post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus orationem Dominicam. Post istam dicitur, Pax vobiscum: et osculantur se Christiani osculo sancto.

[213] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin.

[214] Ep. 121. ad Probam. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 71. Homil. 42. inter 50.

[215] Chap. 7. sect. 9.

[216] Aug. de Vera Relig. cap. 3. Serm. 54 et 64. De Temp Ep. 156. ad Probam.

Lord," as he speaks in his book of True Religion, and other places. And to this he says the priests added that other form, "Let us give thanks to our Lord God:" to which the people answered, "It is meet and right so to do:" as he speaks in his epistles[217] to Dardanus and Honoratus, and in his book of the Gift of Perseverance, against the Pelagians, and de Spiritu et Litera, and de Bono Viduitatis; which being all to the same purpose, need not here be repeated. He also mentions in his other writings the solemn form of the priest's saying, "Peace be with you," and the people's giving one another thereupon the kiss of peace, which was a symbol[218] of that innocency and peace, which ought to be the qualification of true Christian doves. And this rite, he says, was observed not only by the catholics, but by the Donatists also.[219] So that here is unquestionable evidence for the use of all these forms in the writings of St. Austin. And though he does not give us the whole forms of the longer prayers made by the bishop at the altar, yet he mentions some parts of them, and makes such references and appeals to them both in his discourses to the orthodox, and confutations of heretics, as plainly shows they were common forms which they were well acquainted with, and by remembering them might understand the doctrine of the church. Thus, in his book of Perseverance,[220] he says, Those of the church need not any operose disputations to convince them of the necessity of God's grace to persevere; they need only remember her daily prayers, how she prays, that infidels may believe, and that believers may persevere. And again,[221] he tells them, it is the safest way for weak men, in this dispute, to look upon these prayers, which the church always had, and always will have to the end of the world. For when did not the church pray for infidels and her enemies, that they might believe? Or, who ever, when he heard the priest praying over the faithful, and saying, Grant, O Lord, that they may persevere in thee unto the end, durst either in word or thought find fault with him, and not rather, with faith in his heart, and confession in his mouth, answer Amen to such a benediction? when the faithful pray no otherwise in the Lord's prayer, especially when they say, "Lead us not into temptation." By all which it appears, that both the larger and the shorter prayers in the communion office of the African church, in St. Austin's time, were offered up in such forms, as the people could easily remember, when he referred to them as evidence in some disputes, which this was an easy way to determine.

Fourthly, There was one sort of prayers more, which St. Austin distinguishes from the former, by the name of the common prayers dictated or indited to the people by the voice of the deacon. Now, these prayers, as I shall show more fully hereafter,[222] differed from the bishop's prayer in this, That the bishop's prayer was a direct and continued invocation of God, to which the people answered only Amen in the conclusion; but the deacon's prayer was a sort of bidding prayer, or direction to the people what particulars they were to pray for; the deacon going before them, and repeating every petition, to which they made answer, Lord, hear us, or, Lord, help us, or, Lord, have mercy, or the like. And this sort of prayer St. Austin expressly[223] calls *communis oratio voce diaconi indicta*, common prayer dictated by the voice of the deacon. And he seems in one of his epistles[224] to specify some of the particular petitions contained in that prayer. For, writing to one who was infected with the Pelagian doctrine, (maintaining that infidels were only to be preached to, and not prayed for, because faith was not the work of God's grace, but the effect of man's own free will,) he urges him with the known prayers of the church, which the man himself frequented. Exercise, says he, your disputations against the prayers of the church; and when you hear the priest of God at the altar exhorting the people of God to pray for unbelievers, that they may be converted to the faith; and for catechumens, that God would inspire them with a desire of regeneration; and for the faithful, that by his gift they may persevere in that wherein they have begun; mock at these pious words, and say, you do not do what you here are exhorted to do. And again, When you hear[225] the priest of God at the altar exhorting the people to pray to God, or else hear him praying with an audible voice, that God would compel the unbelieving Gentiles to come in to his faith, do you not answer and say, Amen? These seem to be usual parts of the prayer for the whole

217 Ep. 57. ad Dardanum, et Ep. 120. ad Honoratum. De Bono Persever. cap. 13. De Spiritu et Litera, lib. 1. c. 11. De Bono Viduitatis, cap. 16.

218 Aug. Hom. 6. in Joan. t. 9. p. 21. Habere cum fratribus veram pacem, quam significant oscula columbarum, &c.

219 Cont. Literas Petilian. lib. 2. cap. 23. Illum commemoro, (Optatum Gildonianum,) cui pacis osculum inter sacramenta copulabatis.

220 De Bono Perseverantiæ, cap. 7. In hac re non operosas disputationes expectet ecclesia, sed attendat quotidianas orationes suas. Orat, ut credentes perseverent.

221 Ibid. cap. 23. Ut magis intuerenter orationes suas, quas semper habuit et habebit ecclesia.—Quando enim non oratum est in ecclesia pro infidelibus atque inicimis ejus, ut crederent?—Aut quis sacerdotem super fideles Dominum invocantem, si quando dixit, Da illis Domine in te perseverare usque in finem, non solum voce ausus est, sed saltem cogitatione reprehendere; ac non potius super ejus talem benedictionem, et corde credente et ore confitente respondit Amen: cum aliud in ipsa oratione Dominica non orant fideles, &c.

222 Book XV. chap. 1. sect. 2.

223 Aug. Ep. 119. ad Paulin. cap. 18.

224 Ep. 107. ad Vitalem, p. 187.

225 Ibid. p. 191.

state of the world, in which infidels were prayed for as well as others, to which St. Austin refers, as things well known to all that frequented the prayers of the church.

Besides these, there were some occasional offices, such as the offices of exorcism, and the institution of the catechumens, and baptism, in which many forms, and rites, and ceremonies were observed, agreeable to the practice then obtaining in the church; but of these I have had occasion to speak largely out of St. Austin and other writers in a former Book,[226] and therefore think it needless to repeat them in this place. All I shall further add, is two or three canons of the African councils held in St. Austin's time, at some of which he was present and assisted. He was a member of the third council of Carthage, in one of whose canons there are several orders and directions given concerning the public prayers,[227] That no one in prayers should name the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father. And when they stood at the altar, all prayers should be directed to the Father. And whatever prayers any one wrote out for himself, or from other books, he should not use them before they were examined by his more learned brethren. This is as plain an argument for set forms as can be given, and yet some, I know not by what means, make it an argument against them. The design of the canon was plainly to prevent all irregularities and corruptions creeping into the devotions of the church; and therefore the fathers made an order, That no bishop should use any prayers in his church but such as were first examined and approved by his fellow bishops in a council. As another canon in the African Code explains it,[228] That such prayers should be used by all, as had been authorized and confirmed in synod, whether they were prefaces, or commendations, or impositions of hands; and that no other should be brought in against the faith, but those only be said which were collected or examined by men of greater abilities and understanding. And this is repeated again in the council of Milevis[229] almost in the same words. These African fathers probably had observed, that there were some country bishops who had not sufficient abilities to compose orthodox forms for the use of their own churches; and therefore they a little restrained the ancient liberty which every bishop had of composing a form of prayer for his own church, and obliged them to use such as were composed by men of greater abilities, or such as had been approved in synod, that no heretical opinion might creep into the public worship, either by their ignorance or want of care in their compositions. By all this it appears, that the public devotions of the African church were at this time directed by certain forms of worship, and those not left to every bishop to compose for himself, but he must use such prayers as were first approved by his brethren, or established and confirmed in council. And this seems to be the first beginning of that custom, which afterward prevailed all over the church, as has been observed before in this chapter,[230] that all provincial bishops should use the same form of prayer that was established in the churches of their metropolitans.

I need not now insist upon these same councils, speaking of the solemn interrogatories[231] and answers to be made in baptism; nor of their mentioning the Lord's prayer, as a form of so necessary and general a use,[232] that the Pelagians themselves, who did not like one petition in it unless interpreted to a very perverse sense, durst not presume to lay aside the use of it. For, as the first of these is a known practice, so the second will have a more particular handling, when we come to consider the use of the Lord's prayer in a chapter by itself. And so I put an end to this chapter, concerning the use of liturgies in the ancient church.

CHAPTER VI.

AN EXTRACT OF THE ANCIENT LITURGY OUT OF THE GENUINE WRITINGS OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

Sect. 1. Parts of the liturgy in the first tome.

It has often been wished by learned men, that some one would represent the ancient liturgy, in its several parts and offices, as it may be collected out of the genuine and undoubted writings of St. Chrysostom; forasmuch as that liturgy which goes under his name, cannot be so certainly depended on as his genuine offspring: but there are a great many parts of ancient liturgy of unquestionable credit, which may be

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[226] Books IX. and X.

[227] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 23. Ut nemo in precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet. Et cum ad altare assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio. Et quicunque sibi preces aliunde describit, (al. quascunque sibi preces aliquis describit) non eis utatur, prius quam eas cum instructioribus fratribus contulerit.

[228] Cod. Afric. can. 3. Ὥστε τὰς κεκυρωμένας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἱκεσίας, εἴτε προοίμια, εἴτε παραθέσεις, εἴτε τὰς τῆς χειρὸς ἐπιθέσεις, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ παντελῶς ἄλλας κατὰ τῆς πίστεως μηδέποτε προενεχθῆναι· ἀλλ' αἵτινες δήποτε ἀπὸ τῶν συνετωτέρων συνήχθησαν, λεχθήσονται.

[229] Conc. Milevit. can. 12. Placuit etiam illud, ut preces vel orationes seu missæ, quæ probatæ fuerint in synodo, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, sive manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliæ omnino dicantur in ecclesia, nisi quæ a prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in synodo fuerint, ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum.

[230] See before in this chap. sect. 2.

[231] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 34. [232] Conc. Milevit. can. 8.

gathered up out of his other discourses. Mr. Hales of Eton, a diligent reader of Chrysostom, is said to have designed such a collection, but he did not effect it. Therefore, till some one else pursues his design more completely, I think it not improper, for its relation to the present subject, to give the reader, in one view, a specimen of such passages as plainly refer to the several parts of the ancient liturgy, observing the order of St. Chrysostom's works according to the Paris edition, 1609, and that of Commelin, 1617.

In the first tome, Hom. I. p. 1, he plainly intimates, that the Scriptures were read then in some order by a stated rule of the church, because his sermon that day was upon a passage that had been read in the course of morning service, 1 Tim. v. 23, "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine." In his second homily, p. 32, he says again his text was taken out of the Epistle then read for the day, which was 2 Tim. vi. 17, "Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high minded." In his third homily, p. 45, he says, The Lord's prayer was by appointment of the church the peculiar privilege of those only who were baptized. For before their initiation in the holy mysteries, they were not allowed to use it. In his seventh homily, p. 106, he observes, That the Book of Genesis was always appointed to be read in Lent: and, accordingly, it was then read for the day, and he preached upon the first words of it, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." In his fifteenth homily, p. 191, he says, The whole city met together, and with one common voice, τῇ μιᾷ κοινῇ φωνῇ, made their litany, or supplications to God. And in the same discourse he intimates, that a portion of the prophet Zechariah, chap. v., concerning the flying roll against swearers, had then been read for the day, which he accommodated to the subject of vain oaths, against which he was then discoursing. In his eighteenth homily, p. 226, he says, He preached upon the Epistle which had been read that day, Phil. iv. 4, "Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say, rejoice." And in his sixteenth homily, p. 234, he notes the same, That the words upon which he preached out of the Epistle to Philemon, "Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ," &c., had been read that day. In his twenty-first homily, p. 266, he takes notice of the use of the hymn called the *Trisagion*, or cherubical hymn, "Holy, holy, holy," in the celebration of the eucharist; arguing to his hearers in this manner upon it: What an absurdity is it for a man, after he has heard that mystical song that was brought down from heaven, brought down, I say, by the cherubims, to pollute his ears with the songs of harlots, and the effeminate music of the theatre! In the same homily he twice takes notice of the form of renouncing the devil in baptism, p. 267: We are commanded to say, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, I renounce thee, O Satan, that we may never more return to him. And again, p. 273, Remember, says he, those words which you spake when you were initiated in the holy mysteries, I renounce thee, O Satan, and thy pomp, and thy worship and service. In his twenty-second homily, upon anger and forgiving enemies, he argues for the necessity of pardoning offences, from the necessary obligation that is laid upon all men to say the Lord's prayer. For this reason, says he, p. 287, we are commanded to say, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." And again, p. 288, when you say, "Forgive us, as we forgive:" if you do not forgive, you ask nothing else of God, but that he would deprive you of all excuse and pardon. And whereas some pleaded, that they did not say the whole prayer, but omitted that clause, "as we forgive them that trespass against us," he rebukes them for it, and bids them not be so vainly cautious, as to think they were excused by curtailing the prayer, but advises them to use the whole prayer, as Christ appointed it to be used, that the necessity of this petition might daily terrify them from revenge, and compel them to grant pardon to their neighbours. In his twenty-fourth homily, of the baptism of Christ, p. 317, he again speaks of the cherubical hymn in the communion service. Do you think, says he, that you have any secular business at that hour? Do you then imagine yourself to be upon earth, or conversing among men? Whose heart is so stony, as to think, that at that time he stands upon the earth, and is not rather in a quire of angels, with whom you sing that mystical hymn, with whom you send up that triumphal song to God? In his twenty-eighth homily, (which is the third of the incomprehensible nature of God,) p. 363, he speaks of the common prayer, as sent up with one common voice of the whole congregation, speaking and crying aloud to God with one accord. Some would have excused themselves from these prayers of the church, by this frivolous plea, that they could pray at home, but they could not hear a sermon or discourse of instruction in their own houses; and therefore they would come to sermon, but not to prayers. To whom he makes this reply: You deceive yourself, O man; for though you may pray at home, yet you cannot pray there in that manner as you do in the church, where there are so many fathers together, and where the cry of your prayers is sent up to God with one consent. You are not heard so well, when you pray to God by yourself alone, as when you pray with your brethren. For there is something more here, consent of mind, and consent of voice, and the bond of charity, and the prayers of the priests together. For the priests for this very reason preside in the church, that the people's prayers, which are weaker of themselves, laying hold on those that are stronger, may

together with them mount up to heaven. This is a plain description of such common prayers, wherein both priests and people joined not only in heart, but in one common form of words, whereby they cried aloud to God together. A little after, p. 365, he describes these prayers again by the people's sending up their tremendous cry all at once, *βοῶσι τὴν φρικωδεςάτην βοήν*. And he makes this difference between the manner of the energumens' supplicating God, and that of the people, that the one spake not a word, but only supplicated by the posture of their bodies, bowing down their heads; whilst the people, who were allowed to speak audibly in prayers, spake aloud for those who could not speak for themselves. For this reason, says he, the deacon at the time of the oblation brings forth the energumens, or those that are possessed with evil spirits, and bids them bow their heads only, and signify their supplications by this bodily gesture: for they are not permitted to pray with the common assembly of the brethren: therefore he presents them before the congregation, that you, pitying both their vexation, and their disability to speak for themselves, might, by the freedom and liberty of speech which is allowed you, grant them your patronage and assistance. From this it appears, that these prayers for the energumens were in a certain form, in which all the people vocally joined together. In his twenty-ninth homily, which is the fourth *de Incomprehensibili*, p. 374, he repeats the same account of the deacon's calling forth the energumens, and bidding them bow their heads, and the people's praying to God *ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ μετὰ σφοδρᾶς βοῆς*, with one consent and with strong cries, that he would show mercy on them. A little after, in the same homily, p. 375, he mentions another form used by the deacon, as the herald of the church, who was appointed to call upon the people every now and then, and excite them to fervency in devotion, by using this form of words, *ὀρθοὶ ςῶμεν καλῶς*, Let us elevate our minds, and attend with decency to our devotions. For, as he there explains it, this admonition did not so much respect the body, as the mind. When the deacon, says he, calls upon us, and says, Let us stand elevated with decency, it was not without good reason that this admonition was by the rule of the church appointed, but that we should elevate our thoughts that lie grovelling upon the ground; that, casting away the distraction that arises from secular affairs, we should be able to present our souls upright and raised to a spiritual sense in the presence of God. Let no man therefore, adds he, join in those sacred and mystical hymns with remissness of mind; let no man entertain the thoughts of this life at that time; but driving away all earthly concerns, let him translate himself wholly into heaven, as standing then close by the throne of glory, and flying with the seraphims: and so let him offer up *τὸν πανάγιον ὕμνον*, that most holy hymn (meaning the *Trisagion*, or else the hymn called "Glory be to God on high") to the God of majesty and glory. It is upon this account we are called upon at this time, *ἑςάναι καλῶς*, to compose ourselves decently, as it becomes men who stand in the presence of God, with fear and trembling, with a vigilant and elevated soul. In his thirty-fourth homily, which is the first against the Jews, p. 440, he speaks of another form used by the deacon, and that frequently, before the participation of the holy mysteries: he then cried out, *ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους*, Discern and know one another: which was an admonition to the people, that they should suffer no Jew, infidel, heretic, catechumen, or penitent, to communicate among them. In his fortieth homily, upon the martyrs, Juventinus and Maximus, p. 550, he says, The church kept her vigils all the night with continual psalmody, which was nothing but forms of prayers and praises out of the Holy Scriptures. In the forty-seventh homily, upon Julian the martyr, p. 613, he again mentions the solemn form of renunciation in baptism. You renounced, says he, all this kind of pomp, (harlots, songs, and obscene words used in the theatre,) and made a covenant with Christ, in that day when you were initiated in the holy mysteries. Remember, therefore, those words, and your covenant, and beware you do not transgress it. In his fifty-first homily, upon Bernice, p. 635, he says, They used hymns, and prayers, and psalms at the funerals of Christians; and particularly the words of Psalm cxvi., "Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee:" implying, that the death of a Christian was a kindness and a rest: "for he that is entered into that rest, hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his." In his fifty-fifth homily, which is the fifth of repentance, p. 672, he plainly intimates, that his discourse was made upon the Epistle that had been read for the day, 2 Cor. xii. 21, "Lest when I come again, I shall bewail many who have sinned, and have not repented." In his sixtieth homily, which is his catechetical instruction to those that were preparing for baptism, he takes notice of several forms and rules made by the church, relating to that matter, p. 797. As, first, the solemn words by which every man entered into covenant with Christ. For, speaking of the danger and ill consequents of deferring baptism to a sick bed, he says, When he that is baptized knows none that are about him, when he cannot hear a word that is spoken, when he cannot utter those words wherewith he should make the blessed covenant with our common Lord, but lies like a stock or a stone, differing nothing from a dead man; what advantage is it to such a one to be initiated in the holy mysteries in such a state of insensibility? This

implies, that the party baptized was to make his compact with God in a solemn and usual form of words, which a man at the point of death was not able to utter. After this he goes on to show, that the church had appointed the time of Lent chiefly above other times for exorcism and baptism; and that the catechumens, after they were instructed, were remitted over to the exorcists, to have their exorcisms or prayers said over them; and that during this time they were obliged to walk discalceate, and wear only one coat: which were appointments of the church, he says, established for good reasons, and not without their mystical signification. In his seventy-fourth homily, in which is a panegyric upon the martyrs, p. 900, he speaks again of the *Trisagion*, or cherubical hymn, as used to be sung in the celebration of the eucharist. The martyrs, says he, are now joining in concert, and partaking in the mystical songs of the heavenly quire: for if, whilst they were in the body, whenever they communicated in the holy mysteries, they made part of that quire, singing with the cherubims the *Trisagion* hymn, "Holy, holy, holy;" as all ye that are initiated in those mysteries very well understand: much more now, being joined with them whose partners they were in the earthly quire, they do with greater freedom partake in those solemn blessings and glorifications of God in heaven above.

Sect. 2. Parts of the liturgy in the second tome of St. Chrysostom's works.

The second tome of St. Chrysostom's works, is his Homilies upon Genesis, which were preached in Lent, when that book was always read in the church, as appears from his first homily, p. 10, and from what has been observed before out of his seventh homily to the people of Antioch, in the foregoing section. In his twenty-seventh homily upon this book, he plainly intimates, that the Lord's prayer was always a part of the communion office. For, speaking of the duty of forgiving enemies, he says, p. 358, If we do this, we may then, with a pure conscience, come to this holy and tremendous table, and boldly say the words that are contained in that prayer. They who are initiated in the holy mysteries know what I mean. He covertly intends that petition of the Lord's prayer, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." In his thirty-third homily, p. 478, he acquaints us, That though the Book of Genesis was by the order of the church read in Lent, yet when they came to the Thursday in the Passion Week, the day on which our Saviour was betrayed, then they had proper lessons for that day, and Good Friday, and Easter day, and all the time between Easter and Pentecost, when it was customary to read the Acts of the Apostles, as a demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection. In his fifty-fourth homily, p. 731, he says, Christ commanded the use of the Lord's prayer, prescribing us therein the bounds and rules of praying for temporal things, whilst he enjoins us to say those words, "Give us this day our daily bread." In his second homily upon the prayer of Hannah, in the same volume, p. 965, he says, When Christ commanded his disciples not to pray after the manner of the heathen, using vain repetitions, he also taught us the measure of prayer, meaning the form which he appointed. He repeats the same in the third homily upon Saul and David, p. 1053. Although, says he, you are guilty of a thousand crimes, yet if you sincerely offer up that prayer, which promises, that if you forgive your enemies, your Father will forgive your trespasses; you shall, with great confidence, obtain the remission of all your sins.

Sect. 3. Parts of the ancient liturgy in the third tome.

The third tome contains St. Chrysostom's Commentaries and Homilies on the Psalms and the Prophet Isaiah, where he frequently refers to the known parts of the liturgy then in use in the church. In his Comment upon Psalm cxii., he three times mentions the necessary use of the Lord's prayer, p. 369. As Christ, says he, when he would induce us to unanimity and charity in our prayers, enjoins us to make common prayer, and obliges the whole church, as if it were but one person, to say, "Our Father;" and, "Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil;" always using a word of the plural number, and commanding every one, whether he pray alone by himself, or in common with others, still to make prayer for his brethren: so here the prophet David calls all men to a consent in prayer, saying, "Praise the Lord, O ye servants: praise the name of the Lord." Again, p. 370, speaking of glorifying God, he says, Christ hath commanded us to pray for this, saying, whenever we pray, "Hallowed be thy name." And, p. 372, Christ, in his gospel, hath commanded us to pray, and say, "Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." In like manner, on Psalm cxiv., p. 394, speaking of the life to come, and how we ought to desire it, and make all our actions tend that way, he adds, For this reason we are commanded to say in our prayer, "Thy kingdom come;" that we may always have respect to that day. He repeats the same words on Psalm cxix., p. 425. And on Psalm cxxvii., p. 465, We are commanded to use a prayer, in which there is but one petition relating to this life, "Give us this day our daily bread;" which he repeats again on Psalm cxl., p. 551. On Psalm cxliv., p. 595, he says, We are commanded to say in our prayer, "Hallowed be thy name." And on Psalm cxlix., p. 633, he calls it the prayer which was offered up by all in common, and always in the plural number, "Our Father," &c. On Psalm cl., p. 636, he says, This prayer was peculiar in its use to the sons of God only, who could call God their Father, by virtue

of their regeneration and adoption. Our prayer, says he, is prefaced with this title; for it belongs to them only to say, "Our Father," who can give him thanks for the gifts which they have received, and show forth them all in that name. For he that calls God his Father, confesses the adoption of sons: and he that confesses the adoption of sons, owns and declares both justification, and sanctification, and redemption, and remission of sins, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. For all these must go before, that we may thereby enjoy the adoption of sons, and be thought worthy to call God our Father. By which reasoning of St. Chrysostom it appears, that he was so far from thinking the Lord's prayer a carnal form, not proper to be used by spiritual men, because it was a form, that, on the contrary, he thought none were truly qualified to use it, but such as were regenerate, and adopted, and endowed with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, who alone had the true title to call God their Father. And this, I shall show in the next chapter, was the general sense of all the ancient writers.

But to return to St. Chrysostom. In his Comment on Psalm cxvii., p. 406, he takes notice, that the people were used in their responses to return one verse of this psalm, which was, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it." This kind of responses he calls *ὑπηχεῖν*, and *ὑποψάλλειν*, because it was the people's subjoining their response to something that the minister had read before out of the same psalm. And it seems to have been appointed for the service of Easter day, or Christmas day, or the Lord's day, because he adds, The people were wont to make this response chiefly on that spiritual assembly and heavenly festival; plainly referring to some eminent festival then well known to the people. And that this custom was introduced by a law and order of the church, is evident from what follows: for he says, Their forefathers had appointed the people to sing this verse, *ὑπηχεῖν ἐνομοθέτησαν*, both because it was sonorous, and also contained a sublime doctrine, that forasmuch as they knew not the whole psalm, they might from this one verse be perfectly instructed in the mystery of it. This was the wisdom of the ancient church, according to Chrysostom, to teach the people the mysteries of religion, by obliging them to bear a part in the usual service.

In his Comment on Psalm cxxxvii., p. 518, he declares again, That the psalmody was performed partly by the priests, and partly by the people's joining with them: the priests began, and the people answered to them. On Psalm cxl. he notes, p. 544, That this psalm was constantly sung in the order of the daily evening service, whence it had the name of the evening psalm; as the lxii. had the name of the morning psalm, because it was always sung in the morning service. Of which, because I have given a more particular account hereafter,[1] I say no more in this place. On Psalm cxliv., p. 594, he acquaints us, that this psalm was always sung alternately by the priest and people at the Lord's table, chiefly upon the account of these words in it, "The eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season." Of which custom we shall have another occasion to speak further in its proper place. See Book XV. chap. 5. sect. 10.

In his sermon on Psalm cxlv., p. 823, he tells us, That psalm was used to be sung in the Passion Week, "Praise the Lord, O my soul; while I live, will I praise the Lord," &c. In his first sermon on Isaiah, p. 834, he says, The *Trisagion*, or cherubical hymn, "Holy, holy, holy," was sung by the seraphims in heaven above, and by men on earth beneath. And, p. 836, he takes notice of the angelical doxology, "Glory be to God on high," as used in the church: and the forms, Κύριε, ἐλέησον, and σῶσον, "Lord, have mercy upon us," and, "Lord, save us," as usual prayers and responses of the people: and reproving the people's clamours, and negligence, and indecent gesticulations in the church, he reprimands them in this manner: How dare you mix the devil's sport with this doxology of angels? Why do you not revere the words, which you yourselves use in that place, "Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto him with reverence?" Is this to serve him in fear, when you thus theatrically toss and stretch your bodies, and know not what you say yourselves for your disorderly vociferation? This plainly implies, that the people bare their part, though sometimes without a just decorum, in all these doxologies, prayers, and responses. In his sermon upon the seraphims, which is the sixth upon Isaiah, p. 890, he gives a large account again of the use of the seraphical hymn, "Holy, holy, holy," at the communion table: which, because I shall recite at length hereafter, I only just barely hint it in this place. See Book XV.

In his second homily upon the obscurity of the ancient prophecies, p. 946, in answer to that vulgar plea, that men could pray at home, he replies in such a manner, as shows that the people bare a part with their own tongues in the common prayers of the church. You may pray at home, says he, but your prayer is not of that efficacy and power, as when the whole body of the church, with one mind, and one voice, *ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ φωνῇ*, send up their prayers together, the priest assisting, and offering up the prayers of the whole multitude in common. He there also speaks of the deacon's form in bidding prayer for all orders of men in the world, which I shall not recite here, because I have done

[1] See Book XIII. chap. 10. and 11.

it more fully in its proper place. Book XV. chap. 1.

Sect. 4. Parts of the ancient liturgy in the fourth tome of St. Chrysostom's works.

The fourth volume of St. Chrysostom's works consists chiefly of private discourses, which have not much relation to the public liturgy of the church: yet some few passages are worthy to be noted among these. In his famous discourse upon Eutropius, p. 554, among other arguments, whereby he presses the people to lay aside their anger against him, and pardon the injury he had done them, he urges this: How will you otherwise, says he, take the holy sacrament into your hands, and use the words of that prayer, wherein we are commanded to say, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us," if you exact punishment of your debtor? This shows that the Lord's prayer was used then as a usual part of the communion service. In the third homily of repentance, p. 562, he speaks of the seraphical hymn under the title of μυστικὸν μέλος, the mystical song, because it was used in the celebration of the holy mysteries. And again, in his second epistle to Olympias, p. 715, he mentions it under the same title. And in his sermon after his return from banishment, p. 971, he speaks of the form Εἰρήνη πᾶσι, Peace be to you all, as a solemn form used frequently in the church.

Sect. 5. In the fifth tome.

The fifth volume of his works affords us many more examples. Here he no less than eight times mentions the Lord's prayer as a form in common use by the commandment of Christ. In his sixth homily, upon Lazarus, p. 107: We are commanded in our prayer to say, "Forgive us our trespasses," that, by the continual use of that prayer, we may be put in mind that we are liable to punishment. In his eighth homily, on our Saviour's prayer, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me," p. 134, he says, Christ prayed, to teach his disciples to pray. But they were to learn not only to pray, but after what manner to pray: and therefore he delivered them a prayer in these words, commanding them and us to say, "Our Father which art in heaven," &c. In his tenth homily, p. 154, he says, Christ taught us what we are to say in prayer, and in a few words instructed us in all manner of virtue. In his sixteenth homily, upon those words, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him," p. 237, he urges forgiveness of injuries with this argument, For this reason we are taught to say, "Forgive us, as we forgive," that we may learn, that the measure of forgiveness takes its rise from ourselves. In his thirty-sixth homily, upon Pentecost, p. 552, he says praying by the Lord's prayer is praying by the Spirit: his words are these, If there was no Holy Ghost, we that are believers could not pray to God: for we say, "Our Father which art in heaven." As therefore we could not say, that Jesus was the Lord, so neither could we call God our Father, without the Holy Ghost. How does that appear? From the same apostle, who says, "Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." In his thirty-eighth homily, of repentance and the eucharist, p. 570, he thus again argues for forgiving enemies: When we go into the church, let us approach God as becomes his majesty; lest if we have designs of revenge in our hearts when we pray, we pray against ourselves, saying, "Forgive us, as we forgive them that trespass against us." These are terrible words, and the same as if one said to God, Lord, I have forgiven my enemy, forgive thou me; I have loosed him, loose thou me; I have pardoned my enemy, pardon me; if I have retained his sins, retain thou mine; if I have not loosed my neighbour, do not thou loose my offences; what measure I have meted to him, measure to me again. In his fifty-first homily, upon the prayers of Christ, p. 691, he says, Christ taught his disciples to pray both in words and actions; meaning the words of the Lord's prayer, together with his own example. And in the sixty-second homily, upon the paralytic, p. 934, he says, This prayer was the peculiar privilege of the faithful, and not allowed to any unbaptized catechumen: for before we have washed away our sins in the font of the holy waters, we cannot call God our Father; but when we return from thence, having put off the burden of our sins, then we say, "Our Father which art in heaven."

Besides this account of the various use of the Lord's prayer, he mentions several other parcels of the liturgy in this volume. In the sixteenth homily, p. 229, he takes notice of the use of the seraphical hymn in the eucharistical service. Consider, says he, you that are initiated, what a mystical service you have been employed in, with whom you have sent up that mystical song, with whom you have cried out Τρισάγιος, "Holy, holy, holy." In the thirty-sixth homily, upon Pentecost and the Holy Spirit, p. 553, he treats at large of that ancient form of salutation used in every office, "Peace be with you," or, "The Lord be with you;" and the people's answering always, "And with thy spirit." Our common father and teacher, says he, meaning the bishop, when he goes up into his throne, says, "Peace be to you all," and you all make answer with one common voice, "And with thy spirit." Neither do you make this answer only when he goes into his throne, or when he preaches to you, or when he prays for you, but when he stands by the holy table; when he is about to offer that tremendous sacrifice, (they that are initiated know what I say,) before he touches the elements lying upon the table, he prays, "The grace of the Lord be with you," and ye reply, "And with thy spirit:" reminding yourselves by this answer, that it is not the

minister that effects any thing in this matter, neither is the consecration of the gifts the work of human nature; but that it is the grace of the Spirit then present, and descending upon the elements, which consummates that mystical sacrifice. In the thirty-eighth homily, on the eucharist and repentance, p. 569, he takes notice of another known form in the communion service, where the priest says, "Let us lift up our minds and hearts," and the people answer, "We lift them up unto the Lord," Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. This is the same form as we have seen before in Cyprian, *Sursum corda*, and *Habemus ad Dominum*. In the forty-seventh homily, p. 632, he speaks again of the seraphical hymn, taken out of Isaiah, under the name of μυστικὸν μέλος, the mystical song. And homily fifty-second, *in eos qui Pascha jejunant*, p. 713, persuading men to peace and unity, he argues again from the frequent use of the form Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν, "Peace be with you all," in every office of the church. There is nothing, says he, can be compared with peace and concord. Therefore the bishop, when he first enters the church, before he goes up into his throne, prays, saying, "Peace be with you all:" and when he rises up, he does not begin to preach, before he says again, "Peace be with you all." And the priests, when they are about to say any prayer of benediction, do not begin the blessing before they have used the same form of salutation. And the deacon, when he bids men pray with others, enjoins them this in their prayers, that they should pray for the angel of peace,[2] and that all their purposes may be directed to a peaceable end: and when he dismisses you from this assembly, he prays thus, saying, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, "Go in peace;" and nothing is said or done without this. So that it seems this was a form that had its return in every particular office, and was sometimes used six or seven times at one assembly of the church. In his thirty-fifth homily, upon the Ascension, p. 535, he more particularly takes notice of this form of the deacon's bidding men pray for the angel of peace. In his admonition to those that are scandalized at the evils which befall the church, cap. 4. p. 863, he has again occasion to mention the seraphical hymn, under the foresaid title of the mystical song of sanctification. In his sixty-third homily, p. 949, he shows us how, by the order of the church, on the day of our Saviour's passion, all such portions of Scripture were read as had any relation to the cross; and on the great sabbath, or Saturday following, such scriptures as contained the history of his being betrayed, crucified, dead, and buried. And he adds, p. 951, that on Easter day they read such passages as gave an account of his resurrection, and on every festival the things that happened at that season. Only the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the history of the miracles done by the apostles after Pentecost, after the Holy Ghost was come upon them, were for a particular reason ordered to be read before Pentecost, that is, immediately after Easter, because the miracles of the apostles, contained in that book, were the great demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection; for which reason the church appointed the Book of the Acts always to be read in the time between Easter and Whitsuntide, immediately after the resurrection of Christ, to give men the evidences and proofs of that holy mystery, which was the completion of their redemption. Thus, according to Chrysostom, the church, in great wisdom, ordered and methodized her liturgy by exact rules, for the better instruction and edification of the people.

Sect. 6. In the sixth tome.

The sixth tome is chiefly made up of such tracts as do not acknowledge Chrysostom for their author; and therefore among these we shall not be very curious in searching for the forms of the ancient liturgy. Some of them are supposed, by learned men, to be written by Severianus, bishop of Gabala, contemporary with Chrysostom, and these may be reckoned of the same authority as Chrysostom's own writings. Among the homilies of this sort is reckoned the thirty-seventh, upon the parable of the prodigal son, where the author, p. 375, commenting upon those words, "They began to be merry," thus discourses: Ye know what spiritual mirth is, who have tasted of it, who have been partakers of the holy mysteries, and have seen the deacons or ministers of Divine service, imitating the wings of angels with their little veils lying upon their left shoulders, and traversing the church, and crying, Let no catechumen be present, none of those that may not eat, no spy, none of those that may not see the feast of the fatted calf, none of those that may not look upon the heavenly blood shed for the remission of sins, no one that is unworthy of the living sacrifice, no one that is yet unbaptized, no one that may not with his polluted lips touch the tremendous mysteries: ye remember how, after this, the angels from heaven sing the hymns and praises, saying, Holy is the Father, who willed the fatted calf to be slain, who knew no sin, as saith the prophet Isaiah, "who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth:" holy is the Son, the calf that is always willingly slain, and always lives: holy is the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, which perfects the sacrifice. These are plain references and allusions to the usual forms of the church, viz. to the deacons, vested in their proper habit and badge, calling to all non-communicants to withdraw; and to the seraphical hymn, "Holy, holy, holy," which was always sung in the communion service. The same writer, a little after,

[2] See this form explained, Book XIV. chap. 5. sect. 4.

p. 377, as plainly alludes to the use of the Lord's prayer at the eucharist, when he brings in the father thus speaking to the elder son: Son, thou art ever with me: thou standest by the altar, and there criest out with freedom, "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name." In the first homily in this volume, entitled, De Uno Legislatore, p. 10, there is mention made of the ceremony of laying the book of the Gospels upon a bishop's head at his ordination. For this reason, says the author, when priests are ordained in the church, the gospel of Christ is laid upon their heads, that he that is ordained, may learn that he receives the true tire or covering of the gospel; and that he may be taught, that though he be the head of all, yet he is subject to those laws; though he rules over all, he is under the rule of those laws; though he gives laws to all others, he is to be governed by the law himself. The critics are not agreed upon the author of this discourse. Du Pin[3] rejects it as none of Chrysostom's: but Photius quotes it under his name, and Bishop Pearson[4] has a long dissertation to vindicate the authority of it, out of Photius, and several other ancient writers before him, where he answers all the objections that Bishop Usher and some other learned men had raised against it. Without deciding this controversy, it is sufficient for our present purpose, that the homily either acknowledges Chrysostom or some such other ancient writer for its author; and the ceremony here spoken of was certainly a custom observed in the ordination of bishops in the time of Chrysostom, as appears not only from other places in Chrysostom, but also from the authors of the Constitutions and the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and the canon of the fourth council of Carthage, which I have had an occasion to produce in a former[5] Book, to which I refer the reader, and go on with Chrysostom in order.

In the fifty-second homily, upon the Circus in this volume, p. 491, the author makes mention of that ancient custom of saying, Δόξα σοι, Κύριε, "Glory be to thee, O Lord," at the reading of the gospel. When we are met together, says he, in the ecclesiastical theatre, as soon as the deacon opens the book of the Gospels, we all look upon him with silence; and when he begins to read, we presently rise up, and say, "Glory be to thee, O Lord."

Sect. 7. In the seventh tome of his Homilies on St. Matthew.

In his eleventh homily on St. Matthew, p. 108, he mentions the people's joining in psalmody and the accustomed prayers. When ye have borne your part in singing two or three psalms, δύο ψαλμοὺς ἢ τρεῖς ὑπηχήσαντες, and have made your usual prayers, τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς ποιούμενοι, ye think ye have done enough for your salvation. In the thirty-third homily, p. 318, he notes the customary form of the minister's saying, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, "Peace be unto you all," when he first enters the church: and he forms this exhortation upon it: When I say, "Peace be unto you;" and ye answer again, "And with thy spirit;" do not say this only in words, but in mind; not with your mouth, but with your heart. For if you say here in the church, "Peace be with thy spirit;" but as soon as you are gone out, begin to oppugn me, despise me, accuse me, and load me with a thousand reproaches, what peace is this? In his sixty-ninth homily, p. 600, speaking of the monks, and their manner of worshipping God, he says, As soon as they were out of their beds, they made a quire, and sang hymns to God, συμφώνως ἅπαντες, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος, all together with one voice, and as it were with one mouth: and among these they particularly addressed that angelical hymn to God, "Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men. In his seventy-second homily, p. 624, he speaks of three prayers, one of which was for the demoniacs, the second for the penitents, and the third for the faithful, or communicants, all conceived in a certain form of words; which is evident from this circumstance, which he there subjoins, that in the last of these prayers the children of the church joined with the rest of the people in crying to God for mercy. The people prayed alone without the children, when they prayed for the demoniacs and penitents; but when they prayed for themselves, they strengthened their prayers with the cries and intercessions of their children, whose innocence and simplicity they esteemed to be prevailing motives with God to hear them. By this account it is plain, these prayers must be in certain forms known both to the people and the children; otherwise it is impossible to imagine, how they should all join vocally in crying to God for mercy. In his twentieth homily, which is upon the Lord's prayer, he not only mentions the use of this form of prayer, but says it was the peculiar privilege of communicants or baptized persons to use it. That this prayer, says he, p. 200, belongs to the faithful only, is evidenced both from the laws of the church, and the first words of the prayer itself; for no unbaptized person can call God his Father. In the same homily, he takes notice of the ceremonies used in the reception of the eucharist, particularly the custom of giving one another the holy kiss of peace. And in the seventh homily, p. 70, he alludes to the custom of the priest's saying, ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, in the celebration of the eucharist, when he says, Christ gives holy things to holy men.

Sect. 8. In the eighth tome.

The eighth tome of St. Chrysostom's works contains his Homilies on

[3] Du Pin, Bibliothec. Cent. 5. p. 22.
[4] Pearson, Vindic. Ignat. part 1. cap. 9. p. 311.
[5] Book II. chap. 11. sect. 8.

on St. John and the Acts of the Apostles.

St. John and the Acts of the Apostles. In his preface to St. John, he mentions the form of renouncing the devil, and covenanting with Christ. Ye which are initiated, says he, know what compact ye made with us, or rather with Christ, when he admitted you to his holy mystery, what you said to him concerning the pomp of Satan; how, after you had renounced Satan and his angels, you renounced this also, and promised never to look toward it again.

Homily forty-second, he speaks of the Lord's prayer as a form of spiritual prayer, which Christ taught his disciples and all Christians.

Homily forty-fourth, he says, Every good Christian used this prayer daily, saying those holy words, "Thy kingdom come;" implying a belief of the resurrection.

Homily sixty-first, he makes mention of hymns and psalmody, as the honour of Christian funerals.

Homily seventy-seventh, he takes notice of the kiss of peace, and the common prayers made for the whole state of the world in the communion service. We salute one another, says he, in the holy mysteries, that being many, we may be made one; and we make common prayers for those that are unbaptized, and supplications for the sick, and for the fruits of the world, both by sea and land. Which plainly refers to the known forms then commonly used in the church.

In his nineteenth homily on the Acts of the Apostles, he speaks of several customary forms observed in the reading of the Scriptures: The deacon, the common minister of the church, first stood up, and cried with a loud voice, Πρόσχωμεν, Let us give attention: and this he repeated over and over again. After that, the reader names the prophet Esaias, or the like, and before he begins to read, he cries out, Τάδε λέγει ὁ Κύριος, Thus saith the Lord.

Homily twenty-first, he refers to the bidding prayer of the deacon, in which he was used to admonish the people in these words, among many other petitions, Let us pray for those that sleep in Christ, and for those that make commemorations for them, for the church, for the priests, for the people, for the martyrs, &c.

Homily twenty-fourth, he mentions the hymns that were used by all in common at the communion table. Know you not, that you then stand with angels, and sing with them, and send up hymns and praises to God with them? Meaning the *Trisagion*, or cherubical hymn, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts," &c., which was a known part of the eucharistical service.

Sect. 9. In the ninth tome, on Romans, and First and Second to the Corinthians.

The ninth tome of his works contains his Homilies on the Epistle to the Romans, and the First and Second to the Corinthians. In his seventh homily, on Romans, p. 68, he speaks of common prayer sent up to God with one voice for the energumens, or persons vexed with evil spirits. Which was by a certain form, as we have seen before, in his seventy-first homily on St. Matthew, and is evident from the very manner of expressing it here: for the people could not pray with one voice, unless a form of words was some way or other dictated to them. This dictating of prayers to be used by the whole assembly was commonly the office of the deacon, as Chrysostom informs us in the fourteenth homily upon this same epistle, p. 165, where he shows the different state of the church in the apostles' days from that of his own time. For, explaining those words, "The Spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered," he says, This was an obscure expression, because many of the miraculous gifts, which were then in being, were since ceased: as the gift of prophecy, the gift of wisdom, the gift of healing the sick, the gift of raising the dead, the gift of tongues; and among the rest, the gift of prayer, which was then distinguished by the name of the Spirit: and he that had this gift, prayed for the whole congregation. Upon which account, the apostle gives the name of the Spirit both to this gift, and to the soul that was endowed with it, who made intercession with groanings unto God, asking of God such things as were of general use and advantage to the whole congregation: the image or symbol of which is now the deacon, who offers up prayers for the people. Here, according to Chrysostom, the spirit of praying was an extraordinary gift, like that of tongues; and the difference between the apostolical age and his own was this, that at first both the matter and words of their prayers were inspired in an extraordinary way, but afterward the deacons prayed by ordinary forms, without any such immediate inspiration.

In his Comments upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians, homily twenty-four, p. 532, he rehearses the heads of the solemn thanksgiving at the consecration of the eucharist. We rehearse, says he, over the cup the ineffable blessings of God, and whatever benefits we enjoy; and so we offer it at the holy table, and communicate, giving him thanks that he hath delivered mankind from error; that when we were afar off, he hath made us near; that when we had no hope, and were without God, he hath made us brethren and fellow heirs with himself: for these and all the like blessings we give him thanks, and so come to his holy table. Homily thirty-five, p. 640, he notes the words, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, for ever and ever, to be the common conclusion of their eucharistical thanksgivings, to which a layman, if they were said in an unknown tongue, could not answer Amen. In his thirty-sixth homily, p. 652, he mentions the form, "Peace be with you all," to which the people answered, "And with thy spirit;" which

he derives from apostolical practice, when both minister and people were used to speak by immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He further observes, p. 653, that they all sang in common, both in the apostles' days, and in his own time; and that the bishop, at the entrance into the church, said always, "Peace be to you all," as a proper salutation when he came into his Father's house; though he laments, that whilst they retained the name of peace, they had lost the thing. Again, p. 655, he takes notice, that when a single reader sung the psalms, all the people, as it were with one mouth, did ὑπηχεῖν, return their answer to him, that is, either by singing the verses alternately, or by joining in the close of every verse; of which more in the next Book, chap. 1. Homily forty, p. 688, he observes, that every person at his baptism was, by the rule of the church, obliged to make profession of his faith in the solemn words of the creed; and among other articles, particularly said, "I believe the resurrection of the dead:" by which form of profession Chrysostom explains that noted passage of St. Paul, "Why are they then baptized for the dead?" That is, if the dead rise not, why do they profess at their baptism, that they "believe the resurrection of the dead?" Homily forty-one, p. 702, he mentions part of the solemn form of prayer for the dead, then in use in the church. It is not without reason, says he, that he that stands at the altar, when the holy mysteries are celebrated, says, We offer for all those who are dead in Christ, and for all those who make commemorations for them. And a little after, We at that time also make prayers for the whole world, and name the dead with martyrs, and confessors, and priests: for we are all one body, though some members exceed other members in glory.

In his second homily upon the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, p. 740, he styles the Lord's prayer εὐχὴν νενομισμένην, the prayer which Christ brought in, and established by law in his church; and says it was the peculiar privilege of the faithful to use it, for the catechumens were not allowed so great a favour before baptism. There also he mentions several forms of the deacons calling upon the people to pray: as that, Στῶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν, Let us stand devoutly, and pray: which, he says, was addressed not only to the priests, but also to the people: and again, Let us pray ardently for the catechumens: after which admonition the deacon recited the particular petitions they were to make for them, which Chrysostom there relates at length in the very form that was used, which I shall omit to recite here, because the reader may find it whole hereafter in the service of the catechumens, Book XIV. chap. 5. A little after, in this same homily, p. 743, he mentions the usual form of renunciation in baptism: Ye that are initiated, says he, know what I say; for ye easily remember those words, whereby ye renounce the tyranny of the devil, falling upon your knees, and going over to Christ your King, and uttering those tremendous words, whereby we are taught to pay no manner of obedience to the tyrant. And, p. 745, he adds, That in the service of the faithful, that is, the communion service, the deacon again bid them supplicate and address God for bishops, for presbyters, for kings, for emperors, for all by sea and land, for the temperature of the air, and for the whole world. Which are but so many hints of the deacons bidding prayer in the service of the faithful, more fully related in Book XV. chap. 1. Homily fifth, p. 775, he speaks of the obligation men have to use the Lord's prayer. Homily eighteenth, p. 872, he intimates a form of prayer used by the people at the time of ordaining ministers. The suffrage of the people, says he, is no little ornament to those who are called to any spiritual dignity. And therefore he that performs the office of ordination, then requires their prayers, and they join their suffrage, and cry out those words, which they that are initiated know, for it is not lawful to speak all things before the unbaptized. A little after, p. 873, he says, The people had a considerable share in the prayers of the church. For common prayers were made both by priest and people for the energumens and penitents, and they all say one and the same prayer for them, the prayer is so full of mercy. Again, when we dismiss those who may not participate of the holy table, another prayer is to be made, in which we all fall down upon the ground together, and all rise together. He means the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church, which was said jointly by the priest and people together. Again, when the salutation of peace is mutually to be given and received, we all in like manner use this salutation. He means either the kiss of peace, or the form of salutation used between priest and people, "The peace of God be with you, And with thy spirit." But more probably he means the former, because it immediately follows after, When we come to the tremendous mysteries; then, as the priest prays for the people, so the people pray for the priest; for these words, "And with thy spirit," signify nothing else. Again, that prayer wherein we give thanks, is common to both. For not only the priest gives thanks, but all the people. For he first receives their answer, they rejoining, "It is meet and right so to do," and then he begins the thanksgiving. And why should any man wonder that the people should speak together with the priest, when they even join with cherubims and the powers above to send up in common those sacred hymns to heaven? meaning the hymns, "Holy, holy, holy," and, "Glory be to God on high," which were sung by all the people in the communion service. Chrysostom has a good remark upon all these forms, and the people's obligation to bear a

part in them, which, therefore, I may not here omit, because it shows us the reason why the ancient church so ordered her service. I have mentioned all these things, says he, on purpose to excite the vigilance of those that are in an inferior station, that we may learn that we are all one body, and only differ as one member may differ from another; and that we should not cast all upon the priests, but ourselves be concerned in the care of the whole church, as of one common body.

Sect. 10. In the tenth tome.

The last volume of St. Chrysostom's works contains his homilies upon the remaining Epistles of St. Paul. In his first homily on the Ephesians, p. 1037, he speaks of the forms of profession used in baptism: What is more gracious, says he, than those words by which we renounce the devil? by which we covenant with Christ? What more gracious than that profession which we make both before and after baptism? In the third homily, p. 1051, he tells us the deacons were wont to use this form of words to all those that were under the church's censures, to withdraw from the Lord's table, Ye that are in the state of penance, depart. And, p. 1052, when they were gone they said again to the communicants, Let us pray in common all together. And there also he speaks of the hymns that were sung at the Lord's table. Homily fourteenth, p. 1127, he argues from the use of the Lord's prayer, that men should not revile those whom they therein owned to be their brethren. If he is not thy brother, how dost thou say, "Our Father?" for that word, "our," denotes many persons. And further to show the indecency of such contumelious language, he reminds them of their known custom in singing the sacred hymns with cherubims and seraphims at the communion. Consider with whom you stand in the time of the holy mysteries. With cherubims, with seraphims. For the seraphims use no reviling. Their mouth is continually employed in fulfilling one necessary office, that of glorifying and praising God. How then can you say with them, "Holy, holy, holy," who use your mouth to revile your brethren? He adds, You say, "Our Father;" and what follows that? "which art in heaven." As soon as you say, "Our Father which art in heaven," the word raises you up, and gives wings to your soul, and shows that you have a Father in heaven. Therefore do nothing, say nothing of those things that are upon earth. You stand in heaven, and do you use reviling? You converse with angels, and do you use reviling? You are honoured with the kiss of the Lord, and do you use reviling? God adorns your mouth so many ways with angelical hymns, with meat, not angelical, but above angels, with his own kisses and embraces, and do you still accustom yourself to reviling?

Homily twenty-third, p. 1190, he says, Jesus, the Son of the living God, hath brought down to us the celestial hymns. For what the cherubims say above, he hath commanded us to say, "Holy, holy, holy."

On the Philippians, homily fifteenth, p. 1311, he positively asserts, that Christ delivered the Lord's prayer as a form of prayer, ὅρον εὐχῆς, teaching us to say, "Give us this day our daily bread."

On the Colossians, homily third, p. 1337, We pray, saying, "Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." We give thanks, saying, "Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men." We petition in our prayers for the angel of peace, and we pray for peace upon all occasions, for nothing can be compared unto it. The bishop in the church gives the benediction of peace, saying in every office, in prayers, in supplications, in his homilies, once, twice, thrice, and oftener, "Peace be with you all." Again, p. 1338, When the bishop enters the church, he immediately says, "Peace be with you all:" when he preaches, "Peace be with you all:" when he gives the blessing, "Peace be with you all:" when he bids you salute one another, "Peace be with you all:" when the sacrifice is offered, "Peace be with you all:" and in the intervals, "Grace and peace be with you." Is it not, therefore, absurd, that when we so often hear peace mentioned, we should still be at war among ourselves? We receive the salutation of peace, and return it to him that gives it, and yet are at war with him. You answer, "And with thy spirit;" yet, as soon as you are gone out of the church, you calumniate and revile him. He adds, p. 1339, That it was not the bishop, properly speaking, that gave the peace, but Christ, that vouchsafes to speak by his mouth.

Homily sixth in Colossians, p. 1358, he compares the forms of renunciation in baptism, and covenanting with Christ, to a hand-writing or bond, saying, Let us beware that we be not convicted by it, after we have said those words, "We renounce thee, Satan, and we make a covenant with thee, O Christ." Again, p. 1359, You are taught to say, "I renounce thee, and thy pomp, and thy worship, and thy angels." He adds, That every new baptized person, as soon as he came up out of the water, was appointed to say, "Our Father which art in heaven. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

Homily ninth in Coloss., p. 1380, on those words, "Admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs," he says, The faithful know what is the hymn of the spirits above; what the cherubims above say; what the angels said, "Glory be to God on high:" meaning that these two hymns were sung by the faithful in the communion service.

Homily tenth, p. 1385, he gives the Lord's prayer the title of εὐχὴ πιστῶν, "the prayer of the faithful," because it was their peculiar privilege to use it.

Homily third in 2 Thess., p. 1502, he mentions two usual forms, relating to the reading of the lessons in the church. When the reader rises up, and says, "Thus saith the Lord;" and the deacon, standing up, commands all men to keep silence; he does not say this to honour the reader, but God, who speaks to all by him.

Homily sixth in 1 Tim., p. 1553, he proves, that infidels are prayed for as well as others, from the use of the Lord's prayer. For when he that prays says, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven," the meaning is, that as there is no infidel in heaven, so we pray, that there may be none on earth neither.

Homily second in 2 Tim., p. 1638, he says, The words whereby the priests consecrate the eucharist, were the same that Christ spake.

Homily fourth on Hebrews, p. 1785, he intimates, that they had set psalms in their funeral service. Consider, says he, what you sing at that time, "Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee." And again, "I will fear no evil, for thou art with me." And again, "Thou art my refuge from tribulation, which compasses me about." Consider what those psalms mean. You say, "Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul;" and do you still weep? Is not this mere pageantry and hypocrisy? If you believe the things to be true, which you say, it is superfluous to lament.

Homily fourteenth, p. 1852, speaking of the nymns sung at the eucharist, he says, Do not we sing the same celestial hymns, which the quires of incorporeal powers sing above?

Homily seventeenth, p. 1870, he mentions a part of the oblation prayer: In the oblation we offer, or bear and confess our sins, and say, "Forgive us our transgressions," whether voluntary or involuntary: that is, we first remember them, and then ask pardon. There also, p. 1872, he mentions the deacon's solemn form of words, admonishing the people to come holy to the holy sacrament: for this reason, the deacon cries out, and calls upon the saints, and by these words prompts all men to consider their offences, that no one come unprepared.

Homily twenty-second, p. 1898, he tacitly refers to the form, *Sursum corda*, "Let us lift up our hearts." For having mentioned those words of the psalmist, "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice," he adds, With our hands let us also lift up our hearts. Ye which are initiated, know what I say; you perhaps understand what is spoken, and perceive what I have obscurely hinted. "Let us lift up our souls on high."

Beside these passages collected out of Chrysostom's works, published by Fronto Ducæus, there are several others in those homilies, which Sir Henry Savil set forth in Greek, and others in the Latin editions only. Neither of which I have had opportunity perfectly to examine, and therefore I shall leave them to the more diligent inquiry of the curious reader; only noting, that in the sixth homily of repentance,[10] he observes this difference between David's Psalms and the rest of the Scriptures, that the others were read only twice a week in public, but the Psalms were used by all sorts of men, in all places, and upon all occasions. *In ecclesiis pernoctantibus primus et medius, et novissimus est David.* When they held their vigils all night in the church, David's Psalms were in the beginning, and middle, and end of all their service. The same was observed in their morning prayer; in their funeral obsequies; by virgins at their needle; by the illiterate and unlearned, who could not read a letter in the book, yet could repeat David's Psalms by heart. David was always in their mouths, not only in the cities and the churches, but in the courts, in the monasteries, in the deserts and the wilderness. He turned earth into heaven, and men into angels, being adapted to all orders, and all capacities, children, young men, virgins, old men, and sinners. In the beginning of the same homily, he says the Book of Genesis was by appointment of the church read only once a year, at a certain season, which was the time of Lent; as we have heard before in several places of this author, and as we shall see more fully demonstrated from other writers in the next Book.

Among those published in Greek by Sir H. Savil, the hundred and twenty-third homily, t. 5. p. 809, speaks of the priests using this form of admonition to all communicants, in the time when the holy mysteries were celebrated, Ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, "Holy things are only for holy men." And whoever will bestow the pains to peruse the rest of the homilies which are in that edition, may doubtless find many other such fragments of the ancient liturgy, which, as appears from this collection, so much abound in this celebrated writer.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE USE OF THE LORD'S PRAYER IN THE LITURGY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

Sect. 1. The Lord's prayer by all the ancients esteemed a form, given by Christ to be used by his disciples.

IF there were no other argument to prove the lawfulness of set forms of prayer in the judgment of the ancients, the opinion which they had of the Lord's prayer, and their practice pursuant to that opinion, would sufficiently do

[10] De Pœnitent. Hom. 6. t. 7. p. 146. Basil. 1525.

it. And therefore, though several things have been occasionally hinted already about this matter, yet it will not be amiss to give it a distinct handling in this chapter. And first of all I observe, that the ancients did not only esteem it as a rule and pattern to conform our prayers to, but looked upon it as a particular form of prayer, which Christ enjoined all his disciples to use in the same words that he delivered it. Tertullian says,[1] Our Lord prescribed a new form of prayer for his new disciples of the New Testament: and that though John had taught his disciples a form of prayer, yet all that he did was only as a forerunner of Christ: when Christ was increased, (as John had foretold, "He must increase, but I must decrease,") then the whole work of the servant passed over to the Lord. And therefore it is not so much as extant now in what words John taught his disciples to pray, because earthly things were to give way to heavenly. So again, The religion of prayer was ordained by Christ himself, and this prayer being animated by his Spirit from the time that it came out of his heavenly mouth, ascends up to heaven with a privilege, commending to the Father what the Son taught. But because our Lord, who foresaw the necessities of man, after he had given this rule of praying, said also, "Ask, and ye shall receive;" and there are many things which men's particular circumstances oblige every one to ask; therefore we have a right to make additional requests, and build other prayers upon this, always premising this appointed and ordinary prayer as the foundation. So that, according to Tertullian,[2] it was not only a rule prescribing the method and matter of prayer, but a form to be used in the words in which Christ delivered it, and to be added to all other prayers as the foundation of a superstructure. After the same manner St. Cyprian says, That Christ, among other wholesome admonitions and Divine precepts, by which he provided for the salvation of his people, has given us also a form of prayer,[3] teaching and admonishing us what we are to pray for. And a little after,[4] We are to learn from our Lord's information, what we are to pray for; for he said, Pray thus, "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c. St. Austin assures us, That as the church always used this prayer, so she used it by the command of Christ.[5] He said, Pray thus: he said to his disciples, Pray thus: he said to his disciples, he said to his apostles, and to us who are the lambs he said, and to the rams of his flock he said, Pray thus. In another place, This prayer[6] is necessary for all, which the Lord gave to the rams of his flock, that is, to his apostles, that every one of them should say, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." For if there is any one to whom these words in the prayer are not necessary, he must be said to be without sin. And if Christ had foreseen that there would have been any such, so much better than his apostles, he would have taught them another prayer, in which they should not have asked forgiveness of sins for themselves, who had already obtained remission of all in baptism. Again he says,[7] If any one say that this prayer is not necessary in this life for every saint of God, that knows and does the will of God, except one, the Holy of holies, he is in a manifest error, and pleases not that God whom he pretends to praise. For this prayer which we use,[8] was given as a rule to the apostles by the heavenly lawgiver, who said to them, Pray thus. He enjoined the rams of his flock, the leaders of his sheep, the chief members of the great Shepherd, to use it; and they thence learned to say, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." In his Retractations[9] he confirms all this, calling

[1] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 1. Dominus noster novis discipulis Novi Testamenti novam orationis formam determinavit.—Docuerat et Joannes discipulos suos orare. Sed omnia Joannis Christo præstruebantur, donec ipso aucto (sicut idem Joannes prænunciabat, illum augeri oportere, se vero diminui) totum præministri opus cum ipso Spiritu transiret ad Dominum. Ideo nec extat, in quæ verba docuerit Joannes orare, quod terrena cœlestibus cesserint.

[2] Ibid. cap. 9. Ab ipso ordinata est religio orationis, et de Spiritu ipsius jam tunc, cum ex ore Divino ferretur, animata suo privilegio ascendit in cœlum, commendans Patri quæ Filius docuit. Quoniam tamen Dominus prospector humanarum necessitatum, seorsum post traditam orandi disciplinam, Petite, inquit, et accipietis, et sunt, quæ petantur pro circumstantia cujusque, præmissa legitima et ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones.

[3] Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 139. Inter cætera salutaria sua monita et præcepta Divina, quibus populo suo consuluit ad salutem, etiam orandi ipse formam dedit; ipse quid precaremur, monuit et instruxit.

[4] Ibid. p. 141. Cognoscamus, docente Domino, et quid oremus. Sic, inquit, orate, Pater noster qui es in cœlis, &c.

[5] Aug. Hom. 29. de Verbis Apost. t. 10. p. 150. Ecclesiæ oratio est, vox est de magisterio Domini veniens. Ipse dixit, Sic orate: discipulis dixit, Sic orate: discipulis dixit, apostolis dixit, et nobis, qualescunque agniculi sumus, dixit, arietibus gregis dixit, Sic orate.

[6] Aug. Ep. 89. ad Hilarium. Omnibus necessaria est oratio Dominica, quam etiam ipsis arietibus gregis, id est, apostolis suis Dominus dedit, ut unusquisque Deo dicat, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, &c.

[7] Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. 3. cap. 13. Quam orationem quisquis cuilibet etiam homini sancto, et Dei voluntatem scienti atque facienti, præter unum sanctum sanctorum, dicit in hac vita necessariam non fuisse, multum errat, nec potest illi ipsi placere quem laudat.

[8] Aug. in Psal. cxlii. p. 675. Ipsi didicerunt orare quod oramus, ipsis data est regula postulandi a jurisperito cœlesti. Sic orate, inquit, &c.

[9] Aug. Retractat. lib. 1. cap. 19. In eisdem mandatis est etiam quod jubemur dicere, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, &c. Quam orationem usque ad finem sæculi tota dicit ecclesia.

it one of Christ's commands to use this prayer, which the whole church will continue to use to the end of the world. St. Chrysostom, in two volumes of his works, the third and fifth, repeats this almost twenty times, that the Lord's prayer was a common form in use among them by the express command of Christ. And there are many other scattered passages throughout his writings to the same purpose, which, because I have produced them at large in the last chapter, I need not here repeat them.

Sect. 2. And accordingly it was used by the primitive church in all her offices, particularly in the administration of baptism.

Evident it is beyond dispute, that the whole primitive church constantly used it in all her holy offices, out of consciousness and regard to Christ's command. This, as we have heard Tertullian word it, was laid as the foundation of all other prayers.[10] It is the prayer of the church: the whole church says, "Forgive us our trespasses," as we have it before in the testimony of[11] St. Austin. And the practice was so universal and well known from the beginning, that Lucian the heathen is thought to refer to it in one of his dialogues,[12] where he speaks, in the person of a Christian, of the prayer which began ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, with "Our Father." But we have more certain evidence from the records and offices of the church. For there was no considerable Divine office, in the celebration of which this prayer did not always make a solemn part. Particularly in baptism, as soon as the person baptized came up out of the water, he was enjoined to say, "Our Father which art in heaven." Immediately after this, says the author of the Constitutions,[13] let him stand and pray the prayer which the Lord hath taught us. And so Chrysostom,[14] As soon as he rises out of the water, he says those words, "Our Father which art in heaven," &c.

Sect. 3. And in the celebration of the eucharist.

In like manner in the celebration of the other sacrament of Christ's body and blood, it was commonly used at the close of the consecration prayer. So it is expressly more than once noted by St. Austin: After the sanctification of the sacrifice[15] we say the Lord's prayer: and again,[16] The whole church almost concludes the prayer of benediction and sanctification with the Lord's prayer. Upon this account he tells his hearers, that all who were communicants[17] heard this prayer said daily at the altar. And he expressly makes this difference between the Lord's prayer and the creed, that men might remember the former by hearing it daily repeated at the altar; but the creed was not so, for as yet it was never publicly used, but only in the occasional service of baptism; whereas the Lord's prayer was of constant use by being a daily part of the communion service. Cyril, in his Mystagogical Catechism to the illuminated,[18] gives the same account of it: After the oblation prayer we say that prayer which our Saviour delivered to his disciples, calling God our Father with a pure conscience, and saying, "Our Father which art in heaven." And St. Jerom,[19] though he do not so precisely note what part of the communion office it was used in, yet, in general, he says Christ taught his apostles this prayer, that believers might every day in the sacrifice of his body have boldness to say, "Our Father which art in heaven." And St. Chrysostom[20] in a covert way intimates the same, when he tells his hearers, that if they forgive their enemies, they may come with a pure conscience to the holy and tremendous table, and boldly say the words that are contained in the prayer. The initiated know what I mean. He means that petition of the Lord's prayer, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." Which he expresses thus covertly, because of non-communicants, catechumens, or infidels, that might be present at a popular discourse in a general assembly. He speaks more plainly in his sermon upon Eutropius,[21] where, pressing the people to forgive the injury which that great statesman had done the church, he uses this argument to them: How otherwise will you take the holy sacrament into your hands, and use the words of that prayer, wherein we are commanded to say, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us?" This plainly shows, that the Lord's prayer was then used as an ordinary and constant part of the communion service. Only with this difference, that in the Greek church and the Gallican church it was said by the priest and all the people together, as Mabillon[22] proves out of Gregory of Tours, and Leontius, in the Life of Joannes Eleemosynarius, bishop of Alexandria, and the epistles of Gregory the Great, who expressly notes the difference between the Greek and Latin church in this particular: Among the Greeks the Lord's prayer[23] is said by all the people, but with us by the priest

[10] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 9. cited above.
[11] Aug. Hom. 29. de Verbis Apost. p. 150.
[12] Lucian. Philopatris.
[13] Constit. Apost. lib. 7. cap. 44.
[14] Chrys. Hom. 6. in Colos. p. 1359. It. Hom. 62. in Paralyticum, t. 5. p. 934.
[15] Aug. Hom. 83. de Diversis, p. 556. Post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus orationem Dominicam.
[16] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. quæst. 5. Quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica oratione concludit.
[17] Hom. 42. inter 50. t. 10. p. 197. In ecclesia ad altare quotidie dicitur ista oratio Dominica, et audiunt illam fideles.
[18] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 5. p. 298.
[19] Hieron. lib. 3. cont. Pelag. cap. 3. Docuit apostolos suos, ut quotidie in corporis illius sacrificio credentes audeant loqui, Pater noster qui es in cœlis, &c.
[20] Chrys. Hom. 27. in Genes. p. 358.
[21] Chrys. Hom. in Eutrop. t. 4. p. 554.
[22] Mabill. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. 1. cap. 5. n. 22. ex Gregor. Turon. de Mirac. Martini, lib. 2. cap. 30.
[23] Greg. lib. 7. Ep. 64. Sed et Dominica oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo dicitur: apud nos vero a solo sacerdote.

alone. And in this the Gallican church chose to follow the way of the Greek church, as we now follow the Gallican church, and not the Roman. The manner of the Mosarabic liturgy in Spain, is noted also by Mabillon to be different from both these; for there the priest repeated every petition by itself, and the people answered to each petition separately, "Amen." But these differences in the manner of using it only serve to confirm the use of it in general, and show us that it was never omitted by any church in the public service of the altar, at least from the beginning of the fourth century, when Cyril of Jerusalem lived, whose Mystical Catechisms are a clear evidence for it.

Sect. 4. And in their morning and evening prayers.

It also made a part in their daily morning and evening prayers, distinct from the communion office. Of which we have instances in the canons of the councils of Girone[24] and Toledo,[25] which shall be recited hereafter, when we come to consider more exactly the several parts of the morning and evening service.

Sect. 5. And in their private devotions.

They used it also in their private devotions. As is evident from that passage in St. Chrysostom upon the 112th Psalm, where he says,[26] That Christ, to induce us to unanimity and charity, enjoins us to make common prayer, and obliges the whole church, as if it were but one person, to say, "Our Father;" and, "Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil;" always using a word of the plural number, and commanding every one, whether he pray alone by himself, or in common with others, still to make prayer for his brethren. This implies, that in their private devotions, as well as public, they thought themselves obliged, by the command of Christ, to use the Lord's prayer. In another place he gives us an instance in the practice of a holy man, who, to the form of his private devotions, (which he also there recites,) always added the Lord's prayer, or the prayer of the faithful,[27] as he styles it, for a particular reason, of which more by and by; making it both the conclusion and uniting tie of all his other prayers for all men. In compliance with this general practice it is, that the author of the Constitutions[28] orders every one to use the Lord's prayer three times a day. And this, Cotelerius thinks, was done in honour of the holy Trinity,[29] citing Theodoret and Isidore for his opinion. St. Ambrose also, writing instructions to virgins,[30] directs them to sing psalms in bed, and say the Lord's prayer between every psalm. And the fourth council of Toledo makes it deprivation for any clergyman to omit[31] using the Lord's prayer daily, either in his public or private offices of devotion, censuring him as a proud contemner of the Lord's injunction.

Sect. 6. Whence it had the name of *oratio quotidiana*, the Christian's daily prayer.

Now, this being the constant use that was daily made of the Lord's prayer, it hence took the name of *oratio quotidiana*, the daily prayer, as is observed in the foresaid canon of that council. And so we find it styled in Cyprian, who thought that petition in the Lord's prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," might be taken in a spiritual as well as a literal sense, and refer to the eucharist, or the body and blood of Christ, the celestial bread,[32] which they then desired to receive every day. And the council of Toledo cites St. Hilary to the same purpose:[33] "Give us this day our daily bread." God desires nothing so much as that Christ may dwell in us daily, who is the Bread of life, and the Bread that comes from heaven. And because this is our daily prayer, we therefore pray daily that this bread may be given us. St. Austin also[34] means the Lord's prayer, when he says, That the Christian's daily prayer makes satisfaction for those lesser and daily failings, without which no man lives. Upon which account he says in another place,[35] That this daily prayer is a sort of daily baptism, because in the pious use of it men obtain daily remission of sins, as they did at first in baptism. Possidius also[36]

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[24] Conc. Gerundens. can. 10.

[25] Conc. Toletan. 4. can. 9.

[26] Chrys. Com. in Psal. cxii. p. 369.

[27] Chrys. Hom. 10. in Coloss. p. 1385. Ἐπιθεὶς τὴν εὐχὴν τῶν πιστῶν, ὡς κορωνίδα τινὰ καὶ σύνδεσμον ὑπὲρ πάντων εὐχὴν ποιησάμενος.

[28] Constit. lib. 7. cap. 24. Τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθέ.

[29] Coteler. in loc. ex Theodor. Ep. 145. et Isidor. Orig. lib. 6. cap. ult.

[30] Ambros. de Virgin. lib. 3. p. 115. In ipso cubili volo psalmos cum oratione Dominica frequenti contextos vice.

[31] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 9. Quisquis ergo sacerdotum vel subjacentium clericorum hanc orationem Dominicam quotidie aut in publico aut in privato officio prætererit, propter superbiam judicatus, ordinis sui honore privetur.

[32] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 147. Hunc panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne, qui in Christo sumus, et eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus, a Christi corpore separemur.

[33] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 9. Sanctus Hilarius dicit, Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Quid enim tam vult Deus quam ut quotidie Christus habitet in nobis, qui est Panis vitæ et Panis e cœlo? Et quia quotidiana oratio est, quotidie quoque ut detur, oratur.

[34] Aug. Enchirid. cap. 71. De quotidianis autem brevibus levibusque peccatis, sine quibus hæc vita non ducitur, quotidiana oratio fidelium satisfacit. Eorum enim est dicere, Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, &c.

[35] Aug. Hom. 119. De Tempore, p. 306. Remissio peccatorum non est in sola ablutione baptismatis sacri, sed etiam in oratione Dominica et quotidiana. In illa invenietis quasi quotidianum baptismum.

[36] Possid. Vit. Aug. cap. 27. De bono Domino se dicit magis quam de meritis suis confidere. Cui etiam in oratione quotidiana Dominica dicebat, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, &c.

makes this remark in his Life, upon his practice and that of St. Ambrose, that they both trusted more in God's mercy than their own merits, being used to pray in the words of our Lord's daily prayer, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." From all which, and much more that might be alleged upon this head, it appears, that this prayer, in the very words which Christ delivered it in, was not only an allowed form, but a prayer of daily use both in their public and private devotions.

Sect. 7. And was used by all heretics and schismatics as well as catholics.

Neither were there any sects or heresies, that pretended in those times to object the least thing against the use of it. The Donatists broke off from the church, and set up conventicles of their own, but they did not alter the way of worship: they still thought themselves obliged, as Optatus says, to use the Lord's prayer at the altar.[37] The Pelagians could not relish well one petition in it, "Forgive us our trespasses;" for they proudly thought the saints were without sin, and had nothing to ask forgiveness of: yet they also continued to use it, and accounted for their practice, by putting this false gloss upon it, that they then prayed not for their own sins, but the sins of others. We find this often objected to them in the African councils,[38] but never any charge brought against them, as if they omitted the Lord's prayer in whole, or even this single petition in it. St. Austin indeed often says, that their impious tenets and disputations tended[39] to take away the use of the Lord's prayer; but then he explains himself to mean, not that they laid aside the use of it, but that they taught that a man might come to such perfection in righteousness in this life, by observing all the commands, and that by his own free-will, without the help of the grace of Christ, that he needed not to say, "Forgive us our trespasses," for himself, but only for others. They owned,[40] that the apostles used the Lord's prayer; but then they said, they were so holy and perfect without all manner of sin, that they did not say for themselves, "Forgive us our trespasses," but only for other sinners that were yet imperfect. St. Chrysostom mentions another sort of men, who were also offended at this petition because of the condition that was in it, "Forgive us, as we forgive others;" and therefore they curtailed the prayer by dropping this petition when they said it: but he rebukes them[41] for this, and bids them not be so vainly cautious, as to think they were excused by curtailing the prayer, but advises them to use the whole prayer, as Christ appointed it to be used, that the necessity of this petition might daily terrify them from revenge, and compel them to grant pardon to their neighbours. So that though there were some heretics and other ill men, who did not like this one petition for different reasons, yet they all continued to use the prayer either in whole or in part, and there is no instance of any that totally rejected it.

Sect. 8. That it was esteemed a divine and spiritual form of prayer.

There was no objection against it in those days, that it was a form, or that it was not a spiritual prayer, because it was used in the very words in which Christ had delivered it; but on the contrary, it was recommended as the most spiritual and prevalent prayer that could be used, because of the dignity of its Author. St. Cyprian thus argues for the use of it: Christ, says he, had foretold, that the hour was coming, when the true worshippers should worship the Father in spirit and in truth: and he fulfilled what he had promised before, that we who had received the Spirit and truth by his sanctification, might worship in spirit and truth by his tradition, or the prayer which he delivered to us. For what prayer can be more spiritual, than that which is given us[42] by Christ, by whom the Holy Spirit is sent to us? What can be esteemed a truer prayer with the Father, than that which came out of the mouth of his Son, who is truth itself? So that to pray otherwise than he has taught us, is not only ignorance, but a crime, since he has laid it down, and said, "Ye reject the commandment of God, to establish your own tradition." Let us therefore, my dearly beloved brethren, pray as our God and Master taught us. It is a friendly and familiar way of praying, to beseech God in his own words, to let the prayer of his Son come up to his ears. Let the Father hear and acknowledge the words of his Son: when we make our prayers, let him that dwells in our heart, be also in our voice. And forasmuch as we have him our Advocate with the Father for

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[37] Optat. lib. 2. p. 57. Ad altare conversi Dominicam orationem prætermittere non potestis. It. lib. 3. p. 72. Oratio Dominica apud nos et apud vos una est.

[38] Conc. Milevitan. can. 8. Quicunque dixerit, in oratione Dominica ideo dicere sanctos, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, ut non pro seipsis hoc dicant, quia non est eis jam necessaria ista petitio, sed pro aliis, qui sunt in populo peccatores. Et ideo non dicere unumquemque sanctorum, Dimitte mihi debita mea, sed, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, ut hoc pro aliis potius, quam pro se justus petere intelligatur, anathema sit. Vid. can. 9. ibid. et Cod. Can. African. c. 115, 116.

[39] Aug. Ep. 92. ad Innocent. Nobis etiam Dominicam orationem impiis disputationibus conantur auferre.—Dicunt posse hominem in hac vita, præceptis Dei cognitis, ad tantam perfectionem justitiæ sine adjutorio gratiæ salvatoris per solum liberum voluntatis arbitrium pervenire, ut ei non sit jam necessarium dicere, Dimitte nobis debita nostra.

[40] Id. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. 2. cap. 10. Quidam contra orationem Dominicam argumentantur: quia etsi orabant eam, inquiunt, sancti et perfecti jam apostoli, nullum omnino habentes peccatum, non tamen pro seipsis, sed pro imperfectis adhuc peccatoribus dicebant, Dimitte nobis, &c. Vid. Aug. Ep. 94. ad Hilarium.

[41] Chrys. Hom. 22. t. 1. p. 288.

[42] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 139.

our sins, when we sinners pray for the pardon of our sins, let us bring forth the words of our Advocate. For since he has said, that "whatever we ask the Father in his name, he will give it us;" how much more efficaciously shall we obtain what we ask in the name of Christ, if we ask it in his prayer! He introduces all this discourse with these words: He that made us live, taught us to pray, by the same kindness that he confers all other things upon us; that whilst we speak to the Father in the prayer and orison which the Son taught us, we should more easily be heard. So far was this holy man from thinking the Lord's prayer a dead form, that could not be offered with the true spirit of prayer, that, on the contrary, he labours with all his might to convince men, that no prayer could be more justly styled worshipping God in spirit and in truth, or with greater efficacy and advantages be presented to the Father. St. Chrysostom was of the same mind, that praying by the Lord's prayer might justly be termed, praying by the Spirit. For he uses this as an argument for the Holy Spirit's operation upon us. If there were no Holy Ghost,[43] says he, we that are believers could not pray to God; for we say, "Our Father which art in heaven." As therefore we could not say, that Jesus was the Lord, so neither could we call God our Father without the Holy Ghost. How does that appear? From the same apostle, who says, "Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." And St. Austin,[44] expounding those words of the apostle, Rom. viii. 26, "We know not what to pray for as we ought; but the Spirit helpeth our infirmities;" concludes, that the Spirit's helping and teaching them to pray as they ought, could not mean his helping them to new words and expressions; for both the apostle, and they to whom he wrote, were well acquainted already with the Lord's prayer; so that there could be no want of the Spirit's assistance in that respect: but the want was this; men are commonly ignorant of the real benefit of temporal tribulation and affliction, which tends either to cure the tumour of pride, or exercise and try men's patience, and crown it with a greater reward, or else to chastise and abolish such other sins as they are subject to: men being ignorant of these advantages, are usually most inclined to ask a perfect freedom and immunity from temporal affliction. But the Spirit corrects this ignorance, and helps this infirmity, and teaches men rather to ask patience of God, and submission to his will, that they may not think themselves neglected of God, though he do not remove such afflictions, but with a devout and pious patience hope for greater good arising from them. This is St. Austin's exposition of that famous passage of the apostle, concerning the assistance of the Spirit in prayer: by which he is so far from derogating from the Lord's prayer, as void of the Spirit, that he supposes the very knowledge of it to be antecedently a work of the Spirit: and he says further,[45] That when men believe, and hope, and desire, and consider the things they ask of God in the Lord's prayer, they are then qualified with those graces of the Spirit, faith, hope, and charity, which are necessary to bring a pious votary unto God. Men that say such things as these of the Lord's prayer, could not conceive any mean thing about it, derogatory to the spirit of prayer; but must be presumed to entertain the most high and venerable notions of it, of any that can possibly be imagined.

Sect. 9. And the use of it a peculiar privilege allowed only to communicants and perfect Christians.

And that they did so, is evident from one thing further, very observable in the ancient discipline and practice; that is, that then the use of the Lord's prayer was not a mark of infamy or reproach, but an honorary privilege, allowed to none but communicants, or complete and perfect Christians. For, as I have had occasion to remark once or twice[46] in former parts of this work, all catechumens, or persons unbaptized, were absolutely debarred from the use of this prayer; they were not allowed to call God, "Our Father," till they were regenerated and made sons by the waters of baptism. I have noted several passages out of St. Austin, St. Chrysostom, and Theodoret to this purpose, which need not here be repeated. To these I shall only add one passage out of Chrysostom,[47] in his homily upon the paralytic, where, speaking of baptism, he says, Before we have washed away our sins in the font of the holy waters, we cannot call God, "Our Father;" but when we return from thence, having put off the load of our sins, then we say, "Our Father which art in heaven." And upon this account, as has been also noted before, this prayer was peculiarly called *εὐχὴ πιςῶν*, the prayer of communicants or believers, because none had a right to use this prayer, but only such as had a right to communicate at the altar, and there hear it daily repeated.

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[43] Chrys. Hom. 36. in Pentecost. t. 5. p. 552.

[44] Aug. Ep. 121. ad Probam, cap. 14. Neque enim ullo modo credendum est, vel ipsum, vel quibus ista dicebat, Dominicam nescisse orationem.

[45] Ibid. cap. 13. Fides, ergo, et spes et charitas ad Deum perducunt orantem, hoc est, credentem, sperantem, desiderantem, et quæ petat a Domino in Dominica oratione considerantem.

[46] Book I. chap. 4. sect. 7. and Book X. chap. 5. sect. 9.

[47] Chrys. Hom. 62. t. 5. p. 934.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE USE OF HABITS, AND GESTURE, AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES IN THE SERVICE OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

Sect. 1. No certain evidence for the use of distinct habits in the apostolical age, or the two following.

THE next things to be spoken of, are the circumstances and ceremonies of habits, gestures, and times appropriated to Divine service. Of all these it may be said in general, that as they are matters of indifferent usage in their own nature, so the church used her liberty in the appointment and observation of them. The writers of the Romish church, Baronius, Du Saussay, and Bona, who will have every ceremony to be apostolical, pretend that the apostles themselves wore a distinct habit in all their sacred ministrations. Bona is very confident[1] that St. Paul's cloak which he left at Troas, was a sacerdotal vestment. And others speak of St. Peter's *planeta*, which is said to be sent from Antioch to Paris, and kept there as a sacred relic in the temple of St. Genouesa. And others mention St. John's, which is said to be sent to Gregory the Great. But Bona himself will not undertake to vouch for these, because of the silence of all ancient writers about them.[2] Yet he is very angry with Nicholas Alemannius, for saying, that neither the apostles nor apostolical men used any sacred vestments,[3] and that the opinion which maintains it, is to be exploded as ridiculous, and as what is rejected by learned men. Vicecomes was a diligent inquirer into antiquity, and yet he could find no ground for this assertion, but has some arguments against it, which Bona is put to answer. And till some better arguments can be produced to support it, I think it most prudent to leave uncertain tradition to shift for itself, and proceed to an age wherein we have more light and certainty in the matter.

Sect. 2. What evidence there is for them in the fourth century.

In the beginning, then, of the fourth age, when the church was quietly composed by Constantine, and settled in peace, we are sure a distinction was made in the habits and vestments of Divine service. For Constantine himself is said[4] to have given a rich vestment embroidered with gold to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, to be worn by him when he celebrated the service of baptism. And it was one of the accusations that the Arians afterward brought against Cyril, that he had sold it. Valesius thinks that it was not intended for an ordinary habit, whenever the bishop celebrated the office of baptism, but only when he performed the service of the great day of our Lord's baptism, which was the festival of Epiphany, held in great veneration at Jerusalem. This is not so likely in my opinion, but be it as it will, it makes no alteration in the case; for still it was a sacred vestment to be used in the celebration of the liturgy or Divine service, which is enough to the present purpose. Not long after, we find Athanasius accused by his enemies for laying a tax upon the Egyptians, to raise a fund for the linen vestments of the church. The thing is mentioned both by Athanasius himself[5] and Sozomen,[6] the one calling them linen *sticharia*, and the other linen *tunicles*, which are the same thing. Where we are to observe, that the accusation was not that he used such vestments in the church, but only that he laid a tax upon the people to provide them; which supposes them to be in use, else there had been no colour or foundation for such a charge against him. St. Jerom often mentions this distinction of habits as generally observed in his time. I urge not those words which he has in his Commentary upon Ezekiel, The religion of God has one habit in its ministry,[7] and another for the common uses of life; because I think he is there speaking of the Jewish priests in opposition to the idol-priests of Isis and Serapis. But what he says in his book against Pelagius, plainly relates to the Christians: What harm or enmity, I pray, is it against God, if I use a more cleanly garment? If a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other of the ecclesiastical order, come forth in a white[8] vestment, when they administer the sacraments? He says also in his epitaph upon Nepotian, that Nepotian for his ordinary wearing used the *pallium*, the cloak that was in common use among Christian philosophers: but in his ministrations he used a tunicle,[9] which he ordered his uncle Heliodore to send as his legacy to St. Jerom. St. Chrysostom also intimates that the deacons wore a peculiar habit in their ministrations, when he says, Their honour, crown, and glory, did not consist so much in their

[1] Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 24. n. 1.

[2] Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 5. n. 2.

[3] Aleman. de Parietinis Lateran. cap. 9. ap. Bonam, ibid.

[4] Theod. lib. 2. cap. 27. Τὴν ἱερὰν ϛολὴν, ἵνα ταύτην περιβαλλόμενος, τὴν τȣ̃ θείου βαπτίσματος λειτουργίαν ἐπιτελῇ, &c.

[5] Athan. Apol. 2. p. 778. Πλάττονται πρώτην κατηγορίαν περὶ ϛιχαρίων λινῶν, ὡς ἐμȣ̃ κανόνα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιβάλλοντος.

[6] Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 22. Πρώτην ὑπομένει γραφὴν, ὡς χιτωνίων λινῶν φόρον ἐπιτιθεὶς Αἰγυπτίοις.

[7] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. cap. xliv. p. 668. Religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi.

[8] Id. lib. 1. cont. Pelag. Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitiæ contra Deum, si tunicam habuero mundiorem? Si episcopus, presbyter, diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in administratione sacramentorum candida veste processerint?

[9] Id. Ep. 3. ad Heliodor. Hanc tunicam, qua utebar in ministerio Christi, mitte dilectissimo, &c. It. Epist. ad Præsidium Diaconum. Difficile est locum Stephani implere, et populos subjacentes candenti desuper veste despicere.

walking about the church[10] in a white and shining garment, as in their power to repel unworthy communicants from the Lord's table. This implies that they had a distinct habit when they ministered in Divine service. And so it is remarked by Sozomen,[11] when speaking of the assault that was made upon the church by the enemies of Chrysostom, he says, The priests and deacons were beaten and driven out of the church, as they were in the vestments of their ministration. And there is among St. Chrysostom's works a homily upon the prodigal son, written by Severianus, bishop of Gabala, contemporary with St. Chrysostom, who, speaking of the deacons ministering in the sacred mysteries, says, They resembled[12] the wings of angels, with their veils or tippets on their left shoulders, running about the church, and crying out, Let none of the catechumens be present at the celebration of the mysteries, &c. In like manner Nazianzen, in his Vision of the Church of Anastasia, represents the deacons standing[13] *ἐν εἵμασι παμφανόωσιν*, in their bright and shining garments. And in his will he leaves to his deacon Evagrius a *κάμασον* and a *ϛιχάριον*, which were then the common names for these surplices or white garments used in Divine[14] service. The council of Laodicea has two canons concerning the little habit called the *orarium*,[15] which was a scarf or tippet to be worn upon the shoulders, and might be used by bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but not by subdeacons, singers, or readers, who are expressly debarred the use of it in that council. The fourth council of Carthage[16] speaks of the *alba* or surplice, which the deacon is ordered to wear when the oblation is made, or the lessons are read. The council of Narbo[17] mentions the same. The first council of Braga speaks of the *tunica* and the *orarium*[18] as both belonging to deacons. And the third council of Braga[19] orders priests to wear the *orarium* on both shoulders when they ministered at the altar. By which we learn, that the *tunica* or surplice was common to all the clergy, the *orarium* on the left shoulder proper to deacons, and on both shoulders the distinguishing badge of priests.

The fourth council of Toledo is most particular in these distinctions. For in one canon it says, That if a bishop, presbyter, or deacon be unjustly degraded, and be found innocent by a synod, yet they shall not be what they were before, unless they receive the degrees they had lost from the hands of the bishops before the altar. If he be a bishop, he must receive[20] his *orarium*, his ring, and his staff; if a presbyter, his *orarium* and *planeta*; if a deacon, his *orarium* and *alba*. And in another canon,[21] that the deacon shall wear but one *orarium*; and that upon his left shoulder, wherewith he is to give the signal of prayers to the people. Where we may observe also the reason of the name *orarium* in the ecclesiastical sense, *ab orando*, from praying; though in common acceptation it signifies no more than a handkerchief to wipe the face, and so comes from *ore*, in which signification it is sometimes used by St. Ambrose,[22] and St. Austin,[23] as well as by the old Roman authors. But here we take it in the ecclesiastical sense, for a sacred habit appropriated to bishops, priests, and deacons in the solemnities of Divine service, in which sense it appears to have been a habit distinct from that of civil and common use, by all the authorities that have been mentioned. The author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament, under the name of St. Austin, speaks also of the *dalmatica*,[24] as worn both by bishops and deacons: but whether it was then a garment of sacred use, is not said by him or any other ancient writer, that I know of; and therefore I content myself with the proofs already alleged, as sufficient to show that in the fourth age a plain distinction of habits was made in the sacred service of the church.

Sect. 3. Four postures of devotion allowed of by the ancients. First, standing, which was particularly enjoined on the Lord's day, and all the time between Easter and Pentecost.

The next considerable circumstance in their worship, was the posture observed in their addresses and adorations of God; and of this we find four kinds generally practised and allowed, viz. standing, kneeling, bowing, and prostration: for sitting, which some add as a fifth sort, was never allowed by the ancients as an ordinary posture of devotion. Standing was the

[10] Chrys. Hom. 82. al. 83. in Mat. p. 705. *Λευκὸν χιτωνίσκον καὶ ἀποστίλβοντα περιβαλλόμενοι*, &c.

[11] Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 21. *Ἱερέων δὲ καὶ διακόνων τυπτομένων τε, καὶ πρὸς βίαν, ὡς εἶχον σχήματος, ἐλαυνομένων.*

[12] Chrys. Hom. 37. de Filio Prodigo, t. 6. p. 375. *Τῶν μιμουμένων τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων πτέρυγας ταῖς λεπταῖς ὀθόναις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριϛερῶν ὤμων κειμέναις*, &c.

[13] Naz. Somnium Anastas. t. 2. p. 78.

[14] Id. in Testamento, ap. Brisson. de Formulis, lib. 7.

[15] Conc. Laodic. can. 22 et 23.

[16] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 41. Ut diaconus in tempore oblationis tantum vel lectionis alba induatur.

[17] Conc. Narbon. an. 589. can. 12.

[18] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 27. Quia diacones absconsis infra tunicam utuntur orariis, ita ut nihil differre a subdiacono videantur, de cætero superposito scapulæ, sicut decet, utantur orario.

[19] Conc. Bracar. 3. can. 3. Non aliter accedat quam orario utroque humero circumseptus.

[20] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 28. Episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, si a gradu suo injuste dejectus, in sancta synodo innocens reperiatur, non potest esse quod fuerat, nisi gradûs amissos recipiat coram altario de manu episcoporum. Si episcopus est, orarium, annulum, et baculum. Si presbyter, orarium et planetam. Si diaconus, orarium et albam.

[21] Can. 40. Unum orarium oportet levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est, prædicat.

[22] Ambros. de Obitu Satyri Fratris. Et Epist. 54.

[23] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. cap. 8. Vid. Pontium Vit. Cyprian.

[24] Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. qu. 4. t. 4. Quasi non hodie diaconi dalmaticis induantur sicut episcopi.

general observation of the whole church on the Lord's day, and the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, in memory of our Saviour's resurrection. This custom may be traced as high as Irenæus, who derives it from apostolical authority. For the author under the name of Justin Martyr[25] gives this account of the use of both postures in prayer: Forasmuch as we ought to remember both our fall by sin, and the grace of Christ, by which we rise again from our fall; therefore we pray kneeling six days, as a symbol of our fall by sin: but our not kneeling on the Lord's day is a symbol of the resurrection, whereby through the grace of Christ we are delivered from our sins, and from death, that is mortified thereby. And this custom took its original from the times of the apostles, as St. Irenæus says in his book concerning Easter, wherein he also makes mention of Pentecost, during which time we kneel not, because it is of the same nature with the Lord's day, according to the reason that has been given. Not long after, Tertullian speaks of it,[26] as an observation, among many others, handed down from ancient tradition. And Cyprian may be supposed to hint it,[27] when he speaks of their standing in prayer.

It is mentioned also by Clemens of Alexandria,[28] and Peter, bishop of Alexandria,[29] who died some years before the council of Nice. He says, We keep the Lord's day as a day of joy, because then our Lord rose from the dead, and our tradition is not to kneel on that day. In the time of the council of Nice there was some disagreement about this practice, and therefore that council made a canon to bring all churches to a uniformity in this matter:[30] Because there are some who kneel on the Lord's day, and in the days of Pentecost; that all things may be uniformly performed in every parish or diocese, it seems good to the holy synod, that prayers be made to God standing. After this St. Hilary[31] speaks of it again as an apostolical practice, neither to fast nor worship kneeling on the Lord's day, or the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost. Epiphanius says,[32] that on the appointed days they prayed kneeling, but during the whole fifty days of Pentecost they neither fasted nor kneeled. St. Jerom reckons it[33] among the traditions of the universal church, neither to fast nor kneel on the Lord's day or Pentecost. St. Austin is a little doubtful as to the practice of the church universal,[34] but he assures us, that as far as he knew, all churches in Africa forbore fasting, and prayed standing, and sung hallelujah at the altar every Lord's day, and all the days of Pentecost, in token of our Saviour's resurrection. We find the same in St. Basil,[35] who derives it from apostolical practice. And Cassian[36] testifies of the Egyptian churches, that from Saturday night to Sunday night, and all the days of Pentecost, they neither kneeled nor fasted. And in another place[37] he gives the reason of this, because kneeling was a sign of deep repentance and mourning, which they omitted on those days out of respect and reverence to our Saviour's resurrection. Hence it was, that the author of the Constitutions[38] makes it one of his apostolical orders, that all men should pray three times, or three prayers, on the Lord's day standing, in memory of him who rose the third day from the dead. And from hence came that usual form so often mentioned by St. Chrysostom[39] and others, of the deacon's calling upon the people in prayer, Ὀρθῶς ςῶμεν καλῶς, Let us stand upright with reverence and decency; alluding to the posture then commonly used in prayer on the Lord's day. How long this custom continued in the church, is not easy to determine: but we may observe it to be mentioned by Martin Bracarensis[40] in the sixth century, and the council of Trullo[41] in the seventh century, and the third council of Tours[42] in the time of Charles the Great. Nor do we meet with any exception to this rule all this time, save only one relating to the penitents, or those that were under the discipline of the church; who being, by their falling into scandalous sins, reduced to a

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[25] Justin. Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox. qu. 115.

[26] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus.

[27] Cypr. de Orat. p. 152. Quando stamus ad orationem, &c.

[28] Clem. Strom. 7. p. 854. [29] Pet. Alex. can. 15.

[30] Conc. Nic. can. 20.

[31] Hilar. Prolog. in Psal. p. 189. Et hæc quidem sabbata sabbatorum ea ab apostolis religione celebrata sunt, ut his quinquagesimæ diebus nullus neque in terram strato corpore adoraret, neque jejunio festivitatem spiritualis hujus beatitudinis impediret: quod id ipsum etiam extrinsecus in diebus Dominicis est constitutum, &c.

[32] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 22 et 24.

[33] Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer. cap. 4. Die Dominico et per omnem Pentecosten, nec de geniculis adorare, et jejunium solvere soleant.

[34] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januarium, cap. 17. Ut autem stantes in illis diebus et omnibus Dominicis oremus, utrum ubique servetur ignoro. Ibid. cap. 15. Propter hoc et jejunia relaxantur, et stantes oramus; quod est signum resurrectionis. Unde etiam omnibus diebus Dominicis id ad altare observatur, et halleluia canitur.

[35] Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 27.

[36] Cassian. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 18. Hoc quoque nosse debemus, a vespera sabbati, quæ lucescit in diem Dominicam, usque in vesperam sequentem apud Ægyptios genua non curvari; sed nec totis quinquagesimæ diebus, &c.

[37] Cassian. Collat. lib. 21. cap. 20. Ideo in ipsis diebus nec genua in oratione curvantur, quia inflexio genuum velut pœnitentiæ ac luctus indicium est, &c.

[38] Constitut. lib. 2. cap. 59. Τρὶς vel τρεῖς εὐχὰς ἑςῶτες ἐπιτελῦμεν, μνήμης χάριν τῦ διὰ τριῶν ἀναςάντος ἡμερῶν.

[39] Chrys. Hom. 29. al. 4. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, t. 1. p. 375. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740.

[40] Martin. Bracar. Collect. Canon. cap. 57.

[41] Conc. Trull. can. 90. [42] Conc. Turon. 3. can. 37

state of penance, were not allowed this privilege of standing at prayers on the Lord's day, but were obliged in token of their humiliation to kneel at all times, not excepting the days of relaxation, as the fourth council of Carthage[43] words it in a canon made in this behalf. And so we have seen the concurrent testimony of all writers for the antiquity and universality of this practice.

Sect. 4. Secondly, kneeling at all other times, especially on the stationary days and other times of devotion.

At other times kneeling was the most common and ordinary posture of devotion. This may be concluded from the former exception of the Lord's day and Pentecost from this posture; for that implies, that at other times they used a different posture in their addresses to God. This was the usual posture of their ordinary morning and evening service on the weekly days, and on the stationary or fast days, which were called stationary days, not from their standing at prayer, but from their continuing and prolonging the exercise, in imitation of the military stations. The only difference between these days and the Lord's day was, that on the Lord's day all prayers were performed standing, but on other days some were said standing, some kneeling. In this sense we must understand St. Chrysostom,[44] when he speaks of the people's falling on the ground when they said the prayer for the whole state of the church, and their rising again at the bishop's invocation. And so the author of the Constitutions[45] represents them kneeling at the first prayer, and standing up at the second. In like manner Cassian[46] says the people performed their private prayers kneeling, and then rose up to the minister's collect or prayer, in which all joined standing. This is to be understood of their prayers on ordinary days, and not of the Lord's day, on which (as we have seen before) all their prayers were performed standing. As to the posture of kneeling upon other occasions, it would be endless to cite all the testimonies that may be alleged for it. It was so common among them, that the author of The Acts of Thecla[47] gives prayer the name of *κλίσις γονάτων*, bending the knees. And Arnobius, when he would describe to the heathen the manner of Christians performing their divine offices to God, does it by saying, They all fell down[48] upon the earth, as their custom was, and made their common prayers to him. Eusebius,[49] speaking of the great devotion of St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, says, He was wont to go into the temple alone, and there pray assiduously upon his knees, making intercession for the sins of the people, till his knees were grown as hard and callous as those of camels, by continual exercise of his devotions. And so again, speaking of the thundering legion, (who in the time of Marcus Aurelius procured rain by their prayers, to save the Roman army, and thunder to destroy their enemies,) he says, They fell upon their knees, as was the usual[50] custom of Christians in their prayers, and so made their supplications to God at the head of the army as it was going forth to battle. Tertullian had his eye upon this very story, when he tells Scapula,[51] That the geniculations, or prayers on the bended knee, together with the fastings of Christians, were always effectual in driving away drought and famine. It were easy to give a thousand other instances[52] of the like practice out of the ancient writers; but in a case so clear and uncontested, I think it next to impertinence to trouble my reader with them. I only note, that though these two postures of prayer were very indifferent in their own nature, yet it was always esteemed an instance of great negligence, or great perverseness, to interchange them unseasonably one for the other; that is, to pray kneeling on the Lord's day, when the church required standing; or standing on other days, when the rules and custom of the church required men to kneel. And therefore, as the canons of Nice and Trullo reflect upon those who were superstitiously bent upon kneeling on the Lord's day; so others, with equal severity, complain of the remissness and negligence of such, as refused to kneel at other times, when the church appointed it. It is a very indecent and irregular thing, says Cæsarius of Arles,[53] that when the deacon cries out, Let us bend the knee, the people should then stand erect as pillars in the church. These were but small observations in themselves, but of great consequence, we see, when done perversely, to the scandal and disorder of the church, whose great rule in all such cases, is that of the apostle, "Let all things be done decently and in order."

Sect. 5. Thirdly, bowing down the head.

A third posture of devotion was bowing down the head, or an inclination of the body between the postures

[43] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 82. Pœnitentes etiam diebus remissionis genua flectant.

[44] Chrys. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. *Πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφυς κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα.*

[45] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 9. *Ὅσοι πιστοὶ, κλίνωμεν γόνυ.* It. cap. 10. *'Εγειρώμεθα δεηθέντες*, &c.

[46] Cassian. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 7. Cum is qui orationem collecturus est, e terra surrexerit, omnes pariter surgunt, &c.

[47] Acta Theclæ, ap. Grabe, Spicileg. t. 1. p. 96.

[48] Arnob. lib. 1. p. 25. Hic propositus terminus divinorum officiorum, hic finis, huic omnes ex more prosternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus.

[49] Euseb. l. 2. cap. 23. *Κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι*, &c.

[50] Euseb. lib. 5 cap. 5. *Γόνυ θέντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν τῶν εὐχῶν ἔθος*, &c.

[51] Tertul. ad Scapul. cap. 4. Quando non geniculationibus et jejunationibus nostris etiam siccitates sunt depulsæ ?

[52] Vid. Hermis Pastor. part 1. Vision. 1. n. 1. Genibus positis, &c. Clem. Roman. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. n. 48. *Προσπέσωμεν*, &c. Passio Ignatii, t. 2. p. 176. Cum genuflexione, &c. Passio Cypriani, p. 13. Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 4. cap. 61. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. cap. 8. Chrys. Hom. 22. de Ira, t. 1. p. 278. Prudent. Cathemerin. Hymn. 2.

[53] Cæsar. Arelatens. Hom. 34.

of standing and kneeling. This was chiefly used in receiving the bishop's or priest's benedictions, in all direct and formal addresses to God for his mercy and favour upon the people, whether catechumens, penitents, or any other. Thus we find in the Constitutions,[54] the catechumens are bid to bow the head in order to receive the bishop's benediction in a form of invocation there appointed to be said over them. So likewise the energumens[55] have the same direction: Bow down your heads, ye energumens, and receive the benediction. In like manner the candidates of baptism[56] and the penitents[57] are bid to rise up, after the deacon's prayer, and bow their heads to receive the benediction. And this may be confirmed out of Chrysostom, who says,[58] The deacon in the time of the oblation presented the energumens, and bid them bow their heads only, to indicate, at least by the habit and gesture of the body, that they were in a praying posture. And this he repeats[59] in other places, where he particularly speaks of those that were possessed of evil spirits.

Sect. 6. Fourthly, prostration.

The last posture of devotion was prostration, or lying along in the humblest manner upon the ground. This seems to have been the proper posture for extraordinary humiliations, when men had some singular request more earnestly to recommend to God. We often read of Moses and other saints falling upon their faces in Scripture, when they were to make some extraordinary intercession for the sins of the people. And in imitation of them the same gesture was sometimes used in the Christian church. Some lapsers, when they sued for admission to a state of penance, did not only fall down upon their knees, but prostrate themselves before the faithful, to beg their prayers as they entered into the church. Which is particularly noted by Socrates[60] of Ecebolius the sophist, who having lapsed in the time of Julian, desired favour under Jovian; and the more to move compassion, he put himself into the mournfullest posture, falling upon his face before the gate of the church, and crying out, *Calcate me ut sal insipidum,* Tread me under foot as salt that has lost its savour. But this was not the only case in which they used this mournful posture, but they also practised it upon other occasions, whenever any great necessity urged them with greater ardency to prefer their petitions to God. Thus Socrates observes of Alexander, bishop of Constantinople,[61] That when he was in a great strait about the admission of Arius into the church, he prostrated himself upon his face under the communion table, and there prayed to God for many days and nights together, that God would give some token to determine which of their doctrine was true: if the doctrine of Arius was true, he desired that he himself might not live to see the day appointed for the disputation: but if his own were true, then he desired that Arius might suffer the punishment due to his impiety. Which he accordingly did, voiding his entrails as he had occasion to go to stool, whilst he was going triumphantly to the church. Theodoret[62] makes a like a remark upon the behaviour of Theodosius the Great, That when he first entered the church, after he had been for some time excluded by St. Ambrose, he would neither pray to God standing, nor kneeling, but prostrate with his face to the ground; using those words of the psalmist, "My soul cleaveth to the dust, O quicken thou me according to thy word." By which we learn, that this posture was chiefly appropriated to deep humiliations, and expressions of shame or sorrow upon some very remarkable occasion, but scarce ever used as a general practice of the church.

Sect. 7. Sitting, no allowed posture of devotion.

There is one posture more, which some plead for as a posture of adoration; but it never had any allowance in the practice of the ancient church: that is, sitting, which Cardinal Perron and some others in the Romish church pretend was the posture in which the apostles received the communion at its first institution, and this was then a common posture of adoration used among the heathens. But the learned Mr. Daillé[63] has abundantly exposed this pretence, and showed the falsity of it in every particular. For neither did the heathens sit at their devotions, as the cardinal imposed upon himself by a false interpretation of Plutarch and Tertullian; neither did the apostles communicate sitting, but lying along on beds or couches, which all men know to be a different posture; neither did they worship the eucharist in any posture; neither did the primitive Christians ever use or take sitting for a posture of devotion. Tertullian indeed says,[64] There were some superstitious persons in his time, admirers of the book called Hermes Pastor, who made it

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[54] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 6. *Κλινόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, εὐλογείτω αὐτοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογίαν τοιάνδε,* &c.

[55] Ibid. *Κλίνατε οἱ ἐνεργέμενοι, καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.*

[56] Ibid. cap. 7. *Κλίναντες εὐλογείσθωσαν,* &c.

[57] Ibid. cap. 8. *'Αναστάντες κλίνατε καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.*

[58] Chrys. Hom. 28. sive 3. de Incomprehensibili, t. 1. p. 365. *Κελεύει κλίναι τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῷ σχήματι ποιεῖσθαι τȣ̃ σώματος τὰς ἱκετερίας.*

[59] Chrys. Hom. 29. t. 1. p. 374.

[60] Socrat. lib. 3. cap. 13. *῾Ρίψας ἑαυτὸν πρηνῆ πρὸ τῆς πύλης τȣ̃ εὐκτηρίȣ οἴκȣ, πατήσατέ με, ἐβόα, τὸ ἄλας τὸ ἀνάισθητον.*

[61] Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 37. *῾Υπὸ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα ἐκτείνας, εὔχεται,* &c.

[62] Theod. lib. 5. c. 19. *Πρηνὴς ἐπὶ τȣ̃ δαπέδȣ κείμενος,* &c.

[63] Dallæ. de Objecto Cultus Relig. lib. 2. cap. 2.

[64] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 12. Item, quod adsignata oratione assidendi mos est quibusdam, non perspicio rationem, nisi si Hermas ille, cujus scriptura fere Pastor inscribitur, transacta oratione non super lectum assedisset, verum aliud quid fecisset, id quoque ad observationem vindicaremus, &c.

a matter of conscience to sit down for some time *adsignata oratione*, that is, not in time of prayer, as some falsely render it, but when prayer was ended, because they found the example of the pastor in that book to that purpose. For as he sat down upon a bed after prayer, so they thought themselves obliged to do the same in compliance with his example. But this is no proof of their sitting at prayer, but only after prayer was ended: and that too grounded upon a very weak and superstitious opinion, that every circumstance of an action or narration, however indifferent in itself, was to be drawn into example, and to be made matter of necessary duty. According to which way of reasoning, as Tertullian observes, they must have worshipped no where but where there was a bed, nor sat upon a chair or bench, because this would have been a deviation from their example. He adds, That the heathens only were used to sit after prayer before their idols, and for that very reason it was not fit for Christians to imitate[65] their practice. All which shows, that the Christians then were so far from using sitting as a posture of devotion, that they did not think it proper to sit even after prayer in the presence of God, whilst the angel of prayer (it is his phrase) stood by them; and because it looked more like a heathenish than a Christian practice.

Sect. 8. Some superstitious practices in devotion noted by Tertullian.

Tertullian in the same book takes notice of some other superstitious observations, which some ran into in their devotions in imitation of the heathen. Some thought it necessary to put off their cloaks when they went to prayer, which he condemns as symbolizing with idolaters; for so the heathen[66] were used to do in reverence to their idols. This was superstition, not religion; and more an affectation and curiosity, than any thing of rational and manly service. Others would not pray without washing the whole body in water, as if that made them more acceptable to God; whereas the true purity was that of the spirit, to lift up holy hands, free from deceit, murder, cruelty, witchcraft, idolatry, and other such corruptions[67] which defile both flesh and spirit. A man that is free from these, is always clean, being once washed in the blood of Christ: but he that is inwardly polluted, is unclean, though he wash every member of his body every day. It is the superstition of these practices that Tertullian complains of: for otherwise, the Christians themselves had their fountains before the church in many places, for men to wash their hands, as a matter of decency, before they went to worship God, as has been showed[68] in another place. And the evil of such practices consists not in the bare use of such things, but in laying the opinion of necessity upon them, and affixing holiness to the usage, and making them become essential parts of Divine service.

Sect. 9. That the ancients uncovered their head in their devotions.

Such practices, therefore, as were attended with superstition, they disclaimed; but retained such other rites and ceremonies, as were either proper expressions of decency in their own nature, or by their significancy and symbolical use might be improved to a spiritual advantage. They prayed with the head uncovered, according to the apostle's direction, as esteeming it a great indecency to do otherwise. So Chrysostom, in his comment on the place. Tertullian adds another reason in his Apology to the Gentiles,[69] We pray uncovered, because we are not ashamed to appear with open face; making it a sort of testimony and symbol of their innocency in their addressing God without covering. On the other hand, as both nature and custom had made it decent for women to be covered, so they were very precise in requiring this to be observed especially in religious assemblies. Some pleaded an exemption for virgins in the case, which gave occasion to Tertullian to write his book De Velandis Virginibus, wherein[70] he argues both virgins and matrons to be under the same obligation of being veiled or covered in time of Divine service; and he severely inveighs against those who hanged a fringe or riband about their heads, and pretended to call that a covering. But some learned persons[71] think he was too severe in this reflection, and almost singular in applying it to the case of virgins, who were then allowed a greater liberty in this matter above matrons or married women, by the general discipline of the African church.

Sect. 10. And lift up their hands toward heaven, sometimes in the form of a cross.

It is more uncontested, what Tertullian observes of another ceremony, that they usually prayed with their arms expanded, and their hands lift up[72] to heaven, and that sometimes in the form of a cross, to represent our Saviour's passion. For this is also noted by Minucius, when he says, They

[65] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 12. Porro cum perinde faciant nationes adoratis sigillaribus suis residendo, vel propterea in nobis reprehendi meretur, quod apud idola celebratur, &c.

[66] Tertul. ibid. Hujusmodi non religioni, sed superstitioni deputantur, coacta et affectata, et curiosi potius quam rationalis officii, certe vel eo coercenda, quod gentilibus adæquent. Ut est quorundam positis penulis orationem facere: sic enim adeunt ad idola nationes.

[67] Tertul. ibid. cap. 11. Hæ sunt veræ munditiæ, non quas plerique superstitiose curant, ad omnem orationem etiam cum lavacro totius corporis aquam sumentes, &c

[68] Book VIII. chap. 3. sect. 6.

[69] Tertul. Apol. cap. 30. Capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, precantes sumus semper, &c.

[70] Tertul. de Veland. Virgin. cap. 17. Quantam castigationem merebuntur etiam illæ, quæ inter psalmos, vel in quacunque Dei mentione retectæ perseverant? &c.

[71] Vid. Du Pin, Bibliothec. t. 1. p. 95.

[72] Tertul. Apol. cap. 30. Manibus expansis, quia innocuis, &c. It. de Orat. cap. 11. Nos vero non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus, et Dominica passione modulantes, et orantes Christo confitemur.

worshipped God with a pure mind, and their hands stretched forth in the form of a cross.[73] And by Asterius Amasenus, in a fragment of his homily concerning prayer, preserved in Photius,[74] who says, The Christian represents the passion of the cross by his gesture, whilst he expands his arms and lifts them up in the figure of a cross. After this manner Paulinus describes St. Ambrose,[75] in his last minutes, praying to God with his hands expanded in the form of a cross. And Prudentius, relating the passion of Fructuosus, a Spanish bishop and martyr in the time of Gallienus, says, The bands which tied his arms were first burnt off without touching his skin; for they durst not restrain those arms which were to be lift up to the Father[76] in the manner of a cross. And this probably is St. Chrysostom's meaning, when he says, The sign of the cross was used even by the emperors upon all occasions, on their purple, on their diadems, in their[77] prayers, on their arms, and at the holy table. And in reference to this gesture it is that Eusebius tells us, that Constantine ordered his own image to be stamped on his golden medals, representing him[78] in the posture of a supplicant, looking up to heaven, with his arms stretched forth to God. Origen says,[79] this was to represent the lifting up of their hearts to God in the heavens. And Chrysostom[80] more largely sets forth the use of it in explaining those words of the psalmist, "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice." What means, says he, the stretching forth our hands in prayer? Because they are instrumental in many sorts of wickedness, as fighting, murder, robbery, and rapacious avarice, therefore we are commanded to lift them up, that the ministry of prayer may tie them up from vice, and deliver them from wickedness: that when you are inclined to rob, or plunder, or smite your neighbour, you should then remember, that these hands are the advocates, as it were, which you are to send forth to God, and by which you are to offer the spiritual sacrifice of prayer to him; and therefore you ought not to dishonour them, and destroy their confidence, by letting them minister to wicked actions; but rather cleanse them by almsdeeds, and humanity, and assistance of those that are in want, and so lift them up to God in prayer. For if you cannot endure to lift up unwashen hands, how much less should you think it meet to defile them with sin! By all this it appears, that these ceremonies, both of washing hands, and lifting them up in prayer, were of spiritual use, and designed for pious ends, to put men in mind of internal purity by external symbols; and that this significancy was the chief thing that could justify and account for the use of them, as ceremonies in Divine service.

Sect. 11. But yet were great enemies to all theatrical gestures.

But as they allowed of such decent and significant ceremonies as those that have been mentioned, so they were great enemies to all light and theatrical gestures. They required a modest, and grave, and well-composed behaviour in all external deportment, as thinking no other becoming the majesty of God, or the character of those that were to address him. Upon this account, Tertullian[81] requires a modesty and humility in his votaries, even in lifting up their hands in prayer, that they should not toss them up indecently on high, nor appear with a countenance expressing elation and boldness: because the publican's humility and dejection was more commendable than the audaciousness of the Pharisee. He requires also a gentle and submissive voice, since God did not hear men for the sound of their words, or the strength of their lungs or arteries, but the fervency of their hearts. And they that were loud in prayer, he tells them, did nothing else but hinder their neighbour's devotion. St. Cyprian[82] expresses himself much after the same way in his directions about the manner of praying: Let them that pray, says he, do it with an orderly voice, expressing quietness and modesty. Let us consider ourselves as standing in the sight of God, and that we are to please the Divine eyes both with the habit or gesture of our body, and with the manner of our voice. For as it is a sign of an impudent man to make a clamorous noise, so it becomes a modest man to use modesty in his prayers. Therefore when we meet together with our brethren, and celebrate the Divine sacrifices with the priest of God, we ought to be mindful of reverence and discipline; not tossing out our prayers with a rude and disorderly voice, nor with a tumultuous loquacity pouring forth those petitions, which ought to be recommended modestly to God. For God is not the hearer of the voice, but the heart: neither needs he to be re-

[73] Minuc. Dial. p. 90. Crucis signum est, cum homo porrectis manibus Deum pura mente veneratur.

[74] Aster. ap. Phot. Cod. 271. Ἐκτεταμένας προβαλλόμενος τὰς χεῖρας, τὸ τοῦ σταύρου πάθος ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἐξεικονίζει.

[75] Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 12. Ab hora undecima diei usque ad illam horam qua emisit Spiritum, expansis manibus in modum crucis orabat.

[76] Prudent. Peri Stephan. Hymn. 6. in Fructuos. Non ausa est cohibere pœna palmas, in morem crucis ad Patrem levandas.

[77] Chrysost. Demonstrat. quod Christus sit Deus, cap. 8. t. 5. p. 838. Ἐπὶ εὐχῶν σταυρὸς, ἐπὶ ὅπλων σταυρὸς, &c.

[78] Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 4. cap. 15. Ὡς ἄνω βλέπειν δοκεῖν ἀνατεταμένος πρὸς Θεὸν, τρόπον εὐχομένου.

[79] Orig. περὶ εὐχῆς. n. 20.

[80] Chrys. in Psal. cxl. p. 550. Vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. p. 854.

[81] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 13. Cum modestia et humilitate adorantes, magis commendamus Deo preces nostras, ne ipsis quidem manibus sublimius elatis, sed temperate ac probe elatis. Ne vultu quidem in audaciam erecto, &c.

[82] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 140.

minded by noise and clamour, who sees the thoughts of men. It appears from these cautions, that men were apt to run into disorders and excesses in the manner of expressing the external part of their devotions, which needed such rules and admonitions to direct them in the purest ages. And it appears yet more from St. Chrysostom, who has several sharp and severe invectives against some, who accustoming themselves to see the Roman games and plays, brought the manners of the stage into the church, and corrupted their devotions with theatrical gestures. It will be sufficient to relate a few words out of a single passage[83] in one of his homilies to this purpose. O unhappy wretch, says he, thou oughtest with reverence and fear to send up the angelical hymn, and with trembling make confession to God, and thereby ask pardon of thy offences. Instead of this, thou bringest into the church the manners of mimics and dancers, by a disorderly tossing up thy hands, and beating with thy feet, and agitation of thy whole body. Dost thou not consider, that the Lord himself is present, who measures every man's motions, and examines their consciences? Dost thou not consider, that the angels stand by this tremendous table, and surround it with fear? But thou considerest none of these things, because thy mind is blinded with what thou hast heard and seen in the theatres; and the things which are done there thou bringest into the rites and ceremonies of the church, and with insignificant clamours bewrayest the disorder of thy soul. How canst thou expect to incline God to mercy, who offerest thy prayer with such contempt? Thou sayest, Lord, have mercy on me, whilst thy behaviour proclaims itself a stranger to mercy. Thou criest out, Lord, save me, whilst the whole deportment of thy body is in opposition to salvation. For what can those hands, which are always tossed up on high, and disorderly rolled about, contribute toward prayer? What use can there be in vehement clamour, and violent impulse of spirit, that has nothing in it but sound and noise without signification? These are more the practices of strumpets on the high-way, or actors on the theatre. And how darest thou to mingle the sports of devils with that doxology, whereby angels glorify God? Thus far St. Chrysostom in his warmth and zeal against the corruptions that were creeping in upon devotion by absurd and ridiculous gestures. And this shows us abundantly, that as the ancients were no way averse to any rites and ceremonies, habits or gestures, that were decent and significant in their own nature, and had any real tendency toward piety; so they were utter enemies to such as were insignificant and trivial, light and theatrical, and discountenanced them as the effects of superstition or vanity, arising from misapprehensions of religion or evil customs of the world, which they laboured to extirpate, but could not always conquer; men's corrupt inclinations disposing them to commute the great things of religion for those that were small in comparison, and sometimes for those which were a real detriment and disadvantage to it, as in the cases now before us.

Sect. 12. Of ceremonies used at their entrance into the church.

But to pass by irregularities, and proceed with the observations of the church. This were a proper place to take notice of several other usages, whereby they expressed their reverence to God at their first entrance into the church. But because some of these have been already considered in a former Book,[84] where we speak of the respect and reverence which the primitive Christians paid to their churches, I shall but just name them in this place. Such was the ceremony of respect used by kings and emperors, who laid aside their crowns and arms and guards, when they entered into the house of the King of kings. Of which I have only this further to observe here, that probably it was done in imitation of the old Roman magistrates, who, as some authors tell us,[85] were wont to lay aside their fasces and other ensigns of honour, whenever they went into the schools of philosophy at Athens. Such was that other custom of respect observed by the monks of Egypt, who put off their shoes when they went into the house of God: but this, I showed, was only a topical custom peculiar to that nation, and not a general one reaching the whole church. I observed also, that there are some reasons to believe the ancients used the ceremony of bowing towards the altar at their first entrance into the church, though the arguments amount only to a probability, not a demonstration.

Sect. 13. That the bishop saluted the people with *Pax vobis*, at his entrance into the church.

It is more certain, that the bishop saluted the people in the usual form, *Pax vobis*, Peace be with you, at his first entrance into the church. For this is often mentioned by St. Chrysostom,[86] who derives it from apostolical practice.

Sect. 14. And the people gave alms to the poor, who stood before the gates of the church for this purpose.

St. Chrysostom also mentions another very laudable custom, and he uses all his rhetoric to promote and encourage the practice of it; which was, the people's giving alms to the poor, at their first entrance into the church. For this reason, says he, our forefathers appointed the poor to stand before the doors of our churches, that the sight of them might provoke the most backward

[83] Chrys. Hom. 1. de Verbis Esai. t. 3. p. 836. Vid. Hom. 19. in Mat. p. 195.

[84] Book VIII. chap. 10.

[85] Vid. Pool, Synops. Criticor. in 2 Reg. v. 9.

[86] Chrys. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. Hom. 3. in Colos. p. 1338.

and inhuman soul to compassion.[87] And as by law and custom we have fountains before our oratories, that they who go in to worship God, may first wash their hands, and so lift them up in prayer; so our ancestors, instead of fountains and cisterns, placed the poor before the doors of the church; that as we wash our hands in water, so we should cleanse our souls by beneficence and charity first, and then go and offer up our prayers. For water is not more adapted by nature to wash away the spots of the body, than the power of alms-deeds is to cleanse the filth of the soul. As, therefore, you dare not go in to pray with unwashen hands, though this be but a small offence; so neither should you without alms ever enter the church for prayer. You, many times, when your hands are clean, will not lift them up to God, before you have washed them in water; so prevalent is the force of custom with us: let us therefore do the same with respect to alms-deeds: and though we are not conscious to ourselves of any great and heinous crimes, yet let us by charity clear our consciences of lesser spots and blemishes, which we contract in our daily business and conversation. So again in another place,[88] expounding those words, "Thou shalt not appear before the Lord empty:" These things, says he, were spoken to the Jews; and how much more to us! Therefore the poor stand before the doors of the church, that no one should go in empty, but enter securely with charity for his companion. You go into the church to obtain mercy: first, show mercy: make God your debtor, and then you may ask of him, and receive with usury. We are not heard barely for the lifting up our hands. Stretch forth your hands, not only to heaven, but to the hands of the poor: if you stretch out your hands to the poor, you touch the very height of heaven. For He that sits there, receives your alms: but if you lift up barren hands, it profits nothing. He repeats the same[89] in other places, which shows, that it was an excellent custom prevailing among them, and carefully recommended as a just preparation for prayer, among many other moral qualifications for this duty, which being vulgar and commonly known, I need not insist upon them in this place.

Sect. 15. That they worshipped toward the east. With the reasons for this practice.

There was one observation more, which must not be omitted, because it was a ceremony almost of general use and practice: and that was, the custom of turning their faces to the east in their solemn adorations. The original of this custom seems to be derived from the ceremonies of baptism, in which, as has been showed before,[90] it was usual to renounce the devil with their faces to the west, and then turn about to the east, and make their covenant with Christ; from whence, I conceive, it became their common custom to worship God after the same way that they had first entered into covenant with him. The ancients give several reasons for this custom, but they all seem to glance at this one. Some say, the east was the symbol of Christ, who was called the Orient, and Light, and Sun of righteousness, in Scripture: and therefore, since they must worship toward some quarter of the world, they chose that which led them to Christ by symbolical representation. As Tertullian tells us in one place,[91] that in fact they worshipped toward the east, which made the heathen suspect that they worshipped the rising sun; so in another place[92] he says, The east was the figure of Christ, and therefore both their churches and their prayers were directed that way. Clemens Alexandrinus[93] says, They worshipped toward the east, because the east is the image of our spiritual nativity, and from thence the light first arises and shines out of darkness, and the day of true knowledge, after the manner of the sun, arises upon those who lie buried in ignorance. And St. Austin,[94] When we stand at our prayers, we turn to the east, whence the heavens, or the light of heaven arises: not as if God was only there, and had forsaken all other parts of the world, but to put ourselves in mind of turning to a more excellent nature, that is, to the Lord. This reason exactly falls in with that which is given for turning to the east, when they covenanted with Christ in the solemnities of baptism.

2. Another reason given for it by some, is, that the east was the place of paradise, our ancient habitation and country, which we lost in the first Adam by the fall, and whither we hope to be restored again, as to our native abode and rest, in the Second Adam, Christ our Saviour. This reason is given by Gregory Nyssen[95] and St. Basil,[96] and by the author of the Constitutions,[97] and the author of the Questions and Answers to Antiochus among the works of Athanasius,[98] together with Chrysostom, (as he is cited by Cotelerius[99] and Gregentius,[100]) and many

[87] Chrys. Hom. 25. de Verbis Apost. t. 5. p. 369.

[88] Chrys. Hom. 1. in 2 Tim. p. 1631.

[89] Chrys. Hom. 9. de Pœniteut. t. 1. p. 704.

[90] Book XI. chap. vii. sect. 4.

[91] Tertul. Apol. cap. 16. Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari.

[92] Id. cont. Valentin. cap. 3. Nostræ columbæ domus simplex, etiam in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem: amat figuram Spiritûs Sancti, orientem Christi figuram.

[93] Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. p. 856.

[94] Aug. de Serm. Dom. in Monte, lib. 2. cap. 5. Cum ad orationes stamus, ad orientem convertimur, unde cœlum surgit, &c. ut admoneatur animus ad naturam excellentiorem se convertere, id est, ad Dominum.

[95] Nyss. Hom. 5. de Orat. Dom. t. 1. p. 755.

[96] Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 27.

[97] Constit. lib. 2. cap. 57.

[98] Athan. Quæst. ad Antioch. qu. 37.

[99] Coteler. Not. in Constitut. lib. 2. cap. 57. Ex Chrys. in Dan. vi. 10.

[100] Gregent. Disput. cum Herbano Judæo. Bibl. Patr t. 1. p. 217. Gr. Lat.

others. Now, this is the very reason assigned by St. Cyril for turning to the east, when they covenanted with Christ, and celebrated the mysteries of baptism. So that hitherto we find a clear relation of these ceremonies one to the other, and a perfect agreement between them.

3. Another reason assigned for this custom, was, that the east was the most honourable part of the creation, as being the seat of light and brightness. The author of the Questions and Answers to the Orthodox [101] gives this reason for it: We set apart, says he, the most honourable things to the honour of God: and the east, in the opinion of men, is the most honourable part of the creation: we therefore in time of prayer turn our faces to the east; as we sign those in the name of Christ, that need consignation, with the right hand, because it is deemed more honourable than the left, though it differ only in position, not in nature. And Lactantius, without taking any particular notice of this custom, makes this general observation, That the east was [102] more peculiarly ascribed to God, because he was the fountain of light, and illuminator of all things, and because he makes us rise to eternal life. But the west was ascribed to that wicked and depraved spirit the devil, because he hides the light, and induces darkness always upon men, and makes them fall and perish in their sins. Now, this is a reason that equally holds for turning to the east in baptism, as well as their daily devotion.

4. There is one reason more assigned for it, which is, that Christ made his appearance on earth in the East, and there ascended into heaven, and there will appear again at the last day. This is one of the three answers, which the author of the Questions to Antiochus, under the name of Athanasius,[103] orders to be given to this question: If a Christian ask the question, he is to be told, They looked toward paradise, beseeching God to restore them to their ancient country and region, from whence they were expelled. If a heathen put the question, the answer should be, Because God is the true Light, for which reason, when they looked upon the created light, they did not worship it, but the Creator of it. If the question was proposed by a Jew, he should be told, They did it because the Holy Ghost had said by David, "We will worship toward the place where thy feet stood, O Lord," Psal. cxxxii. 7, meaning the place where Christ was born, and lived, and was crucified, and rose again, and ascended into heaven. Which seems also to be intimated by St. Hilary on those words of the 67th Psalm, according to the translation of the Septuagint, "Sing unto God, who ascended above the heaven of heavens" in the east. The honour of God, says he,[104] who ascended above the heaven of heavens in the east, is now reasonably required: and for that reason toward the east, because he, according to the prophet, is the East or Morning from on high; that he, returning to the place whence he descended, might be known to be the Orient Light, who shall hereafter be the Author of men's rising to the same ascent of a celestial habitation.

These several reasons have all a peculiar reference to Christ: and therefore, as Christians first used the ceremony of turning to the east, when they entered into covenant with Christ in baptism; so it is probable, that from thence they derived this custom of turning to the east in all their solemn adorations. But whether this were so or not, we are sure there was such a general custom among them, and that it was founded upon some or all the reasons that have been mentioned; which is as much as is necessary to be said here for the illustration of it.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE TIMES OF THEIR RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES, AND THE SEVERAL PARTS OF DIVINE SERVICE PERFORMED IN THEM.

Sect. 1. No certain rule for meeting in public, except upon the Lord's day, in times of persecution, for the two first ages.

There remains one circumstance more of Divine worship, which I have purposely reserved for this place, because the consideration of it will lead us to the several parts of the worship itself; that is, the circumstance of time: concerning which it may be inquired, how often they met in a week, and how often they met in a day, for Divine worship? Now, no general answer can be given to these questions, because the times of their assemblies varied according to the different state and ages of the church. At first, learned men think, they held assemblies every day in the apostles' time, and whilst the Jewish temple stood; for we read of the apostles going up to the temple at the ninth hour, being the hour of prayer, Acts iii. 1. And of their "continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house," or in their house, mean-

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[101] Justin. Quæst. ad Orthodox. qu. 118.

[102] Lact. lib. 2. cap. 10. Oriens Deo accensetur, quia ipse luminis fons, et illustrator est rerum, et quod oriri nos faciat ad vitam æternam. Occidens autem conturbatæ illi pravæque menti ascribitur, quod lumen abscondat, quod tenebras semper inducat, et quod homines faciat occidere ac interire peccatis.

[103] Athan. Quæst. ad Antioch. qu. 37.

[104] Hilar. in Psal. lxvii. p. 242. Competenter nunc ascendentis super cœlum cœli ad orientem Dei honor poscitur. ——Ad orientem vero idcirco, quia ipse secundum prophetam oriens ex alto sit: ut regressus eo unde descenderat, oriens nosceretur, ipseque sit hominibus in hunc cœlestis sedis ascensum rursus autor oriundi.

ing the church, or house of prayer, as others render it, Acts ii. 46. Though their most solemn meetings were on "the first day of the week," or the Lord's day, Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2. In after ages, when the persecutions grew warm, they are thought to have confined themselves to the Lord's day. For the confession which Pliny[1] took from the mouths of some apostatizing Christians, mentions no other: they confessed to him, that the sum of their crime or error was, that they were used to meet on a certain stated day, before it was light, and sing a hymn to Christ, as to their God; and to bind themselves by a covenant or sacrament, not unto any wickedness, but that they would not commit any theft, or robbery, or adultery, or break their faith, or deny what was committed to their trust; after which they were used to break up their assembly, and return again to a common feast. Which is a plain description of their worship, and communion and love-feast, called *agape*, on the Lord's day, but no other. And so Justin Martyr,[2] describing the Christian worship, says, That on the day called Sunday, there was a general meeting of all that lived both in city and country, when they had the Scriptures read, and a sermon preached, and prayers, and the communion; but he mentions no assembly for public worship on any other day: whence learned men[3] have concluded, that in his time the church observed no other days of solemn assemblies, but only the Lord's day. His silence as to all others, is a negative argument against them, unless perhaps some distinction may be made between the general assembly of both city and country on the Lord's day, and the particular assemblies of the city Christians (who had better opportunities to meet) on other days: which distinction we often meet with in the following ages, when Christianity was come to its maturity and perfection.

Sect. 2. The original of the stationary days, or church assemblies, on Wednesdays and Fridays, and what Divine service was performed on those days.

However, it was not long after Justin Martyr's time before, we are sure, the church observed the custom of meeting solemnly for Divine worship on Wednesdays and Fridays, which days are commonly called stationary days, because they continued their assemblies on these days to a great length, till three o'clock in the afternoon; for which reason they had also the name of *semi-jejunia*, or half-fasts, in opposition to the Lent fast, which always held till evening; and *jejunia quartæ* and *sextæ feriæ*, the fasts of the fourth and sixth days of the week, that is, Wednesdays and Fridays. These are first mentioned by Tertullian, and Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen, and after them, by most other writers, as fast-days generally observed by the church. But I consider them not here as fasts, (which will be more properly done under another head, when we come to speak of the fasts and festivals of the church,) but here only look upon them as days of religious assembly, to discover what public Divine worship was performed on them. And for this we are chiefly beholden to Tertullian, who assures us, That on these days they always celebrated the communion; from whence we may infer, that the same service was performed on these days as on the Lord's day, unless perhaps the sermon was wanting. Some there were, he says, who objected against receiving the communion on these days, because they were scrupulously afraid they should break their fast by eating and drinking the bread and wine in the eucharist; and therefore they chose[4] rather to absent themselves from the oblation prayers, than break their fast, as they imagined, by receiving the eucharist. Whom he undeceives by telling them, that to receive the eucharist on such days would be no infringement of their fast, but bind them closer to God; their station would be so much the more solemn for their standing at the altar of God; they might receive the body of the Lord, and preserve their fast too; and so both would be safe, whilst they both participated of the sacrifice and discharged their other obligation. Since, therefore, they received the eucharist on these days, we may conclude they had all the prayers of the communion office, and what other offices were wont to go before them, as the psalmody, and reading of the Scriptures, and prayers for the catechumens and penitents, which, together with the sermons, were the whole service for the Lord's day. But, because even all this could not take up near so much time, as must needs be spent in these stations, it seems most probable, that in two particulars they much enlarged their service on these days, that is, in their psalmody, and private prayers and confession of their sins. The psalms, as we shall see hereafter, were sometimes lengthened to an indefinite number, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or more, as the occasion of a vigil or a fast required, and between every psalm they had liberty to meditate and

[1] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. Affirmabant, autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire: carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem; seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent: quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, &c.

[2] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 98. Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, &c.

[3] Coteler. in Constitut. Apost. lib. 2. cap. 59.

[4] Tertul. de Oratione, cap. 14. Similiter de stationum diebus non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum, quod statio solvenda sit accepto corpore Domini. Ergo devotum Deo obsequium eucharistia resolvit, an magis Deo obligat? Nonne solennior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris? Accepto corpore Domini, et re servata, utrumque salvum est, et participatio sacrificii et executio officii. Some editions read it, reservato, instead of re servata.

fall to their private prayers: and by these two exercises, so lengthened and repeated, it is easy to conceive how the longest station might be employed. Socrates[5] says, At Alexandria on these days they had sermons and all other service used at other times, except the communion. But admitting they had the whole service entire, as on the Lord's day, yet it was not commensurate to the time of their stations, unless we suppose their psalmody and private devotions in the church to be enlarged on those days to a greater length, than was usual in ordinary service.

St. Basil[6] agrees with Tertullian in making these days not only fasts, but communion days; for, reckoning up how many days in the week they received the communion, he makes Wednesday and Friday to be two of the number. Yet still it is hard to conceive what business they could have to detain them so long in the church; since their collects and public prayers were but few in comparison; and therefore it seems most probable, that a competent share of this time was spent in psalmody, and, as I find a learned person[7] inclined to think, in private devotions, which always had a share in their service, and was generally intermixed with their singing of psalms, as shall be showed in their proper places. See Book XIV. chap. 1. Book XV. chap. 1. sect. 1.

Sect. 3. Saturday, or the seventh day, anciently observed with great solemnity, as a day of public devotion.

We also find in ancient writers frequent mention made of religious assemblies on the Saturday, or seventh day of the week, which was the Jewish sabbath. It is not easy to tell either the original of this practice, or the reasons of it, because the writers of the first ages are altogether silent about it. In the Latin churches (excepting Milan) it was kept as a fast; but in all the Greek churches as a festival: I consider it here only as a day of public Divine service, on which, as the authors who mention it assure us, all the same offices were performed as were used to be on the Lord's day. For Athanasius,[8] who is one of the first that mentions it, says, They met on the sabbath, not that they were infected with Judaism, but to worship Jesus, the Lord of the sabbath. And Timotheus, one of his successors in the see of Alexandria, says, The communion[9] was administered on this day, as on the Lord's day. Which were the only days in the week that the communion was received by the Christians of his time at Alexandria. Socrates[10] is a little more particular about the service: for he says, In their assemblies on this day they celebrated the communion; only the churches of Egypt and Thebais differed in this from the rest of the world, and even from their neighbours at Alexandria, that they had the communion at evening service. In another place, speaking of the churches of Constantinople in the time of Chrysostom, he reckons Saturday[11] and Lord's day the two great weekly festivals, on which they always held church assemblies. And Cassian[12] takes notice of the Egyptian churches, that among them the service of the Lord's day and the sabbath was always the same; for they had the lessons then read out of the New Testament only, one out of the Gospels, and the other out of the Epistles or the Acts of the Apostles; whereas, on other days they had them partly out of the Old Testament and partly out of the New. In another place he observes,[13] That in the monasteries of Egypt and Thebais, they had no public assemblies on other days, besides morning and evening, except upon Saturday and the Lord's day, when they met at three o'clock, that is, nine in the morning, to celebrate the communion. In the council of Laodicea there are three canons to the same purpose. One[14] appoints the Gospels, with the other Scriptures, to be read upon this day. Another,[15] That the oblation of the bread in the eucharist shall not be made all the time of Lent, except on the sabbath and the Lord's day. Which implies that those were communion days, and kept as festivals, even in Lent itself. And for the same reason a third canon[16] orders, That no festivals of martyrs should be kept in Lent, but only commemorations of the martyrs be made on the sabbath and the Lord's day. The only difference that was then made between the sabbath and the Lord's day, was, that Christians were not obliged to rest from bodily[17] labour on the sabbath, but might work on that day, (so far as Divine service would permit,) giving preference in this respect to the Lord's day, whereon they were to rest as Christians. And if any transgressed these rules about working on the sabbath, they were to be

[5] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. [6] Basil. Ep. 289. t. 3. p. 278.

[7] Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. p. 224.

[8] Homil. de Semente, t. 1. p. 1060.

[9] Timoth. Ep. Canon. can. 13. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2.

[10] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. [11] Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 8.

[12] Cassian. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 6. In die vero sabbati vel Dominico utrasque lectiones de Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de Apostolo vel Actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de Evangeliis.

[13] Cassian. lib. 3. cap. 2. Exceptis vespertinis horis ac nocturnis congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem solennitas, absque die sabbati vel Dominica, in quibus hora tertia sacræ communionis obtentu conveniunt.

[14] Conc. Laodic. can. 16. Περὶ τοῦ ἐν σαββάτῳ εὐαγγέλια μετὰ ἑτέρων γραφῶν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι.

[15] Ibid. can. 49. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.

[16] Can. 51. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ μαρτύρων γενέθλιον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων· μνείαν ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς.

[17] Can. 29. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς ἰουδαΐζειν, καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ· τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν προτιμῶντας, σχολάζειν ὡς Χριστιανοί· εἰ δὲ εὑρεθεῖεν Ἰουδαϊσταὶ, ἔστωσαν ἀνάθεμα παρὰ Χριστῷ.

deemed Judaizers, and are ordered to be anathematized by another canon of the same council. By which it appears that Saturday was kept weekly as a day of public worship, but not as a Jewish sabbath. Epiphanius[18] mentions it likewise as a day of public assemblies in some places, but not in all. St. Basil[19] says it was one of the four days in the week, on which in his time they received the communion. By all which we may perceive that the author of the Constitutions had a plain regard to the practice of the Eastern church, when he prescribed, that on every sabbath save one, (that is, the Saturday before Easter day,) and on every Lord's day,[20] they should hold religious assemblies, and keep them as the weekly festivals; that is, not only with psalmody, and reading the Scriptures, and common prayers, which was the ordinary service of the morning and evening of every day; but with sermons also, or preaching the gospel, and the offering of the oblation, and reception of the holy food; as he describes the service of the sabbath and Lord's day in another place.[21]

Sect. 4. How they observed the vigils of the sabbath and Lord's day, and other incidental festivals of martyrs.

Now, as these were the two great festivals of every week, so they were commonly ushered in by the attendance of preceding pernoctations or vigils, which, as harbingers, went before to make preparation for the solemnities of the following days. These vigils were much of the same nature as the common nocturnal, or daily morning prayer, which was early, before it was light; and they only differed from the usual antelucan service in this, that whereas the usual morning service never began till after midnight, towards cock-crowing in the morning, these vigils were a longer service, that kept the congregation at church the greatest part of the night. These the Greeks called παννυχίδες; and the Latins, *pernoctationes* and *pervigilia*, watchings all the night. St. Chrysostom often speaks of these: Go into the church, says he, and there see the poor continuing from midnight to break of day; go, and see the holy pernoctations[22] joining day and night together: behold the people of Christ, fearing neither by night, nor by day, the tyranny of sleep or the necessities of poverty. In another place[23] he calls them πάννυχοι καὶ διηνεκεῖς στάσεις, the continued and perfect night stations, in opposition to the stations by day, which were but partial and imperfect. By these, he adds, you imitate the station of the angelical choir, whilst you offer up ἀκατάπαυστον ὑμνολογίαν, psalmody and hymnody without ceasing to your Creator. Oh the wonderful gifts of Christ! The armies of angels sing glory to God above: and on earth men, keeping their choral stations in the church, sing the same doxology after their example. The cherubims above cry aloud, "Holy, holy, holy," in the *Trisagion* hymn; and the congregation of men on earth below send up the same: and so a common general assembly is made of the inhabiters of heaven and earth together. Their thanksgiving is one and the same, their exultation the same, their joyful choral station the very same. In which words he plainly gives us to understand, that the angelical hymn, "Glory be to God on high," and the cherubical hymn, or the *Trisagion*, as it was called from the cherubims thrice repeating the first words, "Holy, holy, holy," were part of their sacred service in these night stations: which, as I observed before, were but an earlier oblation of the ordinary morning service, wherein we shall find the angelical hymn amongst other parts of Divine worship always appointed to be used.

It were easy to make a long discourse here of the several sorts of these night stations, or completer vigils holding all the night through; for they were sometimes held upon extraordinary occasions of prayer, upon great emergencies and necessities of the church; instances of which the curious reader may find several in Chrysostom,[24] and St. Austin,[25] and Ruffin,[26] and Socrates,[27] and Sozomen,[28] and Theodoret.[29] Sometimes, again, they were kept as anniversary vigils to usher in the greater festivals of the Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ, and the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost; of which sort there is mention made in Tertullian,[30] Lactantius,[31] Chrysostom,[32] Socrates,[33] and many others. But the vigils we are here concerned to speak of, are only such as have some relation to the weekly service, of which number we may reckon those vigils of the sabbath and Lord's day the chief, because they returned constantly in the weekly revolution. Concerning which we have not only the forementioned authority of Chrysostom, but several others. For Socrates, giving an account of Athanasius's escape

[18] Epiphan. Epitom. t. 1. p. 1107. Ἐν τισι δὲ τόποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς σάββασι συνάξεις ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

[19] Basil. Ep. 289. ad Cæsaream Patriciam. So Austin, Ep. 118. Alibi nullus dies omittitur, quo non offeratur, alibi sabbato tantum et Dominico.

[20] Constit. lib. 5. cap. 20. It. lib. 8. cap. 23.

[21] Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 59. p. 268.

[22] Chrys. Hom. 4. de Verbis Esaiæ, t. 3. p. 865. Βλέπε παννυχίδας ἱερὰς ἡμέρα καὶ νυκτὶ συναφθείσας.

[23] Id. Hom. 1. de Verb. Esai. p. 834.

[24] Chrys. Hom. 20. de Statuis, t. 1. p. 252. et Hom. 40. in Juventinum, t. 1. 550.

[25] Aug. Confess. lib. 9. cap. 7. Ep. 119. ad Januarium.

[26] Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 12. lib. 2. cap. 16.

[27] Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 37. lib. 5. cap. 11.

[28] Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 29. lib. 3. cap. 6.

[29] Theod. lib. 1. cap. 14.

[30] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 2. cap. 4.

[31] Lactant. lib. 7. cap. 19.

[32] Chrys. Hom. 30. in Genes. p. 424.

[33] Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 5. Vid. Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. 4. cap. 57. Hieronym. Com. in Mat. xxv.

out of the church of Alexandria in the night,[34] when the church was beset with soldiers to take him, says, It was evening, and the people were keeping their nocturnal vigils, because the next day was to be a *synaxis*, or church assembly. Therefore Athanasius, fearing lest the people should suffer upon his account, bid the deacon give the signal or call to prayer, and he commanded a psalm to be sung, and whilst they were singing their psalmody, the soldiers were quiet, and they all meanwhile went out at one door of the church, and Athanasius in the midst of the singers escaped untouched and fled to Rome. Athanasius himself[35] has the same story in his Apology for his Flight, where he says, some of the people were keeping their night vigil, expecting an assembly the next day. And Socrates in another place, speaking of these nocturnal vigils kept both by the Arians and catholics, says, they held them against the weekly festivals, the sabbath and the Lord's day,[36] on which days there were used to be general assemblies of the church. And because the Arians were allowed no churches within the walls, they sung their hymns in the streets and porticos of the city till the morning light, and then went out to their meeting-places without the gates. And the historian observes, That Chrysostom, fearing the Arians might gain ground upon the church by this practice, and draw away some of the more simple people, appointed some of his own people, who were used to nocturnal hymnody, to meet in the streets after the same manner; and to make the solemnity more splendid, the empress gave them silver crosses to set their lamps in, appointing one of her own eunuchs, called Brison, to be their protector: which so provoked the Arians, that they fell to blows upon it, and Brison and some others were slain in the engagement; which occasioned the emperor wholly to put down those Arian meetings, and leave the catholics quietly to go on with their vigils in the churches, as they had done before. From these accounts we may easily collect, both that there were such weekly vigils frequented by the more zealous and religious sort of people in all parts of the East, and also that psalms and hymns and prayers were the exercises, wherewith they entertained themselves to the morning light. I might add many other testimonies out of Nazianzen[37] and other Greek writers, but these are abundantly sufficient to show us the practice of the Oriental church.

For the Latin church we have the authority of St. Jerom, who, interpreting the word "watcher," in Daniel, says, it signifies the angels, who always watch, and are ready to obey the commands of God: and he adds,[38] We also, by our frequent pernoctations or night-watches, imitate the office of angels. And it appears from him further, that women and virgins frequented this service, as well as men; for he advises Læta[39] to inure her daughter to these solemn pernoctations; only cautioning her to keep a guard upon her, and not let her wander from her side; for the same reason, I presume, for which the council of Eliberis[40] thought fit wholly to forbid women the observation of these vigils, because many, under pretence of prayer, were found to commit wickedness. There are many other passages in St. Austin, and St. Hilary, and other Latin writers, which speak of vigils; but because they may be understood either of private watchings in prayers at home, or of the common vigils of the ordinary morning prayer before day, I omit them in this place; only alleging that of St. Ambrose,[41] where he seems to found this practice upon the imitation of Christ's example: The Lord Jesus, says he, continued all night in prayer, not that he wanted the help of prayer, but to set thee an example to copy after: he continued all night praying for thee, that thou mightest learn after what manner to pray for thyself.

But besides these stated vigils of the two weekly festivals, there was another sort of incidental ones, which came almost every week throughout the year, or at least were very frequent in some parts of it: those were the vigils of the festivals or anniversaries of the martyrs. Those anniversaries, as we shall see by and by, were always in great repute, and observed with the same solemnities of Divine worship, as the sabbath or the Lord's day; and therefore their vigils were also celebrated with the same ceremony, as the vigils or night stations of the two great weekly festivals. St. Chrysostom[42] is an undoubted witness of this; for in a homily made upon one of these festivals, he takes notice of the preceding vigil, that had continued all the

[34] Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 11.

[35] Athan. Apol. de Fuga, t. 1. p. 716. *Τοῦ λαοῦ τινες ἐπαννύχιζον, προσδοκωμένης συνάξεως*, &c.

[36] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8.

[37] Naz. Carm. Iambic. 18. t. 2. p. 218. Orat. 11. de Gorgonia, t. 1. p. 183.

[38] Hieron. Com. in Dan. iv. 13. Significat autem angelos, quod semper vigilent, et ad Dei imperium sint parati. Unde et nos crebris pernoctationibus imitamur angelorum officia.

[39] Id. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. Vigiliarum dies et solennes pernoctationes sic virguncula nostra celebret, ut ne transverso quidem ungue a matre discedat.

[40] Conc. Eliber. can. 35. Placuit prohiberi, ne fœminæ in cœmiterio pervigilent; eo quod sæpe sub obtentu orationis latenter scelera committant.

[41] Ambr. Serm. 19. in Psal. cxviii. ver. 147. p. 740. Pernoctabat in oratione Dominus Jesus, non indigens precationis auxilio, sed statuens tibi imitationis exemplum. Ille pro te rogans pernoctabat, ut tu disceres quomodo pro te rogares.

[42] Chrys. Hom. 59. in Martyres, t 5. p. 779. *Ἐποιήσατε τὴν νύκτα ἡμέραν διὰ τῶν παννυχίδων τῶν ἱερῶν· μὴ ποιήσατε πάλιν τὴν ἡμέραν νύκτα διὰ τῆς μέθης*, &c.

night: Ye have turned, says he, the night into day by keeping your holy stations all the night: do not now turn the day into night again by surfeiting, and drunkenness, and lascivious songs. And Sidonius Apollinaris[43] will testify the same, at least for some part of the western church; for, writing about the festival of Justus, bishop of Lyons, he thus describes both the observation of the day, and the preceding vigil: We met, says he, at the grave of St. Justus; it was a morning procession before day; it was an anniversary solemnity; the confluence of people of both sexes was so great, that the church, though very capacious and surrounded with cloisters, would not contain them. When the service of the vigil was ended, which the monks and clerical singers performed with alternate melody, we separated for some time, but went not very far away, as being to meet again at three o'clock, that is, nine in the morning, when the priests were to perform Divine service, that is, the service of the communion, as on a festival.

Sect. 5. Of the festivals of martyrs. Their original, and what Divine service was performed on them.

And now that we have mentioned the festivals of martyrs, as days of public religious worship, we must take notice of their original, to find out how early they became days of solemn addresses to God, and in what offices of Divine service their observation consisted. These festivals were grown so numerous in the time of Chrysostom and Theodoret, that they tell us, it was not once, or twice, or five times in a year that they celebrated their memorials, but they had oftentimes one or two in the same week,[44] which occasioned frequent solemnities. The original of them is at least to be carried as high as the time of Polycarp, who suffered about the year 168. For the church of Smyrna, (whereof he was bishop,) in their epistle to the church of Philomelium, recorded by Eusebius,[45] tell them, That they intended, if God would permit, to meet at his tomb, and celebrate his birth-day, that is, the day of his martyrdom, with joy and gladness, as well for the memory of the sufferer, as for example to posterity. Tertullian speaks of these anniversary festivals, as observed in his time. We offer, says he, oblations for those that are dead, for their[46] nativities on their anniversary day. And Cyprian[47] orders his clergy to note down the days of their decease, that a commemoration of them might be celebrated amongst the memories of the martyrs. And in another place[48] he says, They offered sacrifices for them, as often as they celebrated their passions, or days of martyrdom, by an anniversary commemoration. These sacrifices were the sacrifices of prayer, and thanksgiving to God for the examples of the martyrs, and the celebration of the eucharist on these days, and the offerings of alms and oblations for the poor, which, together with a panegyrical oration or sermon, and reading the acts or passion of the martyr, if they had any such recorded, were the exercises and special acts of devotion, in which they spent these days. For these were always esteemed high festivals, and therefore the same service that was performed on the sabbath and Lord's day was always performed on them. They never passed without a full assembly, nor without a sermon or a communion, as appears from some of Chrysostom's homilies upon such occasions. To dissuade the people from intemperance, he bids them consider how absurd it was,[49] after such a meeting, after a whole night's vigil, after hearing the Holy Scriptures, after participating of the Divine mysteries, after such a spiritual repast, for a man or a woman to be found spending whole days in a tavern. The foundation of his argument is built upon this supposition, that they had received the eucharist in the church before, in celebrating the memorial of a martyr. And so Sidonius Apollinaris represents the matter in the passage just now cited from him,[50] That after they had kept the vigil of St. Justus the night preceding, they assembled again by day at nine in the morning, when the priests did *rem divinam facere*, offer the oblation, or consecrate the eucharist, as Savaro[51] rightly interprets it.

But besides the usual solemnities of other festivals, there was one thing peculiar to these festivals of the martyrs: which was, that the history of their passions, as they were taken by the notaries appointed by the church for this purpose, were commonly read in the assembly upon such occasions. It was at least the common practice of the African churches. For St. Austin[52] speaks of it as a usual

[43] Sidon. lib. 5. Epist. 17. Conveneramus ad Sancti Justi sepulchrum.—Processio fuerat antelucana, solennitas anniversaria, populus ingens sexu ex utroque, quem capacissima basilica non caperet, et quamlibet cincta diffusis cryptoporticibus. Cultu peracto vigiliarum, quas alternante mulcedine monachi clericique psalmicines concelebraverant, quisque in diversa secessimus, non procul tamen, utpote ad tertiam præsto futuri, cum sacerdotibus res Divina facienda.

[44] Vid. Chrys. Hom. 40. in Juventinum, t. 1. p. 546. Theod. Serm. 8. de Martyribus, t. 4. p. 605. Chrys. Hom. 65. de Martyr. t. 4. p. 971.

[45] Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15.

[46] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Oblationes pro defunctis pro natalitiis, annua die facimus.

[47] Cypr. Ep. 12. al. 37. Denique et dies eorum quibus excedunt annotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus.

[48] Id. Ep. 39. al. 34. p. 77. Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus.

[49] Chrys. Hom. 59. de Martyribus, t. 5. p. 779.

[50] Sidon. Apoll. lib. 5. Ep. 17.

[51] Savaro, Comment. in Sidon.

[52] Aug. Hom. 26. ex 50. t. 10. p. 174. Quando aut passiones prolixæ, aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis au ribus audiant quæ leguntur.

thing, indulging his people liberty to sit, whilst they heard them read, because they were sometimes of a considerable length. And the third council of Carthage[53] made a canon to encourage the reading of them. Mabillon[54] gives several other instances out of Alcimus Avitus, Cæsarius Arelatensis, and Ferreolus, to show that they were read also in the French churches. Only they were forbidden in the Roman church by the decree of Pope Gelasius,[55] in his synod of seventy bishops, under pretence that they were written by anonymous authors, and sometimes by ignorant heathens, and sometimes by heretical authors, as the Passions of Cyricus, Julitta, and St. George. For which reason they had, by ancient custom, prohibited the reading of them in the Roman church. But this rule, it seems, did not then prescribe to other churches.

Sect. 6. Solemn assemblies for preaching and other acts of Divine worship held every day, during the whole forty days of Lent, and the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide.

It may be further observed, that during the whole forty days of Lent, they had continual assemblies not only for prayers, but preaching also: as is evident from Chrysostom's sermons, many of which were preached by him successively one day after another throughout the greatest part of that season; as his homilies upon Genesis, and those famous discourses, called his Ἀνδριάντες, preached at Antioch, in Lent, upon the occasion of a tumult, wherein the emperor's statues were demolished. And many other instances may be given of the same practice, of which more hereafter, under the head of preaching, in the next Book.[56] It is true, indeed, they did not always consecrate the eucharist in Lent, but only upon the sabbath and Lord's day, as we learn from the council of Laodicea,[57] which expressly forbids the oblation of the bread in Lent upon any other day besides the sabbath and the Lord's day. The reason of which was, that these two days were observed as festivals even in Lent itself; and they did not ordinarily consecrate the eucharist upon the solemn fasts in the time of this council: but instead of the consecration service, they had probably that which in the following ages is called προηγιασμένων λειτουργιά, *missa præsanctificatorum*, the office of the presanctified elements, which was a shorter service for communicating on fast days in the elements that were consecrated before on the Lord's day festival, about which there is a particular direction in the council of Trullo, can. 52. So that one way or other they seem to have had both a communion and a sermon every day in Lent.

Then, again, the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide were a sort of perpetual festival, and observed with great solemnity, as days of joy, from the time of Tertullian, who mentions it, and triumphs over the heathen upon it, That besides the Sunday, which returned once in eight days, this one continued festival[58] of Pentecost was more than all the festivals the heathen could pretend to reckon up in a whole year. He does not tell us here, indeed, with what solemnity they observed this time, but in another place he assures us[59] they had solemn worship every day, and paid the same respect to it as they did to the Lord's day, in that they neither fasted nor prayed kneeling on any day during this whole interval, which was the commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection and ascension. Whence it is no improbable conjecture, that during this season they might have the same complete worship every day, that they had upon the Lord's day.

Sect. 7. Public prayer morning and evening every day in the third century.

And this consideration will lead us to fix the date of the setting up morning and evening prayer daily in the church. For if the persecutions would give leave in Tertullian's time to keep fifty days together as solemn festivals; there is no reason to imagine that they could not as well meet every day for their ordinary devotions. And if Wednesdays and Fridays were then observed as stationary days, with more than ordinary attendance, as we have heard him declare before; there is little reason to question, but that every day might have an ordinary vigil or morning assembly. It was not long after Tertullian's time, that Cyprian[60] assures us, They received the eucharist every day; and he thinks, that petition in the Lord's prayer may bear this sense, when we say, "Give us this day our daily bread:" which was also Tertullian's sense of it before him.[61] Now this is demonstration, then, that they had assemblies for public worship every day, since

[53] Con. Carth. 3. can. 47. Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.

[54] Mabillon, de Cursu Gallicano, p. 403, &c.

[55] Gelas. Decret. ap. Crab. t. 1. p. 992. Singulari cautela, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, in sancta Romana ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscripsere nomina penitus ignorantur; et ab infidelibus idiotis superflua, aut minus apta, quam rei ordo fuerit, scripta esse putantur, sicut cujusdam Cyrici et Julitæ, sicut Georgii aliorumque hujusmodi passiones, quæ ab hæreticis perhibentur compositæ.

[56] Book XIV. chap. 4.

[57] Conc. Laodic. can. 49. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.

[58] Tertul. de Idololat. cap. 14. Ethnicis semel annuus dies quisque festus est: tibi octavo quoque die. Excerpe singulas solennitates nationum, et in ordinem texe, Pentecosten implere non poterunt.

[59] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus.

[60] Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 147. Hunc panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne qui in Christo sumus, et quotidie eucharistiam ad cibum salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto——a Christi corpore separemur.

[61] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 6. Corpus ejus in pane censetur: Hoc est corpus meum: itaque petendo panem quotidianum, perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo, et individuitatem a corpore ejus.

they received the eucharist every day, which they did not use to consecrate but in public assemblies of the church. From this time therefore there is no dispute about the church's daily sacrifice of prayer in her morning assemblies; which, in after ages, are commonly called *cœtus antelucani*, and *vigiliæ*, and *horæ nocturnæ*, because they were a sort of ordinary vigils, or night assemblies, held before it was light, though not so early as those other sort of vigils, or night stations, before the sabbath and Lord's day, which were of longer duration, as has been noted already of them in its proper place.

As to evening prayer, public in the church, Mr. Mede[62] thinks there is no mention made of it in Cyprian or Tertullian, nor in any writers before the author of the Constitutions and the council of Laodicea: he thinks the ninth hour of prayer, mentioned by Cyprian,[63] relates only to private prayer; which is very probable: and that Tertullian's *nocturnæ convocationes* mean not evening, but morning prayers early before day; which is undoubtedly true: but then he seems not to have considered, that in Cyprian's time there was a custom among some of communicating after supper; for he plainly mentions it,[64] though he did not like the custom: and this custom continued among the Egyptians till the time of Socrates,[65] who speaks of it then as something peculiar to those churches. Now, if there was a custom in Cyprian's time of communicating after supper, there is no doubt to be made of evening prayer at the same time. Rigaltius,[66] and after him Bishop Fell[67] and Dr. Cave,[68] carry this custom of communicating after supper as high as Tertullian; but I think they mistake his words; for he does not say, that they communicated after supper,[69] but that Christ, at supper time, gave the command for the sacrament of the eucharist to all, though then they communicated in their morning assemblies, and received it from the hands of none but their governors. I lay no stress therefore upon this proof, but think the proof of evening prayer may be rationally deduced from that of Cyprian. After whom the author of the Constitutions not only speaks of it,[70] but gives us the order both of their morning and evening service, with which I shall present the reader in the following chapters. The council of Laodicea speaks of the evening service,[71] together with that of the *nones*, or three in the afternoon, and orders the same service to be used in both. The Greeks commonly call it λυχναψία, and the Latins, *lucernarium*, because it commonly began at the time when the day went off, and when they lighted candles for the night. It is likewise frequently styled *sacrificium vespertinum*, the evening sacrifice, and *missa vespertina*, as those names are used to signify, in general, the service or prayers of the church. And these two, evening and morning, are the most celebrated times of the ancient daily service, which are to be found almost in every ecclesiastical writer; so that it is altogether needless here to insist any further upon them.

Sect. 8. The original of the canonical hours of prayer. No notice of them for public prayer, but only for private, in the three first ages.

There remains one question more concerning those times of prayer, which are commonly called the canonical hours, that is, besides the forementioned evening and morning prayer, those that are called the first, the third, the sixth, and the ninth hours, with the *completorium*, or bed-time. They who have made the most exact inquiries into the original of these as fixed hours of public prayer, can find no footsteps of them in the three first ages, but conclude they came first into the church with the monastic life. So Mr. Mede,[72] and Bishop Pearson,[73] who observes that Tertullian mentions the third, sixth, and ninth hours of prayer; but then he is disputing, as a Montanist,[74] against the catholics, and urging the necessity of observing the rules of the Montanists in all the heights of their austerities, and pretences of mortification and devotion above the church. And he does not intimate, that either the Montanists or the catholics observed these hours for public assemblies. Cyprian indeed recommends[75] these hours of prayer from the example of Daniel, and other arguments, to Christians, in their private devotions: but he does not so much as once suggest, that the church had then by any rule made these the stated hours of public devotion. That which evidently confirms this opinion, is an observation to be made out of Cassian, who particularly describes the devotions of these canonical hours, and the gradual rise of them. For they had not all their original at the same time. The first monks of Egypt, who were the founders of the monastic life, he assures us, never observed any other canonical hours for public devotion, but only evening and morning early[76] before day: all

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[62] Mede, Epist. 66. p. 840.

[63] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 154.

[64] Cypr. Ep. 63. Ad Cæcilium, p. 156. An illa sibi aliquis contemplatione blanditur, quod etsi mane aqua sola offerri videtur, tamen cum ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus?

[65] Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22.

[66] Rigalt. in Cypr. Ep. 63.

[67] Fell, in dictum Cypriani locum.

[68] Cave, Prim. Christ. par. 1. cap. 11. p. 338.

[69] Tertul. de Cor. Mil. cap. 3. Eucharistiæ sacramentum et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus.

[70] Constit. lib. 8. c. 35.

[71] Conc. Laodic. can. 18. Περὶ τοῦ, τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουογίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐννάταις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι.

[72] Mede, Epist. 66.

[73] Pearson, Prælect. 2. in Act. Apost. num. 3, 4.

[74] Tertul. de Jejun. cap. 10.

[75] Cypr. de Orat. Domin. p. 154.

[76] Cassian. Institut. lib. 3. cap 2.

the rest of their time they spent at work privately, joining private meditation of the Scriptures, singing of psalms, and prayers, continually with their labour. Not long after, the monasteries of Mesopotamia and Palestine set up the practice of meeting publicly at the third, sixth, and ninth hours for performing their psalmody[77] and devotions. But as yet there was no new morning service distinct from that of the old morning service before day. This was first begun in the monastery of Bethleem,[78] and thence propagated into others, but not received in all. And the *completorium*, or bed-time service, was utterly unknown to the ancients, as distinct from the *lucernaris*, or evening service, as Bona[79] himself proves against Bellarmine. So that these canonical hours came gradually into the church, and are all of them owing to the rules of the Eastern monasteries for their original. Therefore what a learned man[80] among ourselves says, must be taken with a little qualification, else it will not be true: "That the universal church anciently observed certain set hours of prayer, that all Christians throughout the world might at the same time join together to glorify God: and some of them[81] were of opinion, that the angelical host, being acquainted with those hours, took that time to join their prayers and praises with those of the church." If this be understood of any rule or custom of the universal church for hours of public prayer, besides those of morning and evening, in the three first ages, it will not be true: but if it only mean, that there were directions given for the encouragement of private prayer at those set times, and that Christians generally observed them in private, it may be allowed; since not only Origen, but Cyprian, as we have heard before, writes in favour of them, and Clemens Alexandrinus[82] says, some allotted set hours for prayer, the third, sixth, and ninth. So necessary is it to distinguish between public and private devotions, and between the first and the following ages, when we speak of canonical hours of prayer as appointed by the church universal. For even after they were set up in the monasteries, they were not immediately observed in all the churches. For Epiphanius,[83] speaking of the customs of the catholic church, mentions the morning hymns and prayers, and the evening psalms and prayers, but no other. So Chrysostom often mentions the daily service in the church[84] morning and evening; and at the most never speaks of above three times[85] a day for public assemblies. For thus he brings in a secular man complaining, and saying, How is it possible for me, who am a secular man, and pinned down to the courts of law, to run to church, and pray at the three hours of the day? In answer to which Chrysostom does not say, that the church had these three hours of prayer for laymen, and more for others; but he tells the man of business, that if he could not come to church, because he was so fettered to the court, yet he might pray even as he stood there; since it was the mind and the voice, and the elevation of the soul, rather than the lifting up of the hands, that was to be regarded in prayer. For Hannah's prayer was not heard for her loud voice, but because she cried aloud inwardly in her soul. This seems to intimate, that the church then only observed three hours of prayer, that is, the evening and morning, and, as I conceive, the *nones*, or three in the afternoon. For by this time, in some places, the church had received that hour as a stated hour of prayer, of which more by and by. Yet it was some time after this before these hours were admitted in the Gallican and Spanish churches. For Mabillon shows[86] out of Gregory Turonensis, that the sixth and ninth hours of prayer were not introduced into the church of Tours till the time of Bishop Injuriosus, which was not till the year 530. And it appears from one of the canons of Martin Bracarensis, that they were not in his time admitted into the Spanish churches. For he calls only[87] the morning and evening service the daily sacrifice of psalmody, at which all clerks were obliged to be present, under pain of deposition without amendment. This argues, that as yet the other hours were not established in the churches (but only in the monasteries) as canonical parts of the daily service. And it is observable further, that most of the writers of the fourth age, who speak of six or seven hours of prayer, speak of the observations of the monks only, and not of the whole body of the church. As St. Jerom,[88] where he describes the institutions of the monasteries erected by the famous Lady Paula, says, They sung the psalter in order, in the morning, at the third, and sixth, and ninth hours, and at evening, and at midnight. And giving directions in another place to Læta, how to educate her daughter in the monastic life, he prescribes the

[77] Cass. lib. 3. cap. 3. [78] Ibid. cap. 4.

[79] Bona de Psalmod. cap. 11. sect. 1. n. 2.

[80] Patrick of Prayer, part 2. chap. 11. p. 109.

[81] Origen. *περὶ εὐχῆς*. n. 33, 35.

[82] Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. p. 854. Ed. Oxon.

[83] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 23. t. 1. p. 1106. *Ἑωθινοί τε ὕμνοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηνεκεῖς γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἑωθιναὶ, λυχνικοί τε ἅμα ψαλμοὶ καὶ προσευχαί.*

[84] Chrys. Hom. 18. in Act. p 174, 176. Hom. 6. in 1 Tim. p 1550.

[85] Ibid. Hom. 4. de Anna, t. 2. p. 995. *Πῶς δυνατὸν, ἄνθρωπον βιωτικὸν, δικαστηρίῳ προσηλωμένον, κατὰ τρεῖς ὥρας εὔχεσθαι τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκτρέχειν*, &c.

[86] Mabil. de Cursu Gallicano, p. 409.

[87] Martin. Bracar. Capitul. Synod. cap. 64. Si quis clericus intra civitatem fuerit, aut in quolibet loco, in quo ecclesia est, et ad quotidianum psallendi sacrificium non convenerit; deponatur a clero, &c.

[88] Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, Epist. 27. cap. 10. Mane, hora tertia, sexta, nona, vespere, noctis medio, per ordinem psalterium cantabant.

same hours to be observed in devotion.[89] And the like may be seen in St. Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Cassian, Cassiodore, and most other writers, nay, even St. Chrysostom himself, who speaks but of three solemn hours of prayer in the church, yet when he has occasion to speak of the monks and their institutions, he gives in much the same number of canonical hours as others do. He tells us,[90] they had their midnight hymns, their morning prayers, their third, and sixth, and ninth hours, and last of all their evening prayers. But I will not deny that by this time these hours of prayers might in some places of the East be admitted into the churches. For the author of the Constitutions has different directions upon this point: in some places[91] he speaks only of morning and evening prayer in the church; but in another he prescribes this rule to be observed by the bishops in the church: Ye shall make prayers[92] in the morning, and at the third hour, and the sixth, and the ninth, and at evening, and at cock-crowing. In the morning giving thanks to the Lord for that he hath enlightened you, removing the night, and bringing in the day: at the third hour, because at that time the Lord received sentence of condemnation from Pilate: at the sixth hour, because at that time, after the Lord was crucified, all things were shaken and moved with horror and astonishment at the audacious fact of the impious Jews, detesting the affront that was put upon their Lord: at evening giving thanks to God, who hath given the night to be a rest from our daily labours: at cock-crowing, because that hour brings the welcome news of the day, to work the works of light. If you cannot go to church because of the infidels, you shall assemble in a house: or if you can neither assemble in a house, nor in the church, then let every one sing, read, and pray by himself; or two or three together: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." One may conjecture from this passage, that this author, living in the time when these canonical hours began to be in request, in the beginning of the fourth century, found them to be admitted into the usage of some churches, and therefore drew his scheme of directions in conformity to their practice.

Sect. 9. What service was allotted to the canonical hours by the church.

And it being allowed, that about this time they began gradually to take place in the church, it will not be amiss to take a short view of them in particular, and examine what parts of Divine service were performed in each of them. Cassian, speaking of the first institution of them in the monasteries of Mesopotamia and Palestine, where they had their first birth, says[93] they were appointed to be celebrated with the singing of three psalms at every meeting. And these, intermixed with some prayers, were the whole service. So that these were but short offices in comparison of the ancient morning and evening service. And there is reason to believe, that the church did not precisely follow these monastic rules, but made proper offices for herself to be used upon these occasions, partly because the monastic offices were very different from one another, and not always chosen with the greatest discretion. Of which I need but give one proof here out of the council of Braga, which made a canon to this purpose,[94] That by common consent one and the same order of singing should be observed in the morning and evening offices, and that the private and different customs of the monasteries should not be mingled with the rules of the church.

The Gallican church, in the time of the second council of Tours, it is certain, had a very different rule from that of the Eastern monasteries about the number of psalms, hymns, and antiphonas to be said at the several hours and times of prayer. For in one of the canons of that council,[95] about the year 567, a very peculiar order was made, that the method of psalmody and number of hymns should be in proportion to the number of the hours or months in which they were used: the new morning service was to be performed with six antiphonas and two psalms in the height of summer; in September, there were to be seven antiphonas and two psalms; in October, eight antiphonas and three psalms; in November, nine and three psalms; in December, ten and three psalms; and the same in January and February, until Easter. So again at the sixth hour there were to be six psalms and the hallelujah, and at the twelfth hour twelve psalms

[89] Hieron. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. Assuescat exemplo ad orationes et psalmos nocte consurgere, mane hymnos canere, tertia, sexta, nona hora stare in acie, quasi bellatricem Christi; accensaque lucerna reddere sacrificium vespertinum.

[90] Chrys. Hom. 14. in 1 Tim. p. 1599.

[91] Constit. lib. 2. cap. 59. lib. 8. cap. 35.

[92] Ibid. cap. 34.

[93] Cassian. Institut. lib. 3. cap. 3. Itaque in Palæstinæ vel Mesopotamiæ monasteriis, ac totius Orientis, supradictarum horarum solennitates trinis psalmis quotidie finiuntur.

[94] Conc. Bracarens. 1. can. 19. Placuit omnibus communi consensu, ut unus atque idem psallendi ordo in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur, et non diversæ ac privatæ monasteriorum consuetudines contra ecclesiasticas regulas sint permixtæ, vel cum ecclesiasticis regulis sint permixtæ.

[95] Conc. Turon. 2. can. 19. Iste ordo psallendi servetur, ut in diebus æstivis ad matutinum sex antiphonæ binis psalmis explicentur. Toto augusto manicationes fiant, quia festivitates sunt et missæ. Septembri septem antiphonæ explicentur binis psalmis; Octobri octo ternis psalmis; Novembri novem ternis psalmis; Decembri decem ternis psalmis: Januario et Februario, itidem usque ad Pascha.—Superest, ut vel duodecim psalmi expediantur ad matutinum, quia patrum statuta præceperunt ut ad sextam sex psalmi dicantur cum alleluia; et ad duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum alleluia, &c.

and the hallelujah. And in the whole month of August, there should be manications, that is, as Mabillon[96] explains it out of Aimoinus,[97] early matins, or morning service, without any psalms, because it was harvest time, and men were in haste to be gone to their labour, when they had performed the solemnity of the festivals, which in that month were frequent above others. This shows, that no certain rule was at first observed about these canonical hours, but that they varied both as to their number and service in their first original.

Sect. 10. Of the *matutina*, or *prima*, called the new morning service.

The first of these offices was the *matutina*, or *prima*, the new morning service, so called in contradistinction to the old morning service, which was always early before day; whereas this was after the day was begun. Cassian[98] tells us, this was first set up in the monastery of Bethleem, for till that time the morning service used to end with the old nocturnal psalms and prayers and the daily vigils, after which they used to betake themselves to rest till the third hour, which was the first hour of diurnal prayer, till this new office of morning prayer was set up within Cassian's memory, to prevent some inconveniences, which he there mentions. He often gives it the name therefore of *novella solennitas*, the new solemnity, as being so lately invented. And this is the true reason why, in most of the writers before Cassian, such as St. Jerom, the author of the Constitutions, St. Basil, and others who speak particularly of the canonical hours, there is no mention of this first hour, but they always reckon them up after this manner, the morning, meaning the morning vigil before day, the third, the sixth, the ninth, without mentioning the first, because it was not in their time as yet become an accustomed hour of prayer. But when it was once made a canonical hour, to complete the number of seven times a day, then there were psalms particularly appointed for this service, which Cassian[99] says were these three, the fiftieth, sixty-second, and eighty-ninth; which, according to our computation, are the fifty-first, sixty-third, and ninetieth. The first of which, is that which the ancients called properly the psalm of confession, or penitential psalm, which begins, "Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences." This, Cassian says in the same place, was used by all the churches of Italy in his time as the close of this morning service. The second of these psalms is that which the ancients called by a peculiar name, the morning psalm, as we shall see hereafter, because it begins with those words, "O God, my God, early will I awake unto thee," or, "early will I seek thee;" and was always used in the old antelucan service before this new service was set up. The third of these psalms, which is the ninetieth, seems to be taken into this service upon the account of those words in it suiting the state of human life, "In the morning it is green, and groweth up, but in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered:" and, "So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

Sect. 11. Of the *tertia*, or third hour of prayer.

Next after this, in all such churches as admitted the first, was the *tertia*, or third hour, that is, nine in the morning: this is mentioned by all the writers that say any thing of hours of prayer; some saying it was to be observed in regard[100] to our Saviour's being condemned by Pilate at that time; and others, in memory of the Holy Ghost's coming upon the apostles[101] at that hour: that men might with one mind worship the Holy Spirit, and beg of him the same sanctification, direction, and protection, imitating David's prayer, in saying, "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me," Psal. li.: in another place, "Let thy loving Spirit lead me forth into the land of righteousness," Psal. cxliii. This is the reason assigned by Cassian and St. Basil for this solemnity. But whether any particular psalms were appropriated to this service, we are not told, but only in general Cassian says, three psalms, together with prayers, were appointed for every hour. But on all festivals this service was omitted, because on Sundays the communion service was used, which always began at this hour.

Sect. 12. Of the sixth hour, or noon-day service.

The next hour was the sixth, or noon-day service. At which time, St. Basil says,[102] they used the 90th or 91st Psalm, praying for protection against the incursions of the noon-day devil, δαιμονίȣ μεσημβρινοῦ, for so the Septuagint and other translations render the words of that Psalm, "Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the sickness, nor the devil destroying at noon-day. What other psalms they

[96] Mabil. de Cursu Gallicano, n. 54. p. 422.

[97] Aimoin. Hist. Francor. lib. 3. cap. 81. Porro toto Augusto, propter crebras festivitates, manicationes fiebant. Manicare autem mane surgere dicitur.

[98] Cassian. Institut. lib. 3. cap. 4. Sciendum tamen hanc matutinam, quæ nunc observatur in Occiduis vel maxime regionibus, canonicam functionem, nostro tempore, in nostro quoque monasterio primitus institutam, ubi Dominus noster Jesus Christus natus ex virgine.—Usque ad illud enim tempus, hac solennitate matutina, quæ expletis nocturnis psalmis et orationibus post modicum temporis intervallum solet in Galliæ monasteriis celebrari, cum quotidianis vigiliis pariter consummata, reliquas horas reflectioni corporum deputatas, a majoribus nostris invenimus.

[99] Cassian. lib. 3. cap. 6. Quinquagesimum vero psalmum, et sexagesimum secundum, et octogesimum nonum huic novellæ solennitati novimus fuisse deputatos.

[100] See the author of the Constitutions, lib. 8. c. 34.

[101] Basil. Regul. Major. qu. 37. Cassian. Institut. lib. 3. c. 3.

[102] Basil. ibid.

used he tells us not, but probably they might be some that had relation to the death of Christ, because it is agreed by all, that this service was appointed in commemoration of our Saviour's immaculate sacrifice to the Father at this hour.

Sect. 13. Of the ninth hour, or three in the afternoon.

The last hour of prayer in the daytime, was the ninth hour, that is, three in the afternoon, at which time our Saviour expired upon the cross, and by his death triumphed over death and hell. At this hour Cornelius was praying, when he was visited by an angel: as Peter was at the sixth hour, when he had the vision of the sheet let down from heaven. This was the hour when Peter and John went up into the temple, "at the ninth hour, being the hour of prayer," and the usual time of the Jewish evening sacrifice. In regard to all which the church seems to have taken this hour for a solemn time of public prayer before the two last mentioned. For the council of Laodicea[103] expressly mentions the ninth hour of prayer, and orders that the same service should be used in that as was appointed for evening prayer. And St. Chrysostom, speaking of three hours[104] of public prayer in the day, may most reasonably be understood to intend this ninth hour as the third of them; because in another place he seems[105] to recommend it as such: for, speaking of the apostles going into the temple at the ninth hour, being the hour of prayer, he says, They observed this hour not without very good reason: for I have often told you concerning this hour, that it was the time when paradise was opened, and the thief entered into it; this the time when the curse was taken away, when the sacrifice of the world was offered, when the darkness was dissolved, and the light, as well sensible as spiritual, shone forth. It was at the ninth hour, when others, after dinner and drunkenness, sleep a deep sleep, that they then, being sober and vigilant, and fervent in love, made haste to prayer. And if they needed to be so exact and assiduous in prayer, who had such boldness, and were conscious of no evil; what shall we do, who are overrun with wounds and sores, and neglect to use the medicine of prayer? This character here given of the ninth hour, makes it probable to me, that this was one of those three famous hours of prayer, which in the former place he exhorts all men to frequent in public. We have no particular account in any writer, of the psalms or prayers to be used at this hour, but only what we have heard before out of the council of Laodicea, that it was to be the same with the evening service; and therefore we must draw our accounts of it from thence. Now, because we have a more ample and distinct account of the morning and evening daily service, than of any other stated hours of prayer in the ancient church, (as being both more ancient and more celebrated than the rest,) I shall give a more particular and exact description of the several parts, and method of performing those offices, from such records as may be depended on for their truth and fidelity; and have therefore reserved the consideration of these for the two following chapters.

CHAPTER X.

THE ORDER OF THEIR DAILY MORNING SERVICE.

Sect. 1. The order of morning service, as described in the Constitutions. This began with the sixty-third Psalm.

The most noted and usual times of meeting, besides those of the Lord's day, were the morning and evening of every day, which in times of peace were constantly and regularly observed. I will describe the order of these services, as they are laid down in the Constitutions, and compare the several parts of them with the memorials and accounts that are left us by other ancient writers. The order for the morning service begins with the appointment of the ψαλμὸς ὀρθρινὸς, the morning psalm, as the author of the Constitutions terms it.[1] He names not what psalm it was in this place, but in another place he calls it the sixty-second; that is, in our division, the sixty-third. Which (to show how proper it was to begin their morning service with, both in relation to the night past and the day approaching) I think it not improper to recite in this place, according to our old version, which comes nearest to the translation of the Septuagint used in the ancient church.

PSALM LXIII.

1 O God, thou art my God: early will I seek thee.

2 My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh also longeth after thee, in a barren and dry land, where no water is.

3 Thus have I looked for thee in holiness; that I might behold thy power and glory.

4 For thy lovingkindness is better than the life itself: my lips shall praise thee.

5 As long as I live will I magnify thee on this manner, and lift up my hands in thy name.

6 My soul shall be satisfied even as it were with marrow and fatness, when my mouth praiseth thee with joyful lips.

7 Have I not remembered thee in my bed, and thought upon thee when I was waking?

8 Because thou hast been my helper, therefore under the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice.

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103 Conc. Laodic. can. 18.

104 Chrys. Hom. 14. in 1 Tim. p. 1599.

105 Ibid. Hom. 12. De Inscriptione Act. Apost. t. 5. p. 176.

1 Constit. lib. 8. cap. 37. Confer. lib. 2. c. 59.

9 My soul hangeth upon thee: thy right hand hath upholden me.

10 These also that seek the hurt of my soul, they shall go under the earth.

11 Let them fall (Septuagint, They shall fall) upon the edge of the sword, that they may be a portion for foxes.

12 But the king shall rejoice in God; all they also that swear by him shall be commended: but the mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped.

Sect. 2. What notice we have of this morning psalm in other writers.

St. Chrysostom shows that the author of the Constitutions does not impose upon us in this morning psalm: for he says,[2] The fathers of the church appointed it to be said every morning, as a spiritual song and medicine to blot out our sins; to kindle in us a desire of God; to raise our souls, and inflame them with a mighty fire of devotion; to make us overflow with goodness and love, and send us with such preparation to approach and appear before God. He names not the psalm, but he repeats the first words, "O God, my God, early will I awake unto thee. My soul thirsteth for thee." And, "Thus have I appeared before thee in holiness, that I might behold thy power and glory." By which we may know that it is the same psalm. He says, he had before made an exposition upon this psalm; and refers his reader thither for a larger account of it: but that, by injury of time, is now lost, and we are beholden to this passage by the by for all the notice we have of this morning psalm out of him, upon the occasion of his commenting upon the evening psalm; of which more hereafter, in its proper place. Besides Chrysostom, we have the testimony of Cassian for the use of this psalm; for, speaking of the several hours of prayer, and assigning reasons out of Scripture for them, he makes this to be one reason for morning prayer, that the psalm, which was daily sung in that office,[3] did properly instruct men about their obligations to this duty, saying, "O God, my God, early will I seek thee." And Athanasius also once or twice recommends this psalm to virgins and others, as proper to be said privately in their morning devotions. Rising early in the morning, says he to Marcellinus,[4] sing the sixty-second Psalm. And again,[5] to the virgins, In the morning sing this psalm, "O God, my God, early will I seek thee." These were but private directions, indeed, but probably might be suited to the orders and measures of public worship; it being evident, from the forecited authors, that this psalm was the usual introduction to their morning devotions.

Sect. 3. Next to the psalm followed the prayers for the catechumens, energumens, *competentes*, and penitents.

Immediately after this morning psalm, without mention of any other psalmody, or reading any lessons out of the Old or New Testament, follow the prayers for the several orders of catechumens, energumens, candidates of baptism, and penitents, as in the general service of the Lord's day, which, because I shall recite them at large in that service,[6] I omit to mention any further in this place. Only observing, that these prayers were performed partly by the deacons *προσφώνησις*, bidding the people pray, and repeating the several petitions they were to make for those several orders of men; and partly by the bishop's invocation or benediction said over them, as they bowed down to receive the blessing before their dismission.

Sect. 4. Then the prayers for the faithful, the peace of the world, and the whole state of Christ's church.

When these several orders were sent away, there followed the prayers which, on the Lord's day, began the communion service, and which upon that account were usually styled *εὐχαὶ πιστῶν*, the prayers of the faithful, or communicants, because none but they who had a right to communicate in the eucharist might be present at them. These were the prayers for the peace of the world, and all orders of men in the church, which always went before the consecration of the eucharist. And though there were no consecration of the eucharist on these ordinary days, yet these general prayers were always used in the daily morning service. I omit the reciting of them here for the same reason as I do the former, because the reader may find them rehearsed at large hereafter,[7] in the entrance on the communion service.

Sect. 5. What notice we have of these prayers in other writers.

I only observe here, that there is mention made, in other writers as well as the Constitutions, of these prayers for the whole state of the world, and all orders of men in the church. For Chrysostom, writing upon those words of St. Paul, "I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and all that are in authority;" says, This word, "first of all," relates to the daily worship; wherein they that were initiated knew what was done every day, morning and evening;[8] how we make supplication to God for the whole world, for kings and all that are in authority. This clearly shows, that such prayers were not only made on communion days at

[2] Chrys. Com. in Psal. cxl. t. 3. p. 545. *Τοιοῦτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἑωθινὸς ψαλμὸς*, &c.

[3] Cassian. Institut. lib. 3. cap. 3. De matutina vero solennitate etiam illud nos instruit, quod in ipsa quotidie decantari solet, Deus meus ad te de luce vigilo.

[4] Athan. Ep. ad Marcellinum, t. 1. p. 975. *Ὀρθρίζων ψάλλε τὸν ἑξηκοστὸν δεύτερον.*

[5] Id. de Virginit. t. 1. p. 1057. *Πρὸς ὄρθρον δὲ τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λέγετε, Ὁ Θεὸς, Θεός μου, πρὸς σὲ ὀρθρίζω.*

[6] See Book XIV. chap. 5. [7] See Book XV. chap. 1.

[8] Chrys. Hom. 6. in 1 Tim. p. 1550. *Τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μύσται, πῶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ πρωίᾳ, πῶς ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ βασιλέων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων ποιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν*

the celebration of the eucharist, but every day, both morning and evening also, when it is certain there could be no sacrifice but only that of their prayers; for the consecration of the eucharist in that age was never made at evening prayer. In this sense we may understand many of the ancient apologists, when they speak of making prayers continually for the Roman government. Thus Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, tells Æmylian the prefect, We worship the one God, Maker of all things, who gave the empire to Valerian and Gallienus our divine governors: to Him we pray[9] continually for their kingdom, that it may be preserved free from disturbance and commotion. And so Tertullian[10] acquaints Scapula: We offer sacrifice for the emperor's safety, but to no other god but our God and his; and in that manner as God has appointed, that is to say, by prayer alone without blood. In like manner Cyprian tells Demetrian:[11] We continually pour forth supplications and prayers for driving away your enemies, and procuring rain, and either for removing or moderating your calamities; and we pray instantly and incessantly day and night for your peace and safety, appeasing God and rendering him propititious unto you. Origen also,[12] answering the objection of Celsus, that the Christians were wanting in their duty to the emperor, in that they gave him no aid in his wars, and refused to fight for him, among other things tells him, That they gave him the most seasonable assistance, procuring him the Divine aid, and defending him with the whole armour of God. And this they did in obedience to the apostle's admonition, "I exhort, therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men, for kings, and all that are in authority." He adds, That keeping their hands pure, they fought in their prayers to God for their lawful sovereign and those that fought lawfully under him, that all opposition and enemies might fall before them, whilst they were lawfully employed. They by their prayers enervated the power of devils, the authors of war, and confounders of leagues, and disturbers of peace; and in doing this they did the emperor more effectual service, than they that bare arms for him. Athenagoras tells the emperors themselves, in his address to them,[13] That the Christians prayed for their government and the royal progeny, that the son might succeed the father in his kingdom according to right, and that their empire might be extended and enlarged, all things succeeding according to their desire: and this they did, both that they might lead a quiet and peaceable life, and cheerfully observe all that was commanded them. Now, though in all these passages there is no express mention made of morning and evening prayer in the church; yet their continual prayer, and their praying day and night, may reasonably be presumed to include these, without any prejudice to other times of public or private devotion. I now go on again with the order of morning prayer in the Constitutions.

Sect. 6. After the general prayer for the whole state of the church, followed a short bidding prayer for preservation in the ensuing day.

After the prayer for the whole state of the church was ended, and the deacon had said, "Keep us, O God, and preserve us by thy grace;" which concludes the former prayer; he exhorted the people to pray for peace and prosperity the day ensuing and all their lives, in this manner:

"Let us beg of God his mercies and compassions, that this morning and this day, and all the time of our pilgrimage, may be passed by us in peace and without sin: let us beg of God, that he would send us the angel of peace, and give us a Christian end, and be gracious and merciful unto us. Let us commend ourselves and one another to the living God by his only begotten Son."

What is here said concerning the angel of peace, is a petition that came often in the devotions of the ancient church, both when they prayed for themselves and others. For we shall meet with it again in the evening service, and in the prayer for the catechumens[14] mentioned by St. Chrysostom in several places of his writings, where he often speaks of the deacon's bidding men pray for the angel of peace, and that all their purposes may be directed to a peaceable end. Which agree very well with this prayer of the deacon in the Constitutions.

Sect. 7. Then the bishop's commendation, or thanksgiving.

Immediately after this common prayer of the deacon and people together, (the deacon having bid the people commend themselves to God,) the bishop makes this commendatory prayer, which is there called *εὐχαριστία ὀρθρινὴ*, the morning thanksgiving,[15] and is in the following words:

"O God, the God of spirits and of all flesh, with whom no one can compare, whom no one can approach, that givest the sun to govern the day, and the moon and the stars to govern the night; look

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[9] Dionys. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11. *Τούτῳ διηνεκῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμένῃ, προσευχόμεθα.*

[10] Tertull. ad Scapulam, cap. 2. Sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius: sed quomodo præcepit Deus, pura prece. Vid. Apol. cap. 30, 31, et 39.

[11] Cypr. ad Demetrian. p. 193. Pro arcendis hostibus et imbribus impetrandis, et vel auferendis vel temperandis adversis, rogamus semper et preces fundimus: et pro pace ac salute vestra propitiantes ac placantes Deum, diebus ac noctibus jugiter atque instanter oramus.

[12] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 8. p. 426.

[13] Athenag. Legatio pro Christianis, p. 39.

[14] See these places of Chrysostom cited Book XIV. chap. 5. sect. 4.

[15] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 37

down now upon us with the eyes of thy favour, and receive our morning thanksgivings, and have mercy on us. For we have not spread forth our hands to any strange god. For there is not any new god among us, but thou, our eternal and immortal God, who hast given us our being through Christ, and our well-being through him also. Vouchsafe by him to bring us to everlasting life; with whom unto thee be glory, honour, and adoration, in the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."

Sect. 8. And his imposition of hands or benediction.

After this the deacon bids them bow their heads and receive the imposition of hands, or the bishop's benediction, which follows under the title of *χειροθεσία ὀρθρινή*, the imposition of hands in morning prayer, in the form of words here annexed.

"O God, faithful and true, that showest mercy to thousands and ten thousands of them that love thee; who art the friend of the humble, and defender of the poor, whose aid all things stand in need of, because all things serve thee: look down upon this thy people, who bow their heads unto thee, and bless them with thy spiritual benediction; keep them as the apple of the eye; preserve them in piety and righteousness, and vouchsafe to bring them to eternal life, in Christ Jesus thy beloved Son, with whom unto thee be glory, honour, and adoration, in the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end. Amen."

This said, the deacon dismisses the congregation with the usual form, Προέλθετε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, "Depart in peace." Which Chrysostom takes notice of as the solemn word for dismissing every church assembly. For, speaking of the frequent use of the salutation, *Pax vobis*, "Peace be unto you," he observes, that as it was used in the beginning of every sacred action, prayer, preaching, blessing, &c., and sometimes in the middle of prayers too, so particularly at the bishop's entrance into the church, and the deacon's final dismission of the assembly: The deacon, says he, when he sends you away[16] from this meeting, does it with this prayer, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, "Go in peace."

Sect. 9. Whether the morning hymn was part of the public service every day.

But besides this order of morning prayer laid down in this place by the author of the Constitutions, there is, in another place, a prayer or hymn appointed for the morning, but whether for public or private use, is not said; I suppose he intended it only for private devotion, because it is placed among many other private prayers. He gives it the name of *προσευχὴ ἑωθινή*, the morning prayer. Other writers call it the hymn, and the angelical hymn, and the great doxology, from the first words of it, "Glory be to God on high," which was the angels' hymn at our Saviour's birth. The form of it in this author runs in these words:[17]

"Glory be to God on high, in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we laud thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee, we worship thee by the great High Priest, thee the true God, the only unbegotten, whom no one can approach, for thy great glory, O Lord, heavenly King, God the Father almighty: Lord God, the Father of Christ, the immaculate Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, thou that sittest upon the cherubims. For thou only art holy, thou only Lord Jesus, the Christ of God, the God of every created being, and our King. By whom unto thee be glory, honour, and adoration.

This same hymn is mentioned also by Athanasius, in his book of Virginity, but he gives it only as a direction to virgins in their private devotions: Early in the morning, says he, sing this psalm, "O God, my God, early will I awake unto thee. My soul thirsteth for thee." (That is the 63rd Psalm.) When it is light, say, "Bless ye the Lord, all ye works of the Lord." (That is the Song of the Three Children.) And,[18] "Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men. We laud thee, we bless thee, we worship thee;" and what follows. It is great pity this author did not give us the whole hymn, that we might have compared it with that in the Constitutions. It was always used in the communion service, though not exactly in the same form, as we shall see hereafter. But St. Chrysostom[19] speaks of it as used also daily at morning prayer. For, describing the devotions of those who led an ascetic life, he says, As soon as they rose out of bed, they met together and made a quire, and as it were with one mouth sang hymns to God, praising him, and giving him thanks for all his blessings both general and particular; and, among other things, like angels on earth, singing, "Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will towards men." And Mabillon[20] observes out of the Rules of Cæsarius Arelatensis and Aurelian in the beginning of the sixth century, that it is there appointed to be sung at matins, or morning prayer, every Lord's day, and on Easter day, and such other noted festivals. Which shows, that, at least in some churches, it was used in other offices besides the communion service, and among the monks as an ordinary hymn in their daily morning service. And so it is now used among the modern Greeks, as a learned searcher of their rituals[21] informs us in his account of the Greek church.

[16] Chrys. Hom. 52. in eos qui Pascha jejunant, t. 5. p. 713.

[17] Constit. lib. 7. cap. 47.

[18] Athan. de Virgin. t. 1. p. 1057.

[19] Chrys. Hom. 69. in Matt. p. 600.

[20] Mabil. de Cursu Gallicano, p. 407.

[21] Smith of the Greek Church, p. 224

Sect. 10. Whether the psalms and lessons were read at the daily morning service.

But it seems a little more difficult to account for another thing, which is omitted in the Constitutions. For there is no order there either for psalms or lessons to be read in the morning service, besides that one psalm, which was particularly styled the morning psalm. Whereas other authors, and particularly Cassian, speak of three psalms read at every assembly through all the canonical hours of the day;[22] and he remarks precisely for the morning service the very psalms[23] that were used, namely, the 50th, that is, our 51st, which they commonly called the penitential psalm: "Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away my offences:" and together with that, the 62nd Psalm, that is, the 63rd in our division, which was commonly called the morning psalm, as we have noted before: and the 89th, that is, our 90th Psalm, which is appropriated to the funeral office, but is as proper for the service of every day, and fit to be used by all men whenever they begin a new day, because of those excellent petitions in it for God's protection and favour, and for wisdom to consider our latter end; "So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom:" and for that it so familiarly puts us in mind of our mortality, comparing our life to a sleep, which fades away suddenly like the grass; "In the morning it is green and groweth up, but in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered." By which we may judge both of the wisdom and piety of the ancients in appointing this psalm to be used constantly in the daily course of morning service. Cassian observes further in the same place,[24] that in his time, throughout all the churches of Italy, their morning hymns were concluded with the penitential psalm, that is, the 50th according to his account, but with us the 51st. And St. Basil[25] remarks the same thing for many of the churches of the East, that their vigils, or nocturnal psalmody, was concluded, when the morning appeared, with the psalm of confession, by which he means no other but this same 51st, or penitential psalm, as I have evidently showed in another[26] place. What shall we say then to the author of the Constitutions, who speaks but of one psalm in the morning service? I answer, 1. No doubt there were different customs in different churches, and in nothing did the practice vary more than in the rules and measures about psalmody, as we shall see more clearly hereafter. So that both accounts may be very true, only applying them to the state and practice of different churches. 2. I have observed before,[27] That the primitive morning service, in times of persecution especially, was no other but the conclusion of the vigils, or *antelucan* or nocturnal service, which concluded towards break of day with some proper morning psalm, such as the 51st, or 63rd, or 90th, and certain prayers or collects proper to the occasion; the preceding part of the morning having been spent in psalms and hymns to a greater measure and number, sometimes ten, twelve, eighteen, or twenty, and these intermingled with lessons of Scripture, and public or private prayers between them; but when the morning service was made a distinct office from the vigils, as it began to be in the fourth or fifth century, then some other psalms were added to the morning psalm, and three psalms at least were read in this as well as in all other offices; and that is the reason why we meet with but one psalm in the order for morning service in the Constitutions, and three in others, which were of later appointment. Cassian himself, who gives the best account of these things of any other writer, plainly favours this observation: for he tells us in one place,[28] that the Egyptians never admitted of any morning office distinct from their nocturnal vigils, nor of any other times of public worship besides the evening hours and nocturnal assemblies, except on the sabbath and the Lord's day, when they met also at the third hour, that is, at nine in the morning, to celebrate the communion on those days. All other times they spent in labouring privately in their cells, joining continual meditation of the Psalms and other Scriptures with their labour, and mingling short prayers and ejaculations with them; so making the whole day but one continued office of devotion, which others performed by intervals of time, and distinction of stated hours of prayer. In another place[29] he tells us, That they who first

[22] Cassian. Institut. lib. 3. cap. 3. In Palæstinæ et Mesopotamiæ monasteriis ac totius Orientis supradictarum horarum solennitates tribus psalmis quotidie finiuntur.

[23] Id. lib. 3. cap. 6. Quinquagesimum vero psalmum et sexagesimum secundum et octogesimum nonum huic novellæ solennitati novimus fuisse deputatos.

[24] Cassian. ibid. Denique per Italiam hodieque consummatis matutinalibus hymnis quinquagesimus psalmus in universis ecclesiis canitur.

[25] Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæsar. t. 3. p. 96. Ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπέσης —— πάντες τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρυσι τῷ Κυρίῳ.

[26] See below, sect. 13. of this chapter.

[27] Book XIII. chap. 9. sect. 4 and 10.

[28] Cassian. Institut. lib. 3. cap. 2. Apud illos hæc officia, quæ Domino solvere per distinctiones horarum et temporis intervalla cum admonitione compulsoris adigimur, per totum diei spacium jugiter cum operis adjectione spontanea celebrantur.——Quamobrem exceptis vespertinis horis ac nocturnis congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem publica solennitas absque die sabbati vel Dominica celebratur, in quibus hora tertia sacræ communionis obtentu conveniunt.

[29] Cass. lib. 3. cap. 6. Illud quoque nosse debemus, nihil a senioribus nostris, qui eandem matutinam solennitatem addi debere censuerunt, de antiqua psalmorum consuetudine immutatum: sed eodem ordine missam, quo prius in nocturnis conventibus celebratam. Etenim hymnos, quos in hac regione ad matutinam excepere solennitatem, in fine nocturnarum vigiliarum, quas post gallorum cantum ante auroram finire solent, similiter hodieque decantant, id est

brought in this new morning office, distinct from the nocturnal, did not diminish aught of the ancient psalmody from the nocturnal service; for they continued still to conclude their vigils before break of day with the same psalms as they were used to do before; that is, with 148th, 149th, 150th Psalms; only they set apart the 51st, 63rd, and 90th Psalms for this new office of morning service. From all which it seems very probable, that, according to the difference of times and places, the number of psalms for the morning service might vary, since there were such different methods in the observation of this solemnity, and an old and a new office, that both went by the name of morning service.

Sect. 11. The original of *antelucan* and night assemblies, in times of persecution.

Having thus far described the order of the old morning service, as it lies in the Constitutions; and hinted, that the morning assemblies were originally the very same with the nocturnal or *antelucan* meetings for Divine service, which we so often read of in ancient writers; for the further illustration of this part of the Christian worship, it will be proper to inquire a little more narrowly into the nature and management of them from their first original; which is known to have had its rise from the severity of the heathen persecutions. For the Christians, being afraid to meet publicly on the Lord's day for Divine worship, were forced to hold their assemblies in the night, meeting early in the morning before day, to avoid the observation of their enemies. This appears from that early account of Pliny, which he had from the mouths of some apostatizing Christians, who confessed to him,[30] that the sum of their crime or error was, that they were used to meet together on a certain day before it was light, and sing a hymn to Christ, as to their God. Hence it is, that the heathen in Minucius more than once[31] objects to them their night assemblies, and calls them a sculking generation, that fled from the light, being mute in public, but free in discourse with one another, when they were got into their private corners. Celsus[32] seems to mean the same thing, when he objects to them their holding of clancular meetings, *συνθήκας κρύβδην*. And Tertullian, to show Christian women the inconvenience of marrying heathens, puts them in mind of these night assemblies: What husband, says he,[33] will be willing to suffer his wife to rise from his side, and go to the night assemblies. And Prudentius, describing the martyrdom of St. Laurence, introduces the heathen judge[34] telling him, that he had heard how they sacrificed in silver, and had their wax-lights set in gold for the use of their night assemblies. And this was the true original of lamps, and oil, and tapers for the use of such meetings in time of persecution.

Sect. 12. These continued when the persecutions were over.

Now, though it was necessity which first gave rise to these assemblies; yet the church in after ages thought fit to continue them, (transferring them from the Lord's day to all other days,) partly to keep up the spirit of devotion in the ascetics, or such as had betaken themselves to a stricter life; partly to give leisure and opportunity to men of a secular life to observe a seasonable time of devotion, which they might do early in the morning without any distraction; and partly to guard her children against the temptations and seduction of the Arian sect, who with great zeal endeavoured to promote their heresy by their psalmody in such meetings, as appears from what Socrates[35] and Sozomen[36] say of them, and what Sidonius Apollinaris particularly notes[37] of Theodoric, king of the Goths, that he was so eager a promoter of the Arian cause, that in his zeal for them he frequented their morning assemblies before day, with a small guard attending him. Now, the catholics having so many reasons to keep up these assemblies, not only continued them, but with great zeal encouraged them in their discourses. St. Chrysostom[38] commends the widows and virgins for frequenting the church night and day, and singing psalms in these assemblies. He says, Men ought[39] to come to the sanctuary in the night, and pour out their prayers there. In another place, speaking of the excellency of the city of Antioch, he says, It consisted not in its fine buildings or pillars, but in the morals of the men. Go into the church,[40] and there see the excellency of the city. Go into the church, and see the poor continuing there from midnight to the morning light. And it is remarkable what Socrates[41] says of him, when he was bishop of Constantinople, That he made additional prayers for the nocturnal hymns, on purpose to counter-

Psalmum 148, et reliquos qui sequuntur: quinquagesimum vero psalmum, et sexagesimum secundum, et octogesimum nonum huic novellæ solennitati novimus fuisse deputatos.

[30] Plin. lib. 10. Ep. 97. Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire: carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem.

[31] Minuc. de Idol. Vanit. p. 25. Nocturnis congregationibus——fæderantur. Latebrosa et lucifugax natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula. It. p. 27. Occultis ac nocturnis sacris apposita suspicio.

[32] Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 1. p. 4.

[33] Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 2. cap. 4. Quis nocturnis convocationibus, si ita oportuerit, a latere suo eximi libenter feret? It. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3.

[34] Prudent. Hymn. 2. de Laurentio. Argenteis scyphis ferunt fumare sacrum sanguinem, auroque nocturnis sacris adstare fixos cereos.

[35] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. [36] Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8.

[37] Sidon. lib. 1. Ep. 2. Antelucanos sacerdotum suorum cœtus minimo comitatu expetit.

[38] Chrys. Hom. 30. in 1 Cor. p. 591.

[39] Chrys. Com. in Psal. cxxxiii. t. 3. p. 488.

[40] Chrys. Hom. 4. de Verbis Esaiæ, t. 3. p. 865.

[41] Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 7. Ηὔξησε πρῶτος καὶ τὰς περὶ τοὺς νυκτερινοὺς ὕμνους εὐχάς.

mine the practice of the Arians. But I must not stand to repeat all that is said of these famous morning assemblies; for there is scarce an ecclesiastical writer[42] that has not given some hint of them, which I need not recite, but rather go on to show what were the chief exercises of these meetings, which usually began soon after midnight, and continued to the morning light.

Sect. 13. The order of Divine service which was performed in them, as described by St. Basil.

St. Basil, in one of his epistles, gives us a pretty clear description of them, though but in general terms, whilst he makes an apology for the practices of his own church, against some who charged them with innovation. His words are these: The customs, says he, which now prevail among us,[43] are consonant and agreeable to all the churches of God. For with us the people, rising early, whilst it is night, come to the house of prayer, and there, with much labour and affliction, and contrition and tears, make confession of their sins to God. When this is done, they rise from prayers, and dispose themselves to psalmody: sometimes dividing themselves into two parts, they answer one another in singing, or sing alternately, *ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις*: after this again they permit one alone to begin the psalm, and the rest join in the close of every verse, *ὑπηχοῦσι*. And thus with this variety of psalmody they carry on the night, praying betwixt whiles, or intermingling prayers with their psalms, *μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι*. At last, when the day begins to break forth, they all in common, as with one mouth and one heart, offer up to God the psalm of confession, *τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀναφέρουσι*, every one making the words of this psalm to be the expression of his own repentance. Here we have the plain order of these nocturnal or morning devotions. 1. Confession of sins. 2. Psalms sung alternately. 3. Psalms sung by one alone. 4. Prayers between the psalms. 5. Lastly, The common psalm of confession, or the penitential psalm, in the close of all. Whether the first confession of sins was a public or private one, is not very certain; some learned persons[44] take it for a public confession, like that in the beginning of our liturgy; but I rather think it was a private confession, with which we are sure their offices generally began, as appears from a canon of the council of Laodicea,[45] where it is called the silent prayer, *εὐχὴ διὰ σιωπῆς*, of which I have given a fuller account in the communion service.[46] The latter confession was plainly a public one, made by a certain form, being no other but the 51st Psalm, "Have mercy on me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences." For this psalm was particularly noted among the ancients by the name of the psalm of confession. Athanasius gives it[47] this title, telling us that the 50th Psalm, which is the 51st in our division, is *ψαλμὸς ἐξομολογήσεως*, the psalm of confession. And what further confirms this interpretation is, that this very psalm by name is appointed to be used in the close of the matins, or morning service, which the Western churches introduced as distinct from the nocturnal service, as Cassian[48] relates, who was an eye-witness of it. See before, sect. 10.

Sect. 14. The account of them out of Cassian.

What number of psalms or prayers was used in this service, is not particularly noted by St. Basil; nor perhaps was it stinted to any certain number, but according as the length of the psalms or time required. But in the Egyptian churches they reduced it to the precise number of twelve psalms, from whence some other churches afterwards took their model, as Cassian informs us,[49] who says, That in other regions there were different rules and appointments: for some recited no less than twenty psalms, and these by way of antiphonal or alternate melody; others exceeded this number; others had eighteen; so that there were almost as many ways and rules as there were monasteries and cells. Nay, in Egypt, before the rule was settled, some were for having[50] fifty, some sixty psalms; but at last, upon mature advice, they fixed upon[51] the certain number of twelve psalms both for their evening and morning service, interposing a prayer between each psalm, and adding two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New; which was their custom on all days, except Saturdays and Sundays, when they repeated them both out of the New Testament, the one out of St. Paul's Epistles or the Acts of the Apostles, and the other out of the Gospels, as they did also for the whole term of fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide. He adds further, That they did not use the alternate way of singing in Egypt, but only one amongst them sung with a plain and even voice, the rest sitting by, and attending to what was said. Neither did they answer, "Glory be to the[52] Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," at the end of every psalm, but inter-

[42] Vid. Epiphan. in fine Panarii. Hieronym. Ep. 7. ad Lætam. Hilar. in Psal. lxiv. p. 231.

[43] Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæsar. t. 3. p. 96.

[44] Hamon. L'Estrange, Alliance of Divin. Offic. cap. 3. p. 75.

[45] Conc. Laodicen. can. 19.

[46] See Book XV. chap. 1. sect. 1.

[47] Athan. Ep. ad Marcellinum, de Interpr. Psalmor. t. 1. p. 975.

[48] Cassian. Institut. lib. 3. cap. 6.

[49] Cassian. lib. 2. cap. 2. Quidam vicenos psalmos, et hos ipsos antiphonarum protelatos melodiis, et adjunctione quarundam modulationum debere dici singulis noctibus censuerunt, &c.

[50] Cass. ibid. cap. 5. [51] Id. cap. 6.

[52] Cassian. lib. 2. cap. 8. Illud etiam quod in hac provincia (Gallia) vidimus, ut uno cantante, in clausula psalmi omnes astantes concinant cum clamore; Gloria Patri, et

posed a prayer (which was the custom of all the East); and then at the end of the last psalm, which they called the hallelujah, they subjoined the glorification of the Trinity, which they never used but at the end of that antiphona, as they called the hallelujah in the Eastern church. When the psalms were very long, they sometimes divided them into two or three parts, and at the end of every part made a stop to interpose a prayer,[53] thinking it better to use frequent and short prayers to keep up the fervour of devotion. It does not appear, that these were public prayers, but rather private, at the end of which the chief minister officiating is said *colligere precem*, to make a collect or prayer, recapitulating the prayers that were made before by the assembly in private; of which I shall have occasion to give a fuller account in another place. See Book XV. chap. i. sect. 1. It is noted further by Cassian,[54] concerning the last of their psalms, called the antiphona, or hallelujah, that no psalm was ever used in this place but only one of those which had the inscription of hallelujah prefixed in the title of it, such as the 145th, and those that follow, one of which was commonly the concluding psalm, repeated by way of antiphona or responses. It was something particular in the manner of performing this psalmody in those Egyptian monasteries, that he that sung the psalms only stood up, but the rest heard them sitting: which Cassian[55] observes to be matter of indulgence in regard to their continual watchings and hard labour. And it was no less peculiar, that never above four persons were allowed to repeat the twelve psalms in one assembly, and that by course, every one singing three in order after one another. Or if there were but three, then each sung four psalms; and if but two, each of them sung six.

Sect. 15. This morning service much frequented by the laity of all sorts.

And thus far of the nocturnal psalmody, which was the old morning service of the church. I only add, that though this service was very early in the morning, yet it was frequented, not by the clergy and monks only, but by the people also. For, as we have seen before, St. Basil takes notice, that the people came to church to celebrate these morning devotions; and Sidonius has told us also, that Theodoric, king of the Goths, was a constant observer of them. So here it is also remarked by Cassian,[56] that this part of the church's devotions was with great exactness observed by many secular men, who, rising early before day, would not engage themselves in any of their most necessary and ordinary worldly business, before they had consecrated the first-fruits of all their actions and labours to God, by going to church, and presenting themselves in the Divine presence. A worthy example, fit to be recorded in letters of gold, to excite the emulation of the present age, wherein the daily worship of God at religious assemblies is so little frequented, and by many so much despised; though the same service with that of the ancients for substance is still retained, with some improvements, and none of the corruptions which the superstition of darker ages brought into the devotions of the church; as any one may satisfy himself, that will compare what has been delivered in this chapter with the daily service of our church.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ORDER OF THEIR DAILY EVENING SERVICE.

Sect. 1. The evening service in most things conformed to that of the morning.

The evening service, which was called the *hora lucernaris*, because it began at the time of lighting candles towards the close of the day, was in most parts the same with that of the morning, only with such variation of psalms, and hymns, and prayers, as were proper to the occasion. The prayers for the catechumens, energumens, candidates of baptism, and penitents were all the same; so were the prayers for the faithful or communicants, called the prayers for the peace of the world, and the whole state of the catholic church, which are described at large in the following Books, to which the reader may have recourse.

Sect. 2. But they differed, first, in that a proper psalm was appointed for the evening, called the evening psalm by the author of the Constitutions.

The first thing wherein they differed was, the initial psalm: for as the morning service began with the 63rd Psalm, so the evening service is appointed to begin with the 140th Psalm, which we reckon the 141st. "Lord, I call upon thee, haste thee unto me, and consider my

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Filio, et Spiritui Sancto; nusquam per omnem Orientem audivimus; sed cum omnium silentio, ab eo qui cantat finito psalmo, orationem succedere: hanc vero glorificationem Trinitatis tantummodo solere antiphona terminari. (Leg. antiphonam terminare. Vel, ut legit Mabillon, glorificatione, &c. antiphona terminari.)

[53] Cassian. Instit. lib. 2. cap. 11. Ne psalmos quidem ipsos, quos in congregationibus decantant, continuata student pronunciatione concludere: sed eos pro numero versuum duabus vel tribus intercessionibus cum orationum interjectione divisos distinctim particulatimque consummant.

[54] Cassian. ibid. Illud quoque apud eos omni observantia custoditur, ut in responsione alleluiæ nullus dicatur psalmus, nisi is, qui in titulo suo alleluiæ inscriptione prænotatur.

[55] Id. lib. 2. cap. 11 et 12.

[56] Cassian. Collation. 21. cap. 26. Quod devotionis genus multi etiam sæcularium summa cautione custodiunt, qui ante lucem vel diluculo consurgentes, nequaquam familiaribus ac necessariis mundi hujus actibus implicantur, priusquam cunctorum actuum suorum operationumque primitias, ad ecclesiam concurrentes, divino studeant consecrare conspectui.

voice when I cry unto thee. Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice," &c. This psalm the author of the Constitutions calls emphatically τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν,[1] the evening psalm, in the place where he describes the order of this service. And though he does not in that place either name the psalm, or mention any words in it; yet he infallibly means the psalm now spoken of, because in another place[2] he expressly calls it the 140th Psalm, requiring it to be used in public assemblies at the daily evening service.

Sect. 3. This psalm mentioned under the same denomination by Chrysostom and other writers.

And that which puts the matter beyond all dispute, is, that Chrysostom, in his Comment upon this psalm, takes notice of the use of it in the church upon this particular occasion. Hearken diligently, says he,[3] for it was not without reason that our fathers appointed this psalm to be said every evening; not barely for the sake of that single expression, "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice;" for other psalms have expressions of the same nature, as that which says, "At evening, and morning, and noon-day will I show forth thy praise:" and again, "The day is thine, and the night is thine:" and again, "Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning:" and many other such like psalms may one find, that are proper for the evening season. Therefore our fathers did not order this psalm to be said upon the account of this expression, but they appointed the reading of it, as a sort of salutary medicine to cleanse us from sin; that whatever defilement we may have contracted throughout the whole day, either abroad, in the market, or at home, or in whatsoever place, when the evening comes, we might put it all off by this spiritual charm, or song, which is a medicine to purge away all such corruption.

Sect. 4. Secondly, Proper prayers for evening service.

After this psalm was ended, there followed the same prayers for the catechumens, energumens, penitents, and common prayers for the world and the church, that were used in the morning service; but after them the deacon bid the people pray in a certain form proper for the evening, which the author of the Constitutions[4] styles προσφώνησις ἐπιλύχνιος, the evening bidding prayer, and it runs in these words: "Let us pray to the Lord for his mercies and compassions; and entreat him to send us the angel of peace, and all good things convenient for us, and that he would grant us to make a Christian end. Let us pray, that this evening and night may pass in peace, and without sin, and all the time of our life unblamable and without rebuke. Let us commend ourselves and one another to the living God through his Christ."

This said, the bishop, if present, made this commendatory collect, which is there styled ἐπιλύχνιος εὐχαριστία, the evening thanksgiving, and is conceived in the following words: "O God, who art without beginning and without end, the Maker and Governor of all things through Christ, the God and Father of him before all things, the Lord of the Spirit, and King of all things both intellectual and sensible; that hast made the day for works of light, and the night to give rest to our weakness: for the day is thine, and the night is thine; thou hast prepared the light and the sun: do thou now, most kind and gracious Lord, receive this our evening thanksgiving. Thou that hast led us through the length of the day, and brought us to the beginning of the night, keep and preserve us by thy Christ; grant that we may pass this evening in peace, and this night without sin; and vouchsafe to bring us to eternal life through thy Christ; by whom be glory, honour, and adoration unto thee in the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen."

After this, the deacon bids the people κλίνατε τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ, bow down to receive the benediction with imposition of hands, and then the bishop makes this following prayer: "O God of our fathers, and Lord of mercy, that hast created man by thy wisdom a rational being, and of all thy creatures upon earth dearest unto thee, that hast given him dominion over the earth, and hast made us by thy pleasure to be kings and priests, the one to secure our lives, and the other to preserve thy lawful worship: be pleased now, O Lord Almighty, to bow down and show the light of thy countenance upon thy people, who bow the neck of their heart before thee; and bless them by Christ, by whom thou hast enlightened us with the light of knowledge, and revealed thyself unto us: with whom is due unto thee and the Holy Ghost the Comforter, all worthy adoration from every rational and holy nature, world without end. Amen."

There are two expressions in these prayers, which may seem a little unusual to a modern reader; one, where prayer is made for the angel of peace; and the other, which styles God the Father, Lord of the Spirit: but both these occur in the morning prayers for the catechumens, hereafter,[6] where I show out of Chrysostom, that prayer for the angel of peace was a common petition in many of the known forms of the church: and for that other expression, which styles the Father, Lord of the Spirit, which is a harsh way of speaking, and looks like Macedonianism, as Cotelerius remarks upon it, I have showed out of Bishop Bull, that it may fairly be interpreted to a sound and catholic sense from parallel expressions in Justin Martyr. So that we

[1] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 35.
[2] Id. lib. 2. cap. 59.
[3] Chrys. Hom. in Psal. cxl. t. 3. p. 544.
[4] Constit. lib. 8. cap. 36.
[5] Ibid. cap. 37.
[6] Book XIV. chap. 5. sect. 3.

need not condemn this author as an Arian or Macedonian heretic, only allowing him the favour of a candid interpretation.

To return, therefore, to the prayers themselves: the deacon, after these collects made by the bishop, dismisses the people with the usual form, as in the morning service, Προέλθετε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, "Depart in peace." And this is the conclusion of the evening service, according to our author in this place.

Sect. 5. Of the evening hymn.

But in another place[7] he speaks also of an evening hymn, which he styles εὐχὴ ἑσπερινὸς, an evening prayer or thanksgiving, which is a sort of doxology to God, like that used before in the morning prayer. The form is in these words: "Praise the Lord, ye servants, O praise the name of the Lord. We praise thee, we laud thee, we bless thee, for thy great glory, O Lord and King, the Father of Christ the unspotted Lamb, that taketh away the sin of the world. All praises, and hymns, and glory, are justly rendered unto thee our God and Father, by thy Son, in the most Holy Spirit, for all ages, world without end. Amen. Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel."

It is not here said, whether this hymn was for public or private use. However, that there were such sort of hymns in use among the ancients at the first bringing in of candles in the evening, is evident from St. Basil, who mentions one part of such a hymn, which he styles ἐπιλύχνιος εὐχαριστία, the thanksgiving at setting up lights. It seemed good, says he, to our forefathers[8] not to receive the gift of the evening light altogether with silence, but to give thanks immediately upon its appearance. We cannot certainly tell who was the first author of that thanksgiving at setting up lights; but this we are sure of, that the people have of old used this form of words, (and no one ever charged them with impiety for so doing,) Αἰνοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, We praise the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God.

Bishop Usher[9] and Dr. Smith[10] have given us an ancient form of this kind more at large, out of the Alexandrian Manuscript of the Septuagint, and some other ancient copies of the Psalter in Greek, which it may not be improper to insert in this place. It goes in some books under the title of ὕμνος ἑσπερινὸς, the evening hymn; and in others it is called ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ, the hymn said at setting up lights. We cannot certainly say this is the same that St. Basil refers to, but all that St. Basil mentions out of that ancient hymn, is now found in this; which makes it probable that they are the very same. It is as follows:[11] "O Jesus Christ, thou joyful light of the sacred glory of the immortal, heavenly, holy, blessed Father! we now, being come to the setting of the sun, and seeing the evening light, do laud and praise the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit of God (or the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that is God). Thou art worthy to have hymns at all times sung unto thee with holy voices, O Son of God that givest life. Therefore the world glorifies thee." Bishop Usher, by mistake, says this hymn was the same as the ψαλμὸς ἐπιλύχνιος, the evening psalm mentioned in the Constitutions, lib. 8. cap. 35. Whereas indeed that evening psalm was quite another thing from this evening hymn; that being one of David's Psalms, as I showed before out of Chrysostom and the Constitutions themselves; and this a hymn of human composition. Neither is it the same form with the evening hymn related before out of the Constitutions, but seems more likely to be that mentioned by St. Basil, which, I conceive, was not a form for public, but only private devotion, to be used at home by all Christians, as a pious ejaculation or hymn to Christ, "the true Light that enlightens every man that comes into the world." But I only offer this as a conjecture, because I find not this hymn mentioned, as inserted into the public offices, either by the author of the Constitutions, or St. Basil, or any other.

Sect. 6. Whether there were any hymns, or psalms, or lessons, read in the evening service besides the 141st Psalm.

But then it may be asked, Were there no hymns used in the evening service? Were there no lessons read, nor psalms, besides that called the evening psalm, sung in the church? I answer, No doubt there were in many churches; for the customs of churches varied in this matter; and though the author of the Constitutions mentions them not in the rituals of the churches he describes, yet other accounts do. For Cassian,[12] describing the customary service of the Egyptian monasteries, says, They sung twelve psalms every morning and evening in their solemn meetings, and had two lessons read, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New, and had pray-

[7] Constit. lib. 7. cap. 48.

[8] Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 29.

[9] Usserii Diatriba de Symbolis, p. 35.

[10] Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 302.

[11] Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης ἀθανάτου Πατρὸς, οὐρανίου, ἁγίου, μάκαρος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ· ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου δύσιν, ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινὸν, ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ. (al. Θεὸν.) Ἄξιος εἶ ἐν πᾶσι καιροῖς ὑμνεῖσθαί φωναῖς ὁσίαις, Υἱὲ Θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς· διὸ ὁ κόσμος σε δοξάζει.

[12] Cassian. Institut. lib. 2. cap. 6. Exin venerabilis Patrum senatus——decrevit hunc numerum (12 psalmorum) tam in vespertinis, quam in nocturnis conventiculis custodiri, quibus lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est, unam Veteris et aliam Novi Testamenti, &c. Vid. cap. 8.

ers also between the psalms; and sung the *Gloria Patri* at the end of the last psalm. St. Jerom confirms this account, and adds, that they had a sermon made by the abbot (who was always a presbyter) every day after evening prayer. For thus he describes their evening devotions: At nine o'clock they meet together, then the psalms are sung, and the Scriptures are read;[13] and prayers being ended, they all sit down, and one among them, whom they call their father, begins to discourse to them, whom they hear with the profoundest silence and veneration. But it may be said, this perhaps was only the custom of the monasteries, and not of the churches. In answer to which Epiphanius assures us,[14] it was the custom of the church to have psalms and hymns continually both at morning and evening prayer. St. Austin also mentions hymns[15] as well as prayers at evening service; which implies, that they had more psalms than one sung upon that occasion. St. Hilary, upon those words of the psalmist, "The outgoings of the morning and evening shall praise thee;" shows the same, when he says, The progression of the church to her morning and evening hymns with delight, is a great sign of God's mercy. The day[16] is begun with prayers, and the day is closed with hymns to God. St. Hilary himself is said to be the author of some of those hymns, and St. Ambrose of others, which were of public use in the church: and though some would have rejected them, because they were only of human composure, and not to be found in Scripture, yet the fourth council of Toledo[17] ordered them to be retained in the public service of the church, together with the hymns, "Glory be to the Father," and "Glory be to God on high," which were likewise of human composition. For the Eastern churches, the like is said by Chrysostom,[18] that they had hymns at night in their evening prayer, as well as morning. In the Gallican churches they had, besides their collects and prayers, both hymns and antiphonas, or chapters, as they called them, collected out of the Psalms, to be said by way of responses, as appears from the council of Agde.[19] And the second council of Tours orders, That at evening prayer, which they call the twelfth hour of prayer, twelve psalms should be sung,[20] answerable to the order of morning service, which had twelve psalms, as the sixth hour of prayer had six psalms, with the additional psalm called the Hallelujah. From all which it is apparent, that a considerable number of psalms and hymns were used together with the prayers, to make up the daily course of evening as well as morning service in many churches.

Sect. 7. The Lord's prayer used in some churches as the conclusion of the daily, both morning and evening service.

And in some churches the Lord's prayer was always made a part of the daily worship both morning and evening. For the council of Girone[21] made a general decree for the Spanish churches, that the Lord's prayer should constantly be used by every priest at the close of the matins and vespers in the daily service. It had always been used before on Sundays in the communion office; but it being, in the very title and tenor of it, *quotidiana oratio*, a quotidian or daily prayer, they thought it proper to make it a standing part of their daily offices. And when some priests neglected to obey this order, and still confined the use of it to the Lord's day, the fourth council of Toledo[22] made a decree, That all such of the clergy as contumaciously refused to use it daily both in their public and private offices, should be degraded.

In the French churches the practice was the same. For by a canon of the third council of Orleans,[23] the people are obliged to stay at Divine service till the Lord's prayer was said; and if the

[13] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustochium, cap. 15. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius quem patrem vocant, incipit disputare, &c.

[14] Epiphan. Exposit. Fidei, n. 23. p. 1106. Ἑωθινοί τε ὕμνοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηνεκεῖς γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἑωθιναὶ, λυχνικοί τε ἅμα ψαλμοὶ καὶ προσευχαί.

[15] Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 1485. Ad vespertinos illuc hymnos et orationes cum ancillis suis et quibusdam sanctimonialibus ex more Domina possessionis intravit, atque hymnos cantare cœperunt.

[16] Hilar. in Psalm. lxiv. p. 231. Progressus ecclesiæ in matutinum (leg. matutinorum) et vespertinorum hymnorum delectatione maximum misericordiæ Dei signum est. Dies in orationibus Dei inchoatur, dies hymnis Dei clauditur.

[17] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 12.

[18] Chrys. Hom. 18. in Act. p. 174.

[19] Conc. Agathen. can. 30. In conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos, capitella de psalmis dici, et plebem, collecta oratione, ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimitti.

[20] Conc. Turon. 2. can. 18. Patrum statuta præceperunt, ut ad sextam sex psalmi dicantur cum alleluia; et ad duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum alleluia. It. can. 24. Et licet Ambrosianos habeamus hymnos in canone, &c.

[21] Conc. Gerundense, can. 10. Item nobis semper placuit observari, ut omnibus diebus post matutinas et vesperas oratio Dominica a sacerdote proferatur.

[22] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 9. Nonnulli sacerdotum in Hispaniis reperiuntur, qui Dominicam orationem, quam Salvator noster docuit et præcepit, non quotidie, sed tantum die Dominica dicant.—Quisquis ergo sacerdotum, vel subjacentium clericorum, hanc orationem Dominicam quotidie aut in publico aut in privato officio præterierit, propter superbiam judicatus, ordinis sui honore privetur.

[23] Conc. Aurel. 3. can. 28. De missis nullus laicorum ante discedat, quam Dominica dicatur oratio. Et si episcopus præsens fuerit, ejus benedictio expectetur. Sacrificia vero matutina (leg. matutinarum) missarum, vel vespertinarum, ne quis cum armis pertinentibus ad bellorum usum, expetat.

bishop was present, to wait for him to pronounce the benediction, which shows that it was the conclusion of the prayers, since nothing came after but the benediction. It is true, the word used for Divine service in this canon, is *missa;* which might seem to mean the communion service, where the Lord's prayer was always used: but it has been showed before, in the first chapter of this Book, that *missa* is a general name for any part of Divine service; and in this canon is particularly taken for the morning and evening sacrifice of prayers. For it immediately follows, that no one should come to the sacrifice of morning or evening mass, that is, morning or evening prayers, with his arms or weapons, which only appertained to the use of war. Besides, that in the communion service, as we shall see hereafter, the Lord's prayer came always in the middle, and not, as here, in the conclusion of the service.

This is the substance of what I have observed concerning the several parts and order of the daily morning and evening service in the writings of the fathers and the canons of the councils, which are at present the chief rituals of the ancient church: and I have been the more careful to separate these offices from the great service of the Lord's day, because they are too often confounded in the accounts of modern authors. I now proceed to the offices and service of the Lord's day, which must be the subject of the two following Books.

Cullen
Jan 1909
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